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INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS IN MODERN WORLD (1900 – 1988)

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS IN MODERN WORLD (1900-1988)

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PREFACE

This book is designed primarily to meet the needs of students offering 'International Relations' and 'Modern World' as subjects for various University examinations. Every effort has been made to avoid superfluous and irrelevant matter and to make the presentation of subject matter as interesting and informative as possible. This book is a study of the complex developments in international field since the beginning of the present century. It is pertinent to mention here that 25 chapters containing as many as 156 topics have been given adequate, dispassionate and objective treatment.

The world has shrunk considerably in modern times due to the tremendous strides in science and technology and therefore we easily discern the large measure of influence that events in one part of the world have upon another. Adlai Stevenson was not far from truth when he wrote some years ago. "The world is like a drum, strike it anywhere and it resounds everywhere". No event in the world is an isolated occurrence but it creates reverberations throughout the world. For instance Arab-Israel conflict has made entire region of West Asia a cock-pit of Super Powers rivalry. The policy of apartheid pursued by South Africa has generated new dynamism and unity of purpose among 101 non-aligned countries. Naturally then the knowledge and understanding of international relations has a definite significance for all of us.

One of the unique features of the world since 1945 is the ever increasing tempo of liberation movement in the Afro-Asian countries. The process of decolonization has expanded the area of freedom and the newly emergent countries of Asia and Africa are now playing a constructive role in world affairs. Another feature of world politics since 1945 is the shift of the centres of power from Europe to the USA and the Soviet Union and the consequent polarization of power. On the other hand advancement of science and technology has revolutionized the lives of people in many parts of the world and opened new vistas to expedite the process of development in the newly independent states. During the post-war period the Western World was confronted with the problem of protecting the free nations from passing into the fold of communism and the Soviet Union was dedicated to the formation of communist bloc consisting of as many

states as possible. Today the world is torn by Super-Powers' rivalry which has resulted in cold war. The major problems that confront the peoples of the world today are the maintenance of world peace, disarmament and economic upliftment of developing nations.

Thus the subject of international relations is very wide, comple.., controversial and liable to varied interpretations. So due emphasis is laid on clear presentation of facts in unequivocal language and elimination of superfluous matter to avoid confusion. I fervently hope that this book will go a long way to cater to the needs of the college students of various universities in India.

My thanks are due to and are gratefully rendered to the staff of Himalaya Publishing House for their courtesy and whole hearted co-operation in the production of this book. Any suggestion for the enrichment of the subject matter will be gratefully welcomed.

K. B. Keswani

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1

NATURE OF IMPERIALISM IN 20th CENTURY

OUTLINE :

(A) **Meaning of imperialism,**

(B) **Circumstances leading to spread of imperialism,**

(C) **Forms and techniques of imperialism,**

(D) **Imperialism and imperialistic rivalries,**

(E) **Impact of imperialism.**

A. Meaning of Imperialism

Imperialism implies the adoption of the policy of territorial expansion which ultimately results in the ruthless economic exploitation of the people of colonies. The leaders of imperialist countries try to justify their imperialistic designs under the pretext of "White Mans Burden"; which means that white rulers of European imperialist countries deem it their moral duty to spread European civilisation in the backward and semicivilised countries of Asia and Africa. Under this hypocritical mask of "White Mans Burden; there were hidden the nefarious designs for territorial aggrandizement which resulted in the economic exploitation, political subjugation and cultural stagnation of the people of subject nations.

These ideas are vividly explained by the following writers:

According to Charles A. Beard "Imperialism implies an employment of engines of government and diplomacy to acquire territories, protectorates and/or spheres of influence occupied usually by other races or peoples and to promote industrial trade and investment opportunities."

Yet another writer Louis L. Synder holds the view that imperialist nations are engaged in their efforts to tighten their strangle hold on the colonies for promoting their economic and political interests.

According to Websters Unified Dictionary and Encyclopaedia "Imperialism" is the policy of a nation to extend its control outside its own boundaries by acquisition of colonies or dependencies or by jurisdiction over other races.

B. Circumstances leading to spread of Imperialism

A variety of factors contributed to the spread of imperialism in 19th century and first two decades of present century. The period between 1870-1919 is marked by imperialistic conquests. The following are the significant causes of modern imperialism:

1. Industrial Revolution

The industrial revolution was certainly the most predominant factor for the spread of imperialism after 1870. As a result of industrial revolution, the industries expanded rapidly in the advanced European countries which acutely felt the need for the import of raw materials and investment of excessive capital. The industrial revolution created the following problems for imperialist and affluent European countries.

(a) Search for raw materials: Since the industrial revolution led to the phenomenal expansion of industry, there arose greater need for raw materials which were not available in adequate quantity in European countries. The back-ward countries of Asia and Africa had the abundant raw materials such as rubber, petroleum, cotton, silk, tin, vegetable oils and other minerals. The powerful European countries like England, France and Italy were tempted to establish political control over the backward countries of Asia and Africa. So scramble for acquiring colonies began and this process was accelerated by the need for raw materials which were very necessary for sustenance of industries in advanced European countries.

(b) Search for markets for surplus goods: As a result of industrial revolution, Great Britain, France, Italy, Netherlands, Portugal, Belgium and other European nations inevitably had massive production. Due to this, European markets had reached a point of saturation and the industrialised countries sought open markets overseas. This frantic search for overseas markets ultimately led to imperialistic conquest of colonies.

(c) Need for investment of excessive capital in colonies: In his famous book entitled "Imperialism" J A Hobson pointed out that in the industrialised countries there emerged excessive surplus capital. This surplus capital led to a frantic search for overseas markets for safe investment. As European markets had already reached the point of saturation, the fabulously rich imperialist countries tried to explore new avenues for investment of their surplus capital. This desire triggered the process of colonization. It was safer for imperialist country to invest in its colonies than in any foreign country. So a race for acquisition of colonies began among European countries.

2. Improved means of transport and communication:

During the industrial revolution, great progress was registered in the means of transport and communication. The journey by sea, road and air became safe, quick and comfortable. The transport of goods from imperialist countries to the colonies became easily possible and raw materials became easily accessible to the industrialised countries; which did not hesitate to make military use of communication and transport facilities for the success of their imperialist designs.

3. Geographical discoveries:

Geographical discoveries led to the development of colonialism. They brought prosperity to the West and imperialism and exploitation to the East. Pioneering efforts in the field of geographical discoveries were made by explorers of Portugal and Spain. There was rivalry between Portugal and Spain. However, Pope Alexander VI (1498-1503) brought about an agreement between the two imperialist nations which signed the treaty of Tordesillas. According to this treaty Portugal and Spain were to share their discovered countries. As a result of this Spain established a big empire in American continent. Portugal could acquire Brazil but she built a large empire which spread over the parts of Africa, India, China, Japan and the East Indies.

Till the eighties of the 19th century Africa was free from European domination. The pioneering work of great explorers facilitated imperialist conquests. Eminent explorers such as Burton and Speke, Grant and Baker, Dr.Schweinfurth and Karl Vonder Decken opened up the Nile Valley. On the other hand Mongo Park, Major Laing, Caille, Clapperton, Barth and others explored the Sahara and Sudan. David Livingstone a missionary explored the Zambesi valley whereas Henry Morton Stanley and the French explorer De Brazza discovered the Congo. King Leopold of Belgium established

his imperialistic hold on the Congo. German explorer Gustav Nachtigal was instrumental in discovering Cameroon and Togoland where later on German protectorates were established. On the other hand eminent explorer Henry Hamilton Johnson worked on the ambitious project for the completion of Cape to Cairo route. Thus the discoveries of explorers exposed the entire continent of Africa to imperialist conquests. The period after 1870 witnessed the race for acquisition of colonies in Africa among the leading European imperialist countries. African continent being vulnerable fell like a ripe fruit in the lap of imperialists.

4. Political Causes

Certain political developments contributed to the spread of imperialism. A cursory glance to the history of colonization will lead us to the conclusion that England, France, Holland Portugal and Belgium were more enthusiastic for acquiring colonies overseas than Russia, Italy and Germany. This generalisation is based on the internal and external political environment of European countries. Examples of imperialist countries can be given to substantiate the fact that economic factors were not the sole determinants of imperialism.

(a) England, France, Holland Portugal, Spain and Belgium the enthusiastic supporters of Imperialism : Empire building preceded the industrial revolution in England. At a later stage empire building in India by the British East India Company was undertaken along with strides in industrial revolution. In England politicians differed on the issue of empire-building but it cannot be denied that the majority of statesmen of England vehemently supported British imperialism. Benjamin Disraeli the Earl of Beaconfield (1804-81) who was British Prime Minister in 1868 and again during 1874-80, was a staunch imperialist. He made great enterprising effort to buy shares of Suez Canal from Khedive of Egypt. For this enterprise Disraeli obtained the loan of 4 million pounds from Rothschilds who earned a huge profit of one lakh pounds in the deal. Queen Victoria admired Disraeli because it was he who initiated the proposal to arrange her coronation as the Empress of India in 1876. It may be recalled in retrospect that Gladstones government in England was averse to the purchase of Suez Canal shares. Like Britain, France and Holland had embarked on the path of imperialism prior to the industrial revolution. But the French and the Dutch had acquired a small empire and they were not as fortunate in empire-building as Great Britain. Similarly Portugal and Spain had established the tradtions of empire building well before indus-

trial revolution. Ther empire of these countries was too tiny to match with the British empire. Since Portugal and Spain could not register industrial progress, they had little voice in world politics.

(b) Germany, Italy and Russia late in the race for colonization: Though Germany was far ahead of France in industrialisation, yet she lagged behind France in imperialist expansion. Bismarck (1815-98) the Chancellor of Germany did not favour acquisition of colonies for Germany. However, German imperialism reached its zenith during the days of Kaiser William II who dismissed Bismarck in 1890. Emperor Kaiser William II believed in world politics or down fall. It was true that the sun never set on British empire and this fact sparked off Anglo-German rivalry in colonial expansion. Like Germany, Italy embarked on the policy of imperialist expansion quite late. During the course of hostilities in the first world war (1914-18) Italy deserted Germany and Austria and she concluded the secret Treaty of London (1915) and threw her weight infavour of Allied Powers with the sole objective to have some colonial acquisitions in North Africa. At Paris Peace Conference (1919) Italy laid her claims on Fiume and appealed to Allied Powers to implement the Treaty of London. Unfortunately Italy could not get Fiume and the Treaty of London was repudiated by the Allied Powers who added insult to injury by dubbing Italy at Paris Peace Conference as "Jackal on the Feast."

As regards Russia's imperialist expansion, it may be said that her empire included Siberia and other areas upto the boundaries of Persia, Afghanistan and India. However, it is important to note that all the European countries though industrialised, were not engaged in imperialist conquests. The notable exceptions are the countries like Norway, Sweden and Denmark which desisted to embark on the path of imperialism.

5. Aggressive Nationalism

In his book entitled "Outline of History" H. G. Wells says that nationalism became a monstrous cant which darkened all human affairs. The glorious legacy of the French Revolution was liberty equality, justice and nationalism. All these laudable ideals which inspired the stirring writings of Mazzini, Lord Byron, Schiller and a host of other writers, were eroded and this erosion resulted in the perverted form of aggressive nationalism which was responsible for aggressive wars. During the days of Kaiser William II aggressive national spirit was cultivated. German writers in his reign gave vent to this aggressive spirit. To quote Nietzsche "ye say, a good cause will hallow even war. I say unto you....A good war hallows

every cause. War and courage have accomplished greater things than love for neighbour". The imperialistic designs of Kaiser William II of Germany were manifested by his desire for world domination. This fantastic desire for world domination led to the out-break of first World War.Prior to this war the younger generation in Germany was indoctrinated with aggressive nationalism, which implied love for war, racial superiority, false sense of national pride and political subjugation of the weak countries. In consonance with the spirit generated during the days of Kaiser William II Prof Lamprecht remarked thus "After bloody victories, the world will be healed by being Germanised".

The false sense of national pride was also exhibited by Lord Curzon the Viceroy of India who justified the perpetuation of the British rule in India. While speaking to the Chamber of Commerce in February 1903 he declared "If I felt that we were not working here for the good of India in obedience to a higher law and a noble aim, then I must see the link that holds England and India together severed without a sigh. But it is because I believe in the future of this country and the capacity of our race to guide to goals that it has never hitherto attained, that I keep courage and press forward." In the opinion of Lord Curzon the British knew the Indian interests the best.

The great Public Schools of England also instilled in the minds of the English school boys a fiery desire to imitate the eminent empire builders like Cecil Rhodes, Lord Wellesley, Lord Dalhousie and others. In England the press which was controlled by the capitalists projected the glorious image of Imperialist England. The press reports, articles, cartoons and comments in Englands leading news papers glorified the concept of imperialism. Thus, British press became the main weapon to indoctrinate the people in favour of British imperialism.

Aggressive nationalism was the chief characteristic of Fascist Italy under Mussolini who said "Imperialism is the eternal and immutable law of life. Italian expansion is a matter of life and death. Italy must expand or perish." So it is no exaggeration to say that aggressive nationalism contributed to imperialism.

6. Need for Credible Defence in the event of War

It was believed that an empire not only enriched the imperialist nation but also strengthened it. The British imperialists were far - sighted enough to occupy the sea ports of strategic importance because these sea-ports served the commercial interests of British empire in the time of peace and they facilitated the safe and quick

movement of British armed forces in the time of war. Before the commencement of the second World War a British ship could sail for thousands of miles without touching any sea port of another Imperialist Power. For instance during war as well as in peace the voyage from Southampton to Hongkong was only a British affair touching all the British ports such as Gibraltar, Malta, Cairo, Suez canal, Aden, Gulf ports, Karachi, Bombay, Colombo, Rangoon, Singapore, and Hongkong. During the course of hostilities in the first World War and the second World War the vast resources of British empire were mobilised in order to inflict defeat on the enemy and protect freedom and democracy. Thus, resources of an empire strengthened the military power of the imperialist nation which could protoect its sovereignty and territorial integrity against any external attack.

7. Desire to Spread Christianity

The leading imperialist nations had predominantly Christian population. The imperialists and the Christian missionaries were good companions. The former desired to spread their power while the latter wanted to spread religion. The Christian missionaries served as good hand-maids of imperialists. With the geographical discoveries. the Christian missionaries went with the explorers, merchants and warriors to convert the people to Christianity. Conditions were highly favourable for the introduction of Christianity in the backward countries of Asia and Africa where ignorance, poverty and disease were rampant. In certain colonies Christian missionaries had done considerable work to ameliorate the condition of the native population. They opened charitable institutions and founded schools and hospitals. The stalwarts of Christianity who had the ulterior design of proselytization, could prove that Christianity was a soothing balm for the natives suffering from poverty and ignorance. Christianity could bring enlightenment to pagans. It was with this objective that the Christian missionaries operated in the colonies of the Imperialist Powers. Since the imperialist rulers were Christians, it would be easy for them to perpetuate their rule over the colonies if the native people living there were converted to Christianity.

8. Surplus Population

A great deal of propaganda was launched regarding the rapid growth of population in Europe. Due to strides in medical science the population of European countries was increasing at a rapid pace. On the other hand due to industrial revolution the urbanization emerged and the cities became too much congested. Hence, it was felt that the establishment of an empire would provide an outlet for surplus

population and the prevailing problem of unemployment in the cities, would be tackled if the people migrated to the colonies for permanent settlement.

9. Writings of political thinkers:

What aided and abetted imperialism was the work of political thinkers. Machiavelli in his famous treatise The Princeglorified the war. According to him end justified the means. The imperialists and their ardent advocates detected in the philosophical works of Hegel, Nietzsche, Treikschke, Gobineau and others, favourable material which justified imperialist expansion. Hegel glorified war and encouraged the national state to be aggressive. European imperialists began to believe that the West was blessed with superior white race which according to the will of Providence was entitled to rule over the inferior black and brown races in Afro-Asian countries.

10. State of International Anarchy

On the international scene there was state of anarchy. Prior to the opening of hostilities in the First World War, there was no international organisation which could do the work of mediation, arbitration and reconciliation between the belligerent nations. Might was right in international affairs. There were mutual rivalries among European Powers. France harboured a feeling of resentment against Germany which wrested from her the French territories of Alsace and Lorraine in 1871. Similarly Germany was jealous of British naval power. The relations of European Powers were so delicately balanced that no country could rely on the military support of any other country in case of war. So it was imperative for the European nations to build vast empires in order to have credible defence against external attack. Empires provided men and material to imperialist Powers which could maintain big armed forces. This military strength could work as a deterrent to any possible attack of an enemy country. Thus empire constituted a deterrent force for an Imperialist country. So in absence of international forum for settlement of disputes among nations, the political environment was vitiated by military adventures of powerful countries. In such circumstances, self help in the shape of military strength generated through the resources of an empire was deemed to be very essential.

C. Forms and Techniques of Imperialism

Modern imperialism has assumed various forms and techniques which are very subtle and sophisticated. The USA and the Soviet Union emerged as Super Powers after the end of the Second

World War. Both the Super Powers are now engaged in their efforts to adopt new forms and techniques of imperialism in order to outmanoeuvre each other in diplomacy, and spheres of influence. Each Super Power seems to have global strategy for gaining political and military advantage. The USA desires to establish her military superiority over the Soviet Union and she has been trying to win over the countries of Europe, Asia and Africa by giving financial aid at a massive scale. Grant of aid with strings is the part and parcel of US dollar diplomacy. Her sole objective is to stem the tide of communist expansion in the world. On the other hand Soviet Union is not in a position to match with the USA in grant of economic aid but she has been using all the weapons in her imperialist armoury in a less sophisticated style in order to strengthen world communist movement. The forms and techniques of modern imperialism are analysed as follows:

1. Armed Aggression and Outright Annexation

In early modern times Spain, France and Britain and other imperialist countries used to despatch military expeditions to conquer the distant lands. The armed forces of these countries over powered the armies of native people of the backward countries. The conquered territories were annexed to the empire. The technique of conquest and outright annexation was adopted by the British in case of India. In 1935 Italy launched military offensive against Ethiopia which was eventually annexed by her.

2. Grant of Concessions to Imperialist Powers

An imperialist Power may effect its entry into a backward country by seeking concessions in trade and commerce. The British and other European merchants took undue advantage of the economic concessions granted to them by the rulers of Indian States. Thus the British got foot-hold in India and ultimately they succeeded in establishing their supremacy over India by fishing into the troubled waters of Indian politics. Some times the weaker nations granted vital concessions to the Imperialist Powers under certain pressure or force of persuasion. For instance in 1903 German bankers and engineers got concession to build a long rail road which came to be known as Berlin Baghdad Railway. Similarly the King of Egypt had granted concessions to the British and French companies to build Suez Canal. In 1964 Cuba granted to Soviet Union a vital concession for installation of nuclear missiles in her territory but due to strong American opposition the Soviet Union was compelled to dismantle the nuclear missiles base in Cuba.

3. Lease hold

When an imperialist country obtains a strip of territory from a weaker nation with a right to govern it and exploit its economic resources such an arrangement is called lease-hold. In India and China European imperialists were able to obtain certain territories on lease. In India the Mughal Emperors the Maharajas and the Nawabs had ceded to the British their territories on lease. In these territories the British could carry on duty free trade, maintain their armed forces and build their forts. Eventually the British became the sovereign power in India by 1856.

The USA secured the lease of the Panama Canal. In 1898 the German Empire acquired a lease-hold of ninety-nine years stipulated duration over a part of the Shantung Peninsula in China. Similarly Great Britain had secured the lease of Hong Kong from China.

4. Sphere of Influence

When an imperialist country acquired an exclusive right to exploit and develop a backward region economically and claimed that other countries had no right to establish any form of control over it, it was called a "sphere of influence". According to Anglo-Russian Convention (1907) South Persia came under the sphere of influence of Great Britain while North Persia was recognized as sphere of influence of Russia. Similarly in 1904 France and England had agreed that Egypt would be under the sphere of influence of Britain whereas Morocco would be under French sphere of influence.

5. Protectorate

Protectorate is a territory which is ruled by its native nominal suzerain only in internal administration but the responsibility for the defence of that territory and the conduct of its foreign affairs will rest on the Imperialist Power. The native ruler has no right to establish diplomatic relations with any foreign country. Nor can the native ruler declare war or peace. Several protectorates had been established by the Imperialist Powers. For instance in 1912 France established a protectoraote over Morocco. When Turkey entered the First World War in December 1914, Turkish suzerainty over Egypt was abrogated and British protectorate over Egypt was established.

6. Economic Imperialism

Economic imperialism could assume the form of financial or tariff control. An imperialist country can exercise effective control over the economy of a weak country which may be politically

independent. The imperialist countries can exercise the leverage of economic control and can bring about the necessary change in the foreign policy of weaker countries which ultimately become aligned with imperialist countries. Thus economic control is another form of imperialism. Before the out break of the First World War the finances of Turkish Empire were managed by Ottoman Public Debt Administration, which was an organisation consisting of representatives of European imperialist countries.

The USA can exercise effective control over weaker nations by using the economic leverage known as dollar diplomacy. If any nations foreign policy is not in tune with US foreign policy the USA can erect tariff walls against the import of the goods of that country and stop US economic aid to that country.

Thus the USA can impose economic pressures on weaker nations. These economic pressures can be termed as economic imperialism.

7. Extra-territorial Rights

The right of extra-territoriality was a privilege whereby the Europeans were subjected to the jurisdiction of the courts of law of their home country even if they committed crimes in non-European countries. For instance China had signed extra-territorial agreements with several Western Powers. Accordingly if a French man committed an offence in China he was to be tried by a French judge according to French laws and not by a Chinese court under the Chinese laws. When Egypt was under the British sphere of influence the British nationals were exempted from direct taxation. Lord Warren Hastings the Governor General of India was impeached in British Parliament for his acts of omission and commission in India.

8. Mandate system

Yet another form of imperialism was Mandate system which was introduced at Paris Peace Conference of 1919 at the suggestion of General Smuts of South Africa. Most of the former German colonies and other weaker territories were assigned to the League of Nations which entrusted these colonies to European countries for carrying on administration and introducing reforms and creating conditions leading to self government. The governing countries were called Mandatories and the colonies entrusted to them were called mandated territories. The mandatories were required to submit to the permanent Mandates Commission established by the League of Nations the annual reports regarding the moral, material, social and political progress in the colonies assigned to them.

9. Ideological imperialism

The 20th century has ushered in an era of ideological imperialism. After the establishment of communist regime in Russia in 1917, the Western countries grew apprehensive of communist expansion in the world. The public utterances of the leaders of Soviet Union confirmed the apprehension of the prospective communist expansion. For instance Stalin had said "There could be no long range collaboration between the young dynamic world of communism and the dying corrupt world of capitalism. Hence forward the world revolution of world proletariat would be pressed with new vigour every where". Prime Minister Khrushchev of Soviet Union tried to establish superiority of communist system and underrated the democratic system. Thus, the ideological differences between the Soviet Union and Western Powers led to ideological imperialism. The Western countries are trying hard to stem the tide of communist expansion. The imperialist countries of the West are unwilling to grant independence to their colonies lest these colonies should go into communist fold. The East Europe has already gone under communist sway while China, Compuchia, Vietnam and Laos have also turned communist. The ideological imperialism has manifested itself in the presence of various communist parties in several democratic countries. On the other hand the USA and her allies are trying to propagate the principles of liberty individual dignity and protection of human rights in communist countries through various devices, such as propaganda through the media of press, radio and television, dissemination of political literature, and grant of facilities for tourism to people of communist countries. All these devices are designed to force a break through into the iron curtains of the Soviet Union and to bring about the cultural revolution in the people of communist countries. The Western countries are keen to drive out a wedge between the Soviet Union and China. To certain extent the Western imperialist countries have succeeded in creating split in the Communist Bloc.

There has been no rapprochement between the Soviet Union and Communist China while on the other hand China which under the leadership of Mao-Tse-Tung used to launch virulent attack on the Western Imperialists, through the media of mass communication is now soft to these imperialists. This change in the Chinese attitude is due to the fact that during the days of President Nixon of USA, China was admitted in the UN General Assembly. She became the permanent member of Security Council. In 1985 Great Britain concluded an agreement with China regarding the termination of lease of Hong Kong. There has been exchange of cultural delegations

between China and Western Imperialists. Thus ideological war is going on between the Free World and Communist World; and the leaders of both the Blocs are keen to seize every opportunity to increase their own influence in the third world.

D. Imperialism and Imperialistic Rivalries

(a) The Second half of the 19th century is regarded as the Age ge of the New Imperialism. In 20th century imperialism reached its climax and slowly and steadily anti climax in the shape of decolonization has also begun. The progress of imperialist conquests in various continents is discussed as follows:

(1) Imperialism in Africa

Scramble for acquiring colonies in Africa began in the last three decades of 19th century.

(i) Spain acquired Morocco, the Canary Islands, some islands on the Guinea Coast, Rio de Oro and Rio Muni. These colonies were quite small and under-developed.

(ii) Portugal acquired more profitable colonies in Africa. She established her control over Angola, Mozambique and some other islands.

(iii) In 1870, British explorer Henry Stanley described the rich rubber resources of the huge Congo region in Central Africa to King Leopold II of Belgium. The astute and cunning monarch organised a private commercial corporation with himself as its president. African chiefs were persuaded, tricked and bullied in giving away their lands to this corporation which began to control the huge Congo region. The corporation later on handed over its lands to King Leopold. A so called "Congo Free State" was formed with King Leopold II of Belgium as its sovereign.

(iv) Germany joined the race for colonial acquisition quite late. She had acquired some territories such as Tanganyika Cameroons, East Africa, South West Africa and Togoland but after the end of the first World War the Allied Powers deprived Germany of all these colonies.

(v) Italy also did not lag behind in imperialist conquests. She secured Eritrea on the Red Sea. In 1912 she obtained Libya from Turkey. Italy also tried to annex Ethiopia but in 1898 the Italian forces had to suffer a crushing defeat in the battle of Adowa. However, Italy under Mussolini conquered Ethiopia in 1935-36 and lost it during the Second World War (1939-45).

(vi) France was one of the leading imperialist Powers. She had already acquired Algeria. In 1881 she established a protectorate over Tunis and later over Morocco. France ventured to exercise her control over Egypt but due to stiff British resistance she abandoned her plans to conquer Egypt. However, on the West coast of Africa, France had already secured Senegal. She also acquired upper Nigeria and a strip of territory of Congo which was called French Congo. In West Africa, France had succeeded in establishing its political control over Dahomey and Ivory Coast.

(vii) Holland was a traditional imperialist country. She acquired Natal, the Orange Free State and the Transvaal. In 1910 Cape Colony, Natal, the Orange Free State and the Transvaal formed the Union of South Africa.

(viii) British Colonies in Africa: Great Britain was more successful in the acquisition of colonies in Africa than her counterparts in European continent. Britain established her control over Kenya, Uganda, Zanzibar and a part of Somaliland in East Africa. On the other hand in West Africa she secured Gambia, Gold Coast (Ghana), Nigeria and Sierra Leone. In central Africa Britain acquired Rhodesia and Nyasaland where as in North Africa she established her control over Egypt, Suez Canal and Sudan. After the Napoleonic Wars Great Britain wrested Cape Colony from Holland.

After geographical explorations, European imperialists embarked on the path of acquiring colonies in the continent of Asia. The imperialist countries launched military campaigns to acquire colonies in Asia as early as fifteenth century. By the beginning of 20th century practically entire Asia came under the control of Western Imperialist Powers. With the exception of Japan and Thailand, practically all the territories of Asia came under foreign subjugation.

(i) British imperialism in Asia: By 1856 the British had conquered India. She fished into the troubled waters of Indian politics and played one Indian state against another and thus reduced the power of native rulers. She also outmanoeuvred her principal rival the French East India Company in diplomacy as well as in war. Thus British supremacy was established over India by 1856 and India was considered as the brightest jewel in the British Crown. By the end of 19th century Burma and Baluchistan were annexed to British empire in India.

In South-East Asia Britain acquired Singapore and Malacca. During 1881-1888 she established her control over one third of the island of Borneo. In 1907 she got a sphere of influence in Southern Persia according to Anglo-Russian Convention. During the period

between 1839 and 1901 Britain established a series of protectorates from Aden to Kuwait. In 1842 according to Treaty of Nanking Great Britain secured Hong Kong from China. After 1898 Britain enjoyed a privileged position in Tibet and the Yangtze Valley in China. By the end of 19th century Great Britain ruled over one-third of the whole population of Asia.

(ii) French imperialism in Asia: As early as 1850 King Napoleon III of France waged war against Annam and acquired some of its territory. This served as a foundation for the edifice of French empire in Far East. In 1863 France conquered Cambodia and in 1867 she established her sovereign control over Cochin China and later on in 1873 Tonkin a part of Annam was wrested by France. All these territories were united and they constituted French Indo-China. In 1896 France got a sphere of influence in a part of Siam. In India France had a few territorial acquisitions such as Chandranagar, Pondicherry, Karikal and Mahe. In 1899 France got the lease of Kwangchow from China and secured a privileged position in the Chinese provinces of Kwangsi and Hainan.

(iii) Portuguese imperialism in Asia: Portugal was one of traditional imperialist countries. In India she acquired Goa Daman and Diu. She secured Macao off the coast of China and a part of Timor island in the East Indies.

(iv) Dutch imperialism in Asia: The Dutch established the Dutch East Indian Empire which is today known as Indonesia. The Dutch empire was later extended by the conquest of the islands of Sumatra, Java, Celebes, a large strip of territory of Borneo and a half of New Guinea.

(v) German imperialism in Asia: By the end of 19th century Germany had acquired the north eastern part of New Guinea. This territory was renamed as Kaiser Wilhelmsland. In 1898 Germany acquired a lease of part of Kiaochow and Shantung.

(vi) Russian imperialism in Asia: Russia had conquered Siberia. She was very much interested in the disintegration and dismemberment of Turkish empire. After 1850 Russia pushed her frontier through Turkestan and several other areas of West Central Asia to the borders of India, Afghanistan and Persia. In 1907 she secured a sphere of influence in North Persia.

(vii) Emergence of Japan as imperialist power in Far East: While the European Powers were engaged in their efforts to carve out colonial empires, Japan did not sit as an idle spectator. She also turned imperialist and began to look upon the territory of China with

an eye of convetousness. Japan began to interfere in Korean affairs in order to fulfil her imperialist designs. This interference culminated in Sino-Japanese war of 1894-95 in which Korea was completely detached from the Chinese empire. Japan acquired the island of Formosa. Japan would have acquired Port Arthur and the Liaotung Peninsula, if Russia, France and Germany had not intervened in the matter. Japan resented Russian interference because she was deprived of spoils of the above war. Ultimately the strained relations between Russia and Japan resulted in Russo Japanese war (1904-5) which came to an end with the Treaty of Portsmouth. According to this treaty Japan acquired from Russia the lease of port Arthur and the Liaotung Peninsula. Japan also secured the island of Sakhalin from Russia. These territorial gains enhanced the prestige of Japan.

3. U. S. Imperialism

During the 19th century the USA emerged as leading industrialized country. Her national interests demanded markets for the export of her goods. Since America cherished the laudable principle of liberty, she did not advocate the abrogation of national sovereignty of any country. Her politicians devised subtle ways to promote American political and economic interests. Some of these devices are discussed as follows:

(i) Open Door Policy: American capitalists wanted foreign markets for the sale of their manufactured goods and they also were interested to invest in foreign markets. American leaders adopted shrewd devices to achieve their objectives. They advocated the policy of "Open Door" in China and persuaded the other Imperialist Powers to adhere to this policy. Thus in principle America supported the political sovereignty of China but the socalled "Open Door Policy" in China was a shrewd way to keep China open to economic exploitation.

(ii) Monroe Doctrine: In 1823 US President Monroe had enunciated his famous Monroe Doctrine; which implied that the USA would not tolerate any attempt by the European Powers to reestablish their authority over those Latin American Republics which had won independence from European domination. Paradoxically Monroe Doctrine served American economic interests. Ourwardly Monroe Doctrine exhibited American resolve to protect the territorial integrity and political sovereignty of Latin American states which were formerly the colonies of European imperialist countries. Now due to Monroe Doctrine, eclipse of influence of European imperialist states in American Continent facilitated the American

control over the economies of the poor Latin American countries. Thus through economic aid and trade relations, America succeeded in persuading the regimes of Latin American states to adopt such foreign policy as would suit American national interests. This dollar imperialism of the USA caused resentment and dissatisfaction among European Powers particularly Britain, France and Spain. These European countries formerly had established their control over several colonies in American continent and they often tried to thwart US designs. But America zealously adhered to Monroe doctrine and always insisted on exclusion of control of any European Imperialist Power in states of Latin America.

(iii) Increase of American influence in Latin America: The following instances show the decline of power of European imperialists in Latin America and ascendancy of the US:

(a) Blockade of Venezuela: In 1902 the British and Germans blockaded Venezuela and tried to take over the Venezuela Customs Office by force. On this critical occasion US President, Theodore Roosevelt declared that the USA would not permit the take over of the Venezuela Customs Office by Britain and Germany. However, Britain and Germany relented and abandoned their design. Ultimately the issue was settled by the Hague Court in 1904.

(b) The Dominican Republic under economic pressure: The Dominican Republic had taken loan from Germany, Italy and Spain. After some time these countries insisted that the Dominican Republic should return the loan immediately. At this critical juncture the Dominican Republic appealed to US President Theodore Roosevelt to come to her aid. In response to this appeal, USA gave economic aid to the Dominican Republic and later on virtually established her protectorate over it.

(c) US armed intervention in Nicaragua: In 1912 US President Taft sanctioned the use of American troops to support one of the factions in the Republic of Nicaragua. Ultimately the faction supported by American armed forces gained ascendancy in the Republic of Nicaragua which became a satellite state of the USA.

(d) USA and Hawaiian Islands: In 1898 the USA annexed Hawaiian islands and in 1887 she had secured the lease of Pearl Harbour. America waged war with Spain in 1898 because her battleship was blown up in Havana harbour. In this tragedy Spanish hand was suspected because she was the principal rival of the USA in Carribean sea. The USA destroyed the Spanish Pacific fleet in the Manila Bay in the Philippines and sank her Atlantic fleet outside Santiago in Cuba. Ultimately Spain was defeated and she signed a

peace treaty with the USA. According to the terms of the treaty Spain recognized Cuban independence and ceded Puerto Rico and the Philippines to the Americans.

(iv) The predominant position of the USA in the Pacific : In 1867 USA had purchased Alaska from Russia and in the same year she acquired the Midway islands. In 1900 she occupied the Wake Island and with the annexation of the Hawaiian Islands and the Philippines, America had emerged a leading Power in the Pacific by the end of 19th century.

(v) USA and the Panama Canal : During the last decade of 19th century the USA had undertaken the construction work of the Panama Canal for strategic and commercial considerations. The USA ignored the rights of Colombia over the Panama Canal which was constructed on the 10 mile strip of land across Isthumas which was a part of Colombia. The people of Panama were provoked to rebel against Colombia in November 1903. Panama was made to secede from Colombia. American marines occupied Panama and successfully prevented Colombian troops from landing in Panama. US President Theodore Roosevelt encouraged the secessionist movement in Panama and thus promoted the paramount interests of American imperialism.

(vi) Dollar imperialism of the USA : Like European imperialist countries America needed markets for the sale of her manufactured goods. She was also ambitious of investing in foreign markets because she had huge surplus capital. She was in search of an industrial rather than territorial empire. In such an industrial empire US dollar can dictate terms. Commenting on the role of US dollar in the context of US imperialism Dr. Eddy Asirvatham has aptly remarked thus: "The United States is able to exert a powerful influence over the economic and even the political conditions of Central and South America as well as of other parts of the world by means of her vast investments. This kind of diplomacy known as dollar diplomacy is almost as effective as a foreign army of occupation. If money talks, the American dollar shouts". America gave economic aid to the developing countries of Asia and Africa with strings which ultmately diluted the sovereignty of the recipient nations. These nations continued to be beneficiaries as long as they followed the foreign policy which suited American national interests.

(vii) US global Strategy to contain Communism : American leaders are obsessed with the idea of spread of communism. Recently communism has gained ground in some parts of the world; such as

North Vietnam, South Vietnam, Campuchia and Afghanistan. Cuba and Libya and Syria are pro-communist regimes. So according to US, the free world has suffered these reverses. So America is engaged in frantic efforts to maintain military superiority over the Soviet Union. The talk of Star War programme of US President Ronald Reagan, and the US repudiation of SALT 2 Agreement and unwillingness of the US to put moratorium on underground nuclear tests are the manifestations of American determination to establish military superiority over the Soviet Union. The US has world wide strategy to contain communism. Her aid to Pakistan and Turkey and installation of military bases in various parts of world are designed to contain communism. In such circumstances there cannot be detente between Super Powers. Thus US imperialism has resulted in polarization which has led to mounting tension in the world.

(B) Imperialistic Rivalries :

After 1870 scramble for Africa began and the imperialist European countries in the quest for acquisition of colonies occasionally clashed with one another. European countries were also pre-occupied with their problem of national security. So they were keen to occupy the colonies of strategic importance. Yet another cause of imperialistic rivalries was an inordinate desire to acquire a vast empire which was the source of fabulous wealth. When various imperialist countries were engaged in the race for colonial expansion, there could be clash of interests and this state of affairs inevitably led to military confrontation among them. A brief account of imperialistic rivalries is given as follows:

(1) The Boer War between the British and the Dutch:

In the scramble for Africa, Great Britain got the lions share. During the Napoleonic Wars Britain wrested the Cape Colony from the Dutch who harboured a feeling of resentment against Britain. Due to British occupation of the Cape Colony, the Dutch settlers of the Cape colony migrated northwards and settled in the three republics of Natal Orange Free State and the Transvaal. Natal however was forcibly occupied by the British. Due to the discovery of gold mines in Transvaal many Englishmen settled there. The Britishers under the leadershipof Cecil Rhodes claimed their legitimate share in the government of the Transvaal. The Dutch, under President Paul Kruger stoutly refused to recognise British claims for share in the administration. Thus confrontation between the British and the Dutch became inevitable. The war began in 1899 and the hostilities ended in 1902. This war is known as the Boer War. The

Dutch settlers who were called Boers were defeated by the British. Thus the Dutch lost their power in Transvaal and the British supremacy was established.

(2) Anglo French rivalry and Fashoda incident:

Britain acquired decisive influence in the management and control of the hundred mile long Suez Canal. The canal was completed with the consent of the Khedive (ruler) of Egypt, by the French engineer Ferdinand de Lesseps in 1869. The British Prime Minister Disraeli took a wise step of purchasing 176000 shares of the Suez Canal Company from the Khedive of Egypt and thus established British control over the canal. Gradually and progressively the British established their political control over Egypt. After gaining control over Egypt the British wanted to establish their supremacy over Sudan. Egypt, is known as the gift of the Nile. The upper reaches of the river Nile are in Sudan. In pursuance of British imperialist designs, Lord Kitchener moved into Sudan during the period 1896-98 and constructed a railway there. The Sudanese offered stubborn resistance to the British but they were overpowered in September 1898 in the battle of Omdurman. The British troops occupied Khartoum the Capital of Sudan. Meanwhile a French military expedition led by Captain Marchand had set out from the French Congo to explore and occupy the upper reaches of the Nile. In July 1898 Captain Marchand reached the Nile at a place called Fashoda where he planted the French flag. Since Kitchener won the battle of Omdurman in 1898, the British declared Sudan as the part of Egypt. So Kitchener proceeded to occupy Fashoda. The armed conflict between the French army under Captain Marchand and the British army under Kitchener seemed to be imminent. But the war was averted due to the far sightedness and political sagacity of French Foreign Minister Delcasse (1898-1905) who was an ardent advocate of Anglo French friendship against the rising power of Germany. So the French government ordered Captain Marchand to evacuate Fashoda. In 1899 the French renounced their claim to Sudan and this paved the way for Anglo-French alliance of 1904.

(3) Tension between Germany and France over the issue of Morocco:

England had allowed France a free hand in Morocco in return for a free hand in Egypt.

Spain also laid her claims to Morocco but France amicably settled the issue in 1904 and she recognised Spanish rights over a part of Morocco. But there remained Germany to be reckoned with. France was the de facto sovereign of Morocco but she allowed the

Sultan of Morocco to continue as a puppet ruler. In 1905 Kaiser William II the Emperor of Germany visited Tangier in Morocco and recognized the Sultan as the real sovereign of Morocco. Obviously Germany wanted to create trouble in Morocco. France tried to win over Germany but Germany insisted that a conference should be held to settle the issue of Morocco. In 1906 a conference was held at Algeciras and after protracted negotiations the Moroccan crisis was averted. In 1909 Germany recognized the special political interests of France in Morocco but France conceded certain economic concessions to Germany in Morocco. In 1911 tension mounted as Moroccan crisis flared up again. Germany sent a gun boat to Agadir. However, saner counsels prevailed between France and Germany and the war was averted by an agreement by which Germany renounced her claims in Morocco in return for a part of the French Congo.

(4) Anglo-French conflict in India:

The British East India Company and the French East India Company clashed in India in 18th century in the struggle for gaining supremacy in India. In this struggle British East India Company defeated French Company in the famous three wars known as Anglo French Carnatic Wars. The Britishers emerged victorious and gained control over Madras and Carnatic. With the eclipse of French influence in India the British gained ascendancy in India. By 1856 the Britishers built a majestic empire in India.

(5) Russo-Japanese rivalry for colonial acquisitions in China:

England and France had penetrated into China. The Chinese rulers imposed a ban on import of opium but European merchants smuggled the drug. So the opium war began in 1839 and hostilities were terminated according to the Treaty of Nanking in 1842. England secured the port of Hong Kong and other ports such as Canton and Shanghai were thrown open for European merchants. In 1858 second opium war broke out and in this war China was defeated and she had to sign the humiliating treaties of Tientsin according to which China gave a number of concessions to England and France and other European settlers.

Due to the weakness of China, her neighbouring countries such as Russia and Japan began to look upon Chinese territories with an eye of covetousness. In 1895 Japan conquered Formosa a Chinese territory and the Pescadores islands of China. The Sino-Japanese war (1894-95) came to an end by the Treaty of Shimono Sheki (April 1895). According to this treaty China ceded to Japan the Liao-Tung Peninsula and Port Arthur and island of Formosa. However, Russia, Germany and France did not tolerate the acquisition of above

territories by Japan. So they exercised diplomatic pressure on Japan and ultimately Japan had to return to China Liao-tung Peninsula and Port Arthur.

Russo-Japanese War (1904-5) : As stated above Japan was deprived of the fruits of the Treaty of Shimono-Sheki (1895) on account Russian pressure. So Japan harboured a feeling of resentment against Russia. Russia also did not recognize Japans special interests in Korea. She did not accept the suggestion of Japan to respect the independence and integrity of China and Korea. The war broke out between Russia and Japan in February 1904. Japan inflicted crushing defeat on Russia which had to sign the humiliating treaty of Portsmouth (1905). According to the provisions of this treaty Russia recognized Japans paramount political military and economic interest in Korea. With Chinas approval the lease of Port Arthur, Dairen and the adjacent areas of the Liaotung Peninsula were to be transferred by Russia to Japan. Thus Japan wreaked her vengeance on Russia.

(6) Imperialist rivalries after World War I :

During the first world war Britain and France were allies and they crushed their common enemy Germany; but after the end of the war England and France had different perceptions regarding the position of Germany. France was mortally afraid of German re-armament and she vehemently insisted that Germany should not be allowed to repudiate any provision of the Treaty of Versailles which should be vigorously applied. Britain on the other hand began to regard a strong Germany as a fitting bulwark against communism. She was in favour of the re-armament of Germany and relaxation of the economic provisions of the Treaty of Versailles. Due to this different approach to Germany, both France and Britain could not cultivate cordial relations. Jawaharlal Nehru in his most celebrated book entitled "Glimpses of World History" has aptly remarked thus: "From early in 1922 Anglo French friction became a chronic feature of European politics. On the surface there were smiles and courteous words; but the two governments often pulled in different directions."

Yet another development manifesting imperialistic rivalries took place on international scene. Rise of Japan in Far East was viewed with grave concern and anxiety by the ruling circles of the USA, Australia and Canada. Japan and Britain were friends after Anglo-Japanese Treaty of 1902. However, the USA was determined to prevent Japan from securing a strangle hold over China, because American capitalists were interested to exploit China. America advocated the cause of territorial integrity and political sover-

eignty of China and insisted on the Open Door Policy with regard to China so that her capitalists might start commercial enterprises in China. At this juncture Great Britain was placed in a curious dilemma. She had to choose between the friendship of the U.S.A. and the friendship of Japan. She had to sacrifice her friendship with Japan and joined hands with the U.S.A. This unfriendly posture of Britain was a great affront to Japan. So Japan aligned herself with Axis powers i.e. Germany and Italy before the outbreak of the second World War.

(7) Imperialist rivalries between Super Powers after World War II :

After the end of the world war II the USA and the Soviet Union emerged as Super Powers. Soviet Union was keen to expand communism in the world and she has succeeded in this objective. Various East European countries such as Bulgaria, Rumania, East Germany, Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia, Poland and Hungary had gone into communist fold. On the other hand China, Vietnam, Campuchia and Mongolia have turned communist. The spread of communism has become a menacing development for the USA and her allies. On one hand the Soviet Union is trying to incite the communist parties to grab power in non-communist countries by adopting fair or foul means. On the other hand America has adopted a subtle device of dollar imperialism. She gives economic aid to those non-communist countries which pursue a foreign policy in favour of national interests of the USA. Indeed America has succeeded in winning over several countries on account of her dollar diplomacy. Commenting on the efficacy of dollar diplomacy Dr.Eddy Asirvatham observes thus "The United States is able to exert a powerful influence over the economic and political conditions of Central and South America as well as of other parts of the world by means of her vast investments. This kind of diplomacy known as dollar diplomacy is almost as effective as a foreign army of occupation. If money talks the American dollar shouts." It is obvious that the USA is determined to stem the tide of communist expansion. In order to achieve this objective, the United States has acquired several military bases in various parts of the world. She is very much zealous of protecting the free world. In 1964 the Soviet Union installed a nuclear missiles base in Cuba. President Kennedy of the USA gave ultimatum to the Soviet Union to dismantle the base in Cuba which jeopardized the security of America. The world seemed to be on the brink of war. However, saner counsels prevailed and the government of Soviet Union under Khrushchev dismantled the nuclear base. Thus a serious crisis was averted and the world community heaved a sigh of relief. It is clear that both the Super Powers have global strategy. Both the countries

have different perceptions with regard to international affairs. Both are trying to fish into the troubled waters of political situation in various parts of the world in order to promote their national interests. In this process clash of interests is inevitable between the two Super Powers. Today imperialist rivalries between the USA and the Soviet Union are manifested in the shape of hurling polemics on each other, offensive propaganda through press, creation of hindrances in disarmament, dollar diplomacy, installation of military bases, and over throw of regimes in third world countries through military coups.

E. Impact of Imperialism

Modern imperialism has registered a decisive impact on the social, economic and political life of the people of the colonies. The imperialism had both positive and negative effect on the life of native people of the subject nations.

(I) Positive results of imperialism :

The following were the positive results of imperialism on the life of the people of the colonies:

(1) Efficient administration :

The imperialist countries provided efficient administration. A sound system of civil service was introduced. For instance Indian Civil Service could boast of its high standard of competence and integrity. Even after the attainment of independence in 1947, the wheels of the government moved without dislocation as the British had built a sound and tested civil service.

(2) Establishment of Modern Judiciary :

In medieval India, there was no uniformity in judicial system. On the other hand the punishments awarded to the offenders were barbaric. The mutilation of limbs had no place in Western judicial system. According to British judicial system, the punishments were given in accordance with gravity of the offence. The High Courts and the Federal Court established in India during British rule evoked praise for the high standards of British judicial administration.

(3) Propagation of modern political concepts :

The new political concepts of nationalism, liberalism and democracy took roots in the subject nations. The western concept of the rule of law and ideals of liberty and equality were introduced in India by the British imperialists. The western education proved to be a boon for the people of subject nations. These people now began to

struggle for those laudable ideals of freedom and democracy which were cherished by the Western imperialists. India was a great beneficiary because western education lifted this country out of her stagnation of fanaticism, fantasies and the traditional outlook. The English literary thought - Byrons praise for liberty, Wordsworths upholding of the dignity of mankind, the spirit of nationalism and love of democracy and self-government of Englands great political writers such as Locke, Spencer, J.S.Mill, Macaulay and Burke, the "no taxation without representation" cry of the American War of Independence, the Equality, Liberty and Fraternity of the French Revolution - all these registered a decisive impact on the people of India. Indian National Movement got great impetus on account of Indias association with British imperialism. Commenting on the progress of Indian nationalism, Ramsay Macdonald writes "Herbert Spencers individualism and Lord Macaulays liberalism are the only battery of guns which India has captured from us and condescends to use against us."

(4) Westernisation :

Society was westernised in the countries which came into contact with western imperialism. The people who had the benefit of getting Western education, imitated the Europeans in food, dress, manners and usages. The educated native people of the subject nations got rid of narrow mindedness and prejudices and became liberal and broad-minded. Westernisation completely changed the mental out-look of Indians who spearheaded the national movement and purged the society of its evils.

(5) Social reforms :

Imperialists removed obnoxious social customs and practices like cannibalism, serfdom, and slavery. In India social evils such as sati system, child marriage, infanticide and untouchability were prevalent. The British imperialists introduced various reforms and purged the Indian society of its evil customs.

(6) Industrialization :

Great economic changes were introduced by imperialists in Afro-Asian countries by industrialization. Modern large scale industries were established and for the transportation of goods the means of transport and communication were developed. The railways, telephones, telegraph the wireless, the aeroplanes and the ships conquered the distance. These facilities led to the growth of trade and commerce and provided a boost to world trade. The indigenous trading communities of the subject nations derived maximum bene-

fit from the above facilities. A new consciousness dawned on the native population for achievement of higher standard of living. In this respect imperialism was blessing in disguise.

II. Bad consequences of Imperialism :

Modern imperialism with all its above mentioned benefits was replete with dire consequences for the people of subject nations. The adverse effects of imperialism are summarized as follows:

(1) Loss of Independence of backward countries of Asia and Africa :

Due to European imperialism the poor countries of Asia and Africa could not maintain their political sovereignty and territorial integrity. After 1870 the scramble for Africa began and the process of colonization was accelerated. Great Britain added 4.25 million square miles of territory with 65 million people to her empire between 1870 to 1900. Yet another imperialist country France annexed 3.5 million square miles of territory with 26 million people to her empire. On the other hand in Asia Russia added five lakhs square miles of territory with 6.5 million people to her empire whereas Germany added one million square miles with 13 million people to her empire. Italy acquired 185000 square miles with 750000 people and Belgium secured 9 lakhs square miles with 8.5 million people. However the old colonial empires of Portugal and the Dutch remained intact and assumed special significance. Thus both the continents of Asia and Africa were turned into European colonies.

(2) International tension due to colonial rivalries :

The simultaneous colonial expansion of Western Imperialist Powers in the regions of Asia and Africa during the last quarter of 19th century caused frequent wars at various places in Asia and Africa because of conflicting colonial claims and border disputes. The major colonial collisions were five (1) between Great Britain and France over Egypt and the Sudan (2) between Britain and Germany over South Africa, (3) Great Britain and Russia over Persia, (4) between Russia and Japan over China (1904-05) and (5) between Germany and France over the issue of Morocco (1905-11). All the colonial conflicts took place due to political, strategic and economic considerations. These conflicts accelerated arms race among the imperialist countries; and ultimately European continent was divided into two armed camps before the outbreak of the first World War. It was the delicate network of alliances and counter alliances which eventually resulted in the out-break of the first World War. Thus imperialist rivalries were responsible for the commencement of hostilities during the first World War.

(3) Ruthless economic exploitation of the colonies :

The people of the colonies were subjected to ruthless exploitation by the imperialist countries. The British in India, Egypt and other colonies, the French in Indo-China, Morocco and Algeria, the Portuguese in Angola, Mozambique and other places, the Dutch in the East Indies, the Japanese in Manchuria and European settlers in China ruthless exploited the native people. The essence of barbarism manifested itself in the atrocities perpetrated to the native population by the imperialists. The advanced Christian nations of the West were unchristian in the treatment meted out to the native people of the colonies. In this context P.T.Moon in his book entitled "Imperialism and World Politics" has commented on Belgium imperialism in Congo in these words: "There can be little doubt that in some areas a practice was made of holding women as hostages for the delivery of the required rubber tribute by their husbands. Nor can it be denied that thousands of executions occurred, that native rebellions had to be put down in blood; that the thousands of natives fled from the country to escape the Leopoldian variety of civilisation." Commenting on a British imperialist, P.T.Moon has sarcastically remarked thus: "There is Cecil Rhodes business adventurer and magnificent egotist, amassing millions by ruthless monopoly of South African gold and diamonds, dreaming of continents as British provinces and using all the power of his wealth and personality to advance by fair means or foul, the imperialism of which he was so lusty a son."

In the same vein Lala Murlidhar of Punjab had aptly remarked thus: "What fair play can there be between impoverished India and bloated capitalist England? What are all these chandeliers and lamps, and European made chairs and tables and smart clothes and hats and English coats and bonnets and frocks and silver mounted canes and all the luxurious fittings of your houses but the trophies of Indias misery, mementoes of Indias starvation".

(4) Racial discrimination :

The native people of the colonies were not given due share in the administration and policy of racial discrimination was adopted by all the imperialist countries. For instance in India all the key posts were reserved for the Europeans while Indians were no better than "the helots of the land the hewers of wood and drawers of water." The government discriminated against educated Indians in every branch of administration. This discrimination assumed wide proportions when Lord Salisbury reduced the maximum age for admission to the Indian Civil Service to 19. In India Indian judges

were not permitted to try the Europeans. However, Lord Ripon intoduced the Ilbert Bill which permitted the Indian judges to try the Europeans. This sparked off the political agitation of the European community which hurled open abuses on the Governor General throwing all propriety and moderation to winds. Ultimately Lord Ripon was constrained to withdraw the controversial Ilbert Bill. Such was the obsession with the idea of racial superiority of the European community in India.

(5) Violation of human rights and erosion of morality :

The imperialists deprived the native people of the subject nations of their basic human rights; such as right to live with dignity and right to freedom of expression. Imperialists believed that they were far superior to native people. Some imperalists in their racial pride and arrogance treated the native people like beasts, denying them fair and decent treatment due to human beings. The unfortunate people of the colonies were given brutal treatment like beating, kicking, maiming and mutilation. Imperialists like Lord Wellesley, Lord Dalhousie and Lord Curzon condemned the Indians as unworthy of trust and civilized treatment. The Europeans had no moral compunction to desist from condemning the native people. In India, boards with the inscription: "Indians and dogs not allowed" were hung at the entrance of certain hotels and clubs which were exclusively meant for entertaining the Europeans. In India during pre-independence period travel in first class compartment was prohibited for Indians. German imperialists and Europeans in South Africa were more severe than the British in India on the native population and they violated all the canons of morality and civilised norms of social intercourse. Dr Eddy Asirvatham points out that in German colonies before the first World War "the whitemen carried around whips as naturally as they carried handkerchiefs." In South Africa the Europeans practised the worst type of racial discrimination throughthe policy of apartheid or racial segregation keeping Negroes, Indians and other coloured people in the ghettoes. The imperialists had contemptuous disregard for individual dignity. The Britishers used to refer to middle class Indians as "Niggers" in certain Indian towns and excluded them from their functions. The highly westernised Indian was contemptuously dubbed as a WOG i.e. "Westernised Oriental Gentleman". Thus the European imperialists used to deal with the native people from the position of strength and racial superiority. They never dealt with the coloured people on equal terms. Such a discriminative treatment meted out to the native people was highly invidious and contrary to Christian ethics.

(6) Imperialism and Christian Missionaries :

It was largely due to imperialism that Christianity spread in the colonies. In Asia Christianity did not make much headway as far as numbers were concerned but the ideals of Christianity had tremendous impact on the native people. It was harmful for Christianity that it became tied to chariot wheels of imperialism. Many poeple in Asia and Africa had a tremendous respect for Christ. The image of the gentle Lord, cruelly crucified by the Roman imperialism had tremendous appeal to the people of persecuted humanity. It was most unfortunate for Christianity that the Christian missionaries belonged to the class which persecuted and exploited the people of subject nations. The Christian missonaries earned notoriety for their proselytizing zeal but it cannot be denied that most of the missonaries were devoted and selfless and they led simple lives caring for the poor, the sick and the aged. However, the missionaries, whatever their intentions and tactics might be, promoted the cause of imperialism directly or indirectly. The leading London Missionary Society was directly connected with the propagation of British imperialism in Africa. Like-wise David Livingstone was the most prominent missionary associated with British empire building in Africa. Calvin Coolidge (1872-1933) had said "The legions which America sends forth are armed not with the sword but with the cross."

P.T. Moon in his book entitled "Imperialism and world politics" has commented on the conspicuous role of missionaries in advancing imperialist cause. He has observed thus "Going out to preach a Kingdom not of this world, missionaries found themselves very often builders of very earthly empires. And while missionaries toiled in heathen lands, enthusiastic missionary societies at home and the leaders of the churches, learned to take a direct interest in Asia, Africa and South Sea Islands and urge upon statesmen the need of extending civilized Christian government over benighted pagans".

2

EMERGENCE OF JAPAN AS GREAT POWER

OUTLINE :

(A) Immigration of Europeans in Japan.
(B) Modernisation of Japan (1868-1894).
(C) Sino-Japanese War (1894-95).
(D) Anglo Japanese Alliance (1902).
(E) Russo-Japanese War (1904-05).
(F) Japan's Participation in the First World War and Paris Peace Conference (1919).
(G) Japan's Foreign Policy Between the Two World Wars.
(H) Post World War II — Developments in Japan in Economic and Political Spheres and Her Foreign Policy Since 1945.

(A) Immigration of Europeans in Japan

The phenomenal rise of Japan to the position of a Great Power by the end of the 19th century had earned for it the name of "the Rising Sun of the East". Japan consists of a group of islands around four main islands of volcanic origin. It is situated in the Far East about 110 miles away from Korea in the Pacific ocean. Japan has several harbours in the coast line of 17200 miles. Thus, Japan is a marine nation.

(1) American Commodore Perry's Visit to Japan

By the middle of 19th century the American interests in the Pacific led the USA to make a determined bid to establish trade relations with Japan. American government commissioned Commodore Mathew C. Perry, an outstanding naval officer with the task of undertaking the mission of cultivating trade relations with Japan.

Perry reached Japan in 1853 and made demonstration of American naval strength. Perry established contact with the officials of the government of Japan and handed over US President Fillimores letter to them. The Japanese government was convinced that Americans sincerely desired to explore avenues of trade with Japan.

(2) Treaty of Kanagawa Between the USA and Japan (1854)

In February 1854 Commodore Perrys second visit to Japan took place. He carried on negotiations with Japan and made it clear that lack of Japanese response to American demand for opening five Japanese ports for trade would be viewed with great displeasure. This threat was backed by the demonstration of US naval force. However, both Japan and the USA concluded the Treaty of Kanagawa on 31st March 1884. The treaty contained the following provisions:

(1) Two Japanese ports of Shimoda and Hokodate were thrown open to US ships.

(2) American business magnates were allowed to carry on limited trade with Japanese trading community under Japanese regulations.

(3) American ships were to be allowed to get coaling facilities.

The treaty of Kanagawa terminated the state of isolation of Japan and she entered into the comity of nations. The Japanese became aware that their ships were no match to American naval strength.

(3) Efforts of England Russia and Holland to Get Concessions from Japan

England, Russia and Holland proceeded to conclude treaties with Japan on the lines of the treaty of Kanagawa, as soon as they learnt that the USA had succeeded in her mission in Japan.

In October 1854 Great Britain concluded an agreement with Japan and secured right of access to the two Japanese ports of Nagasaki and Hokodate. In January 1855 Russia entered into an agreement with Japan and secured permission to use three ports of Nagasaki, Shimoda and Hokodate. Russia established diplomatic relations with Japan and sent a Russian Consulate there. In November 1855 Holland entered into a treaty with Japan securing certain facilities and a broader scope for trade and commerce.

(4) Harris Treaty (1858)

On July 29, 1858 Townshend Harris, the first US Consul General under the Treaty of Kanagawa (1854) entered into a full-

fledged commercial treaty with Japanese government. According to this treaty the USA could freely carry on trade at Yokohama and Japan promised to accord "the most favoured nation treatment" to the Americans.

After the conclusion of Harris treaty (1858) Japan entered into treaties with Britain, France and Russia and granted various concessions for trade to European settlers in Japan. The principle of extra territoriality was applied to the foreigners who secured the privilege of being tried in the consular courts of the country to which they belonged. Thus, Japan came into close contact with Western Powers.

(B) Modernisation Of Japan (1868-1894)

Japanese hereditary emperor known as Mikado had been a nominal head since the beginning of seventeenth century. The real power was exercised by Shogun the hereditary military leader. For the last 250 years the Tokugawa family represented the military leadership. The immigration of Europeans in Japan and the mounting political discontent accompanied with financial difficulties in Japan made Tokugawa Shogunate most unpopular. In these circumstances the Shogun was compelled to resign on 9th November 1867, bringing to an end 250 years old Shogun rule. Now the real power came into the hands of Japanese emperor Mutsuhito popularly known as Meiji. The Meiji era in Japan under the dynamic leadership of Mikado (emperor) Mutsuhito witnessed progress on all fronts. The following reforms introduced by emperor Meiji led to the modernisation of Japan.

(1) Promulgation of New Constitution (1889)

In 1882 the emperor Meiji sent Itagaki the leader of the Tosa clan out of Japan to study the constitutions of the world and advise the government regarding the type of constitution most suitable for Japan. After a few years Itagaki suggested that Bismarck's constitution was best suited for Japan; but this should be given to the people as a gift from the Mikado. However, a constitution was framed and various suggestions of Itagaki were adopted. The constitution was promulgated in 1889. According to the new constitution like King of England the Emperor of Japan was the fountain of all power and like British Cabinet Ministers, the Japanese Ministers assumed full responsibility for their acts. However, unlike the King of England, whose succession was determined by the Acts of British Parliament, the Emperor of Japan was not subject to the authority

of parliament because he was absolute monarch with divine rights to rule the people of Japan. The new constitution guaranteed certain basic rights to the Emperors subjects. It provided for the Imperial Diet or Parliament. It was a bicameral legislature consisting of: (1) the House of Representatives elected by one per cent of population who owned a certain amount of property, and (2) House of Peers composed of the members of the imperial family, of higher ranks of nobility and of those families which paid the highest tax.

The powers of the House of Representatives were limited because it could neither control the budget nor the actions of the cabinet. The Emperor was the source of all power and the cabinet was responsible to him and not to the Parliament. The emperor could veto any bill passed by the Diet. Commenting on the new constitution of Japan R. D. Cornwell has remarked thus "Nevertheless, the constitution represented an advance, however modest towards democratic government and by 1900 a number of political parties had been organised".

(2) Re-organisation of Civil Service

The emperor took steps to streamline the administration in order to promote efficiency. The civil service was reorganised. Only the qualified and competent persons were appointed. Recruitment of civil servants was made through competitive examinations. Entire bureaucratic structure was revamped in order to promote maximum efficiency.

(3) Economic Regeneration and Modernisation

The Meiji Era (1868-1912) also inaugurated the industrial revolution in Japan. Indeed the Meiji Era proved to be a golden age for the meteoric rise of Japanese industry. Japan, a small nation in the Far East with a feudal economy emerged on international scene as one of highly industrialized nations. The sophisticated technology of the Western countries was imported in order to modernise Japanese industry. Commenting on the meteoric rise of Japan, H. G. Wells has remarked thus: "Japan made all European progress seem sluggish and tentative by comparison". However, the process of modernisation was accelerated by Japans highly disciplined and industrious man power, the government help in the form of loans to new industries, state regulation and control of various industries, and enterprising and courageous role played by the Zaibatsu, a financial group of entrepreneurs belonging to twenty ultra-rich families in Japan. The pendulum of state patronage was in full swing in case of ship building and silk industries. From England, Japan imported cotton spinning machines and invited British technical

personnel for instructing the Japanese to boost the production. Pilot plants were installed for producing silk, woollen fabrics, tiles, cement and bleaching powder. In 1877 the telephone was introduced in Japan. Currency and banking were developed on the Western pattern. Postal savings banks were also introduced. Japan registered all-round progress. Foundries and Ship yards were built. Mines were exploited, while on the other hand paper mills, cotton mills, chemical works and glass and cement producing factories were established. By 1890, more than 200 steam factories came into existence. The old multifarious feudal currencies were eliminated. A centralised and modernised system of taxation was introduced. The entire paraphernalia of Western civilisation with factories, banks, railways, steamships, light houses, dock yards, telephone, mints, printing presses, books, newspapers, post offices, and textile industries found place in modern Japan. Thus, Japan emerged as one of highly industrialized countries by the end of the 19th century.

(4) Introduction of New System of Education

The Meiji Era witnessed a new system of education which laid emphasis on the importance of nationalism, the cultivation of national virtues and loyalties, and national discipline. The fundamental aim of education was the promotion of the welfare of the people of Japan. Universal compulsory education was introduced for the first time in 1872 in order to achieve the ambitious target of 100% literacy. Japanese government used education as an instrument for modernisation and invested money on massive scale for promotion of higher and technical education. Highly learned and competent professors from advanced western countries were invited to teach in the Japanese Universities and many Japanese students were deputed to foreign countries for getting education in engineering and medicine. The number of newspapers increased to 100 in 1882 and Japanese libraries were equipped with a large number of very useful books imported from foreign countries. During the last two decades of 19th century great strides were made in the field of education. English was also taught in Japanese schools and colleges and due to this international language, the latest technical and scientific knowledge became easily accessible to the Japanese; who worked with indefatigable enthusiasm to learn as much as possible from others.

(5) Re-organisation of Military Services

The abolition of feudalism was followed by re-organisation of Japanese army which was equipped with latest weapons. The army was trained on western lines and recruitment was made from all the sections of society. The basis of recruitment in armed forces was

merit. Mostly the recruitment was made from the martial clans such as Satsuma, Chosu and Tosa. In 1873 conscription was introduced requiring all able bodied men to render military service for three years. The services of German and French military experts were utilised for re-organisation and modernisation of Japanese armed forces. Efforts were made to enlist the support of Great Britain in building up a small navy for Japan. By 1894 Japan had fleet consisting of 28 ships of 57600 tons and 24 submarines and a small number of cruisers. Japanese armed forces demonstrated their strength during the Sino-Japanese War (1894-95) in which Japan achieved a resounding victory over China.

(6) Administration of Justice in Japan

During the Meiji Era certain judicial reforms were introduced. It may be recalled in retrospect that right of extra-territoriality was granted to the European and American settlers in Japan. These foreigners in Japan reserved the right to be tried according to the laws of their respective countries to which they belonged. This right of extra-territoriality was viewed by Japanese as "a galling badge of national inferiority" because Japanese courts of law exercised no jurisdiction over the foreign nationals residing in Japan. A new civil code based on Western models was formed in 1890. Similarly, the code of commercial law was framed by imitating the German model. On the other hand criminal code based on French model was also framed. The codes promulgated by the Japanese government were put into operation. The Japanese government soon started negotiations with foreign countries for the surrender of extra-territoriality which came to an end by 1899.

The Japan emerged as a Great Power in the Far East. Her spectacular progress placed her in an enviable position. The country was humming with industrial activity and was pulsating with new life. The magnitude of her achievements could be gauged by the resounding victory which she won in the war with Russia (1904-05). However, Japan became a Power to be reckoned with in the Far East.

(C) Sino-Japanese War (1894-95)

Japan had joined the resplendent galaxy of highly industrialized countries during the Meiji Era and for this tremendous progress she was indebted to Western countries. Unfortunately like western countries Japan also began to entertain imperialistic designs which made Sino-Japanese War (1894-95) inevitable.

(1) Circumstances Leading to Sino-Japanese War (1894-95)

A variety of factors contributed to the commencement of hostilities between Japan and China in 1894-95. These factors are discussed as follows:

(i) Japan's Imperialistic Designs Over Korea : The Korean peninsula located between resurgent Japan and decaying China was a bone of contention between the two countries. Korea was under nominal suzerainty of China. Korea had entered into a treaty with Japan allowing Japanese rice to be imported into her territory; but due to relentless pressure mounted by China, Korea abrogated this treaty. This naturally annoyed Japan which began to seek opportunity to retaliate against China. On the other hand Japan deemed it necessary to annex Korea in the context of imperialist expansion. Japan wanted to prevent Russia from occupying Korea as this would adversely affect the security of Japan. Yet another consideration which impelled Japan to occupy Korea, was that Japan wanted a market for her surplus goods. Japanese government believed that Korea would be an ideal colony to serve Japans imperialist needs.

(ii) Japan's Challenge to China's Sovereignty Over Korea: In 1876 Japan entered into the Treaty of Kingwa with Korea which gave Japan a free port and extra-territorial rights in Korea. This treaty which regarded Korea as an independent country irked China because the treaty ignored Chinese sovereignty over Korea. China launched a diplomatic offensive against Japan and advised Korea to enter into treaties with Western Powers to neutralise Japanese influence in Korea. When Japan came to know that Korea had entered into treaties with Western Powers at the instigation by China, she began to interfere in the internal affairs of Korea in flagrant violation of Chinas sovereignty over Korea.

(iii) Convention of Tientsin and Diplomatic Defeat of China : On 18th April 1885 Count Ito representing the government of Japan and Li Hung-chang representing Chinese government signed a convention at Tientsin. This Convention constituted a triumph for Japan and diplomatic defeat of China. According to the Convention China and Japan agreed to withdraw all their forces from Korea within four months. Both the Chinese and the Japanese agreed to refrain from interference in the internal affairs of Korea. The significance of the Convention of Tientsin lay in the fact that China lost her sovereignty over Korea. Another humiliating provision of the convention was that China agreed to recognise the Treaty of Kingwa (1876) between Korea and Japan. Nine years earlier China had refused to recognise this treaty.

(iv) Dread of Russian Expansion in Korea: Russia had a strong naval station at Vladivostok to the north of the Korean border. When Russia demanded the lease of the port Lazaroff in Korea in exchange for Russian military aid to Korea, China did not protest. This posture of China was very intriguing and Japan was naturally annoyed because her imperialistic designs in Korea were likely to be jeopardized due to increase in Russian influence in Korea. Japan was alarmed when Russia started in 1891 the construction of the Trans-Siberian Railway across Manchuria. This project gave a military advantage to Russia and endangered the imperialistic designs of Japan in Korea.

(v) Explosive Situation in Korea: There was a revolt against the government of Korea by a conservative and chauvinistic party called Tonghak. The king of Korea could not reclaim the rebellious elements and ultimately due to the belligerent attitude of the rebels the king of Korea appealed to China to render military support to suppress the uprising. In response to this appeal, China sent her troops to Korea to accomplish the mission. Japan was not to be a spectator of this development and she also sent her army to Korea. However, the revolt was suppressed with iron hand but China refused to withdraw her troops till Japan vacated.

(2) Out-break of Sino-Japanese War (1894-95)

In 1894, Japan sent an ultimatum to the King of Korea to accept and implement the Japanese programme of reforms in Korea. The King of Korea was dilly-dallying with the issue. Japan felt angry at Korean Kings vacillating attitude towards Japanese programme of reforms and on 1st August 1894 the Japanese declared was without any provocation.

(3) Defeat of China and the Treaty of Shimonoseki

Japan inflicted the crushing defeat over the combined forces of China and Korea. The King of Korea was taken as a war prisoner. However, the war came to an end when China signed the humiliating Treaty of Shimonoseki on 17th April 1895. The treaty contained the following provisions:

(i) China agreed to recognise the absolute independence of Korea. Thus, this provision marked the end of Chinese sovereignty over Korea.

(ii) China agreed to surrender to Japan Formosa, the Liao-tung peninsula and Port Arthur in Manchuria.

(iii) China had to pay heavy war indemnity of twenty crores taels to Japan. This amount was equal to 150 million dollars.

(iv) According to the Treaty of Shimonoseki China was required to sign a separate treaty with Japan regarding grant of extra-territorial rights to Japan in China.

(v) China agreed to provide free access to her ports of Shosi, Chungking, Soochow and Hangchow in order to promote Japanese trade and commerce.

(4) Revision of Treaty of Shimonoseki and its Significance

The Treaty of Shimonoseki was a landmark in the history of Sino-Japanese relations. The extra-territorial rights given to Japan and territorial gains aggrandized Russia and demoralised China. Now Russia took initiative to protect the territorial integrity of China and tried to deprive Japan of Port Arthur and Liaotung Peninsula. Russian efforts were fully supported by France and Germany and on account of political pressure, Japan was forced to agree to give up Port Arthur and the Liaotung peninsula in exchange for an additional indemnity of 30 million taels. Thus, Japan was deprived of the principal territorial gains which she got as the result of the Treaty of Shimonoseki. Japan harboured a well-nursed grudge against Russia because no indemnity however high could compensate her adequately for the loss of Liaotung peninsula and the diplomatic defeat at the hands of three Powers Russia, Germany and France.

However, the Treaty of Shimonoseki clearly demonstrated the fact that Japan had attained the stature of a Great Power in the Far East. Now the Western Powers were apprehensive of Japans designs in the Far East. On the other hand Japanese victory over China accelerated the process of dismemberment and disintegration of China. The heavy war indemnity acquired by Japan gave a boost to her economy. The unfortunate consequence of Sino-Japanese war (1894-95) was that Japan posed to be a danger to world peace because ruling circles in Japan were more influenced by militarism rather than quiet diplomacy.

(D) Anglo-Japanese Alliance (1902)

(1) Circumstances Leading to Anglo-Japanese Alliance

A variety of factors contributed to the Anglo-Japanese Alliance which materialised in January 1902. These factors are discussed as follows:

(i) Japan's Desire to Check Russian Ambitions in China and Korea : Japan was deprived of her territorial gains from the Sino-Japanese war of 1894-95 by the political pressure mounted by

Russia, France and Germany. She was forced to give back the Liaotung Peninsula and Port Arthur to China. In 1897 Port Arthur was occupied by Russia which also got certain concessions from China regarding the Trans-Siberian Railway. This project was of strategic importance to Russia and it was a menace to Japanese imperialistic designs in China and Korea. So Japan harboured deep resentment against Russia. She was seeking an opportunity to settle scores with Russia. Japan which was deprived of fruits of Sino-Japanese war (1894-95) on account of political pressure mounted by Russia, France and Germany, began to look to England as a friend to check Russian designs in China and Korea.

(ii) Japans Imperialistic Designs in Korea : Japan regarded ed Korea as her sphere of influence; but unfortunately Russia took initiative to interfere in the internal affairs of Korea and tried to reduce Japanese influence in Seoul. However, Japan and Russia signed the Yamagata — Labanoff protocol by which both countries agreed to withdraw their troops from Korea. But Russia repudiated this protocol and did not withdraw her army. Naturally this led to the escalation of tension between Japan and Russia. So Japan needed a reliable friend and ally to check Russian expansion in Korea. In Great Britain Japan found an ally.

(iii) Influence of Powerful Japanese Lobby in Favour of Anglo-Japanese Alliance : In Japan there were two schools of thought about Japans relations with Russia. According to one school headed by Count Ito Japan should conclude an agreement with Russia; regarding Manchuria and Korea. Court Ito desired that Russia should recognize Korea as Japanese sphere of influence while Japan should recognize Manchuria as Russian sphere of influence. The second school of thought headed by Court Hyashi regarded Russia as principal rival of Japan in Korea. This school of thought canvassed in favour of Anglo-Japanese Alliance on the plea that England did not oppose the Treaty of Shimonoseki. Count Hyashi maintained that with England as an ally, Japan could avoid the diplomatic defeat in future. Japan had already suffered the diplomatic defeat when Germany and France and Russia joined hands with one another to deprive Japan of Liaotung Peninsula and Port Arthur. Such a possibility of combination of hostile Powers against Japan would be precluded if Japan was aligned with England. Japanese Prime Minister Katsura and the military leader Yamagata favoured Anglo-Japanese Alliance.

(iv) Dismemberment of China : Having deprived Japan of her ıer spoils of victory in the Sino-Japanese War (1894-95) the three

European Powers — Russia, Germany and France tried to secure territorial gains and other concessions from China. Chinese military weakness created a vacuum. So naturally scramble for seeking concessions at the expense of China began among the European Powers. Hence Russia occupied the Liaotung Peninsula and Port Arthur under twenty-five years' lease and got certain concessions regarding the Trans-Siberian Railway. On the other hand Germany occupied Kaio-Chow under ninety-nine years of lease and got concessions for two railways in Shantung. France also did not lag behind. She got control over all the mines in the three southern provinces adjoining French Indo-China. France also got the right to construct the French railway line from Annam to China. Britain also acquired the lease of Weihai-Wei for a period of 25 years. Thus, the various European Powers secured the slices of Chinese melon. All these transactions were greatly resented by Japan which nurtured a grudge specially against Russia. At this juncture Japan felt isolated and needed an ally in order to fulfil her imperialistic designs in Korea and China. In the circumstances England as a prospective ally earned great credibility in the ruling circles of Japan.

(v) Termination of State of England's Splendid Isolation Imperative : Throughout the 19th century England had pursued a policy of splendid isolation and consequently had not entered into any alliance with any country. In 1879 the Austro-German alliance came into existence, and in 1882 the Triple Alliance between Germany, Austria and Italy was concluded. In 1894 Russia and France resolved their differences and entered into an alliance. Thus, while other European Powers had entered into an alliance, England had not aligned herself with any country and had remained completely aloof. Britains traditional policy generally speaking had for centuries been one of splendid isolation. By keeping her hands free she could enjoy the balance of power in Europe between the continental groups and make English influence in either scale decisive. It was only at times when any Power sought to become overwhelmingly strong or threatened to endanger British control of the Channel and her Maritime supremacy, that Britain intervened actively and decisively in European politics. By the end of 19th century England realised that her policy of isolation was prejudicial to her national interests. On the occasion of Fashoda incident of 1898, no European Power supported British stand. Similarly, the attitude of the European Powers during the Boer war also made England feel that her policy of isolation was counter-productive. On March 29, 1898 Chamberlain met the German ambassador at London saying that England had decided to abandon the policy of isolation. He suggested

an Anglo-German defensive alliance. This offer was received with suspicion in Berlin. The last effort was made in 1901 when Kaiser William II the Emperor of Germany visited England on the occasion of the death of Queen Victoria. When Kaiser William II was approached for an alliance, his famous reply was "The road to Berlin lies through Vienna". Negotiations were finally dropped in December 1901 because Germany's conditions that the treaty should include Triple Alliance and that it should be approved by the British Parliament could not be fulfilled. Commenting on the failure of negotiations for Anglo-German alliance S. B. Fay has aptly remarked thus, "Psychologists perhaps would say that the Kaiser suffered from anti-English complex caused partly by a reaction against early maternal influence and by an inferiority complex — by an acute realisation of German inferiority in naval and colonial power". England now realised that the continuation of the policy of isolation was an exercise in furtility. She decided to enter into an alliance with Japan. The government of England also believed that Anglo-Japanese alliance would be a fitting bulwark against Russian expansion in the Far East. Thus, above considerations compelled Great Britain to conclude an alliance with Japan on January 13, 1902.

(2) Provisions of the Treaty

(1) England and Japan agreed to maintain the status quo and the peace in the Far East by preserving the territorial integrity of China and Korea.

(2) Japan recognised the British interests primarily in China and Great Britain recognised the Japanese interests both in China and Korea.

(3) If England or Japan found herself at war with a third Power, the other party would observe benevolent neutrality and do its best to prevent other Powers from joining the war against its ally.

(4) If either Japan or Britain was involved in a war with more than one Power, then both Japan and Britain would jointly face the common enemies.

(5) Both Japan and England agreed not to enter into a separate alliance of any kind with any third Power to the prejudice of the interests of the other partner.

(6) The treaty was to remain in force for a period of five years. The treaty was slightly modified first in 1905 and then in 1911 and in this modified form it continued upto 1921.

(3) Significance of Anglo-Japanese Alliance

Significance of Anglo-Japanese Alliance was great. Both parties stood to gain from this treaty which went a long way to fulfil the following objectives:

(i) Check on Russian Expansion in the Far East: Japan wanted an ally on whom she could depend to put a check on the further advance of Russia in the Far East. According to the treaty if Japan was involved in a war with Russia, it was obligatory for Britain to do every thing in her power to prevent any other country from joining Russia. Obviously Japan was confident to fight Russia single-handed. Anglo-Japanese alliance almost precluded the possibility of military involvement of Germany or France in case of Russo-Japanese war.

(ii) Establishment of British Naval Supremacy in Europe: England was getting worried over the most ambitious naval programme of Germany which was her principal rival in Europe. A strong naval force of Germany was liable to threaten British supremacy in naval power in Europe. Under these circumstances Britain wanted to withdraw her fleet from the Pacific in order to face the challenge of German navy in Europe. Anglo-Japanese alliance (1902) enabled Britain to withdraw her ships from the Pacific where British interests were intact due to friendly Japan. The withdrawal of naval ships from the Pacific reinforced British navy in Europe. Thus, Britain could face any challenge to her naval power from Germany with less cost and without prejudice to her interests in the Far East.

(iii) Boost to Japans Imperialistic Designs in the Far East: Anglo-Japanese alliance boosted the morale of Japanese military leaders whose imperialistic designs in the Far East got the fillip. Japan was in search of a pretext to launch military offensive against Russia which had deprived her of the territorial gains (Liaotung Peninsula and Port Arthur) by mounting political pressure with the support of France and Germany. In 1905 the treaty was revised and according to the amended treaty Japan was to get military support of England in the event of war with any single Power. Now Japan gained free hand in the Far East.

(iv) Recognition of Japan as a Great Power: Anglo-Japanese alliance raised the status of Japan because England the greatest imperialist Power chose Japan as a dependable ally in the Far East. Englands partnership on equal terms with Japan raised the image of Japan which was recognised as a Power to be reckoned with in the Far East. Commenting on the position of powerful Japan in the

Far East Harold M. Vinacke said that Japan came to be regarded as "Great Britain of the East".

(E) Russo-Japanese War (1904-05)

Russo-Japanese war (1904-05) was an event of extraordinary significance. Japans spectacular victory in this war exploded the myth of military superiority of white European race. The fact that an Asian Power could inflict defeat on a very powerful European country like Russia, generated confidence in the people of subject nations struggling for independence in the regions of Asia.

(1) Causes of Russo-Japanese War (1904-05)

A variety of factors contributed to the out-break of Russo-Japanese war in 1904. These factors are discussed as follows:

(i) Japan's Deep Resentment Due to the Loss of Liaotung Peninsula and Port Arthur : Japan had harboured a deep resentment against Russia because Russia supported by Germany and France deprived Japan of Liaotung peninsula and Port Arthur for maintaining balance of power in the Far East. These territorial losses constituted the national humiliation of Japan. So Japan wanted to wreak vengeance against Russia and was seeking an opportunity to settle scores with Russia.

(ii) Scramble Among European Powers for Getting Concessions and Territorial Gains from China: European countries paid lip service to the maintenance of status quo and territorial integrity of China. Process of China's disintegration was accelerated by scramble among European Powers for getting concessions from China.

(a) Russia compelled China to give her on lease the Liaotung Peninsula and Port Arthur for 25 years. This arrangement was an eye-sore for Japan because she wanted to establish control over Liaotung Peninsula and Port Arthur. Russia also got the right to construct the Trans-Siberian Railway across Manchuria to Vladivostok. Russia also linked up Port Arthur with the Trans-Siberian Railway. This project was of commercial and strategic importance for Russia. On one hand thousands of Russian soldiers were garrisoned in Manchuria and on the other hand Port Arthur was transformed into a strong naval base. After Boxers Rebellion in China a treaty was signed by China and Russia in 1902. According to this treaty Russia agreed to evacuate Manchuria in three stages of six months each. In April 1903 Russia refused to evacuate Manchuria and thus repudiated the terms of the treaty. It was obvious that

Russia wanted to be well-entrenched in Manchuria. Rising influence of Russia in China was not liked by Japan which was determined to foil Russian designs at any cost.

(b) According to a convention signed on June 20, 1895 France secured control over all mines in the three southern provinces, adjoining French Indo-China. France also secured the right to extend French railways from Annam to Chinas interior territory.

(c) Germany secured on lease for 99 years the Kaiochow Bay on which at Tsingtao Germany built a commercial port and naval base. Shantung province became German economic sphere of influence. Here the Germans were allowed to construct railways and exploit the mines. Thus, the foreign interference in the internal affairs of China was a menace to Japans imperialistic designs in the Far East. However, Japanese wrath and the spirit of revenge were directed against Russia which was her principal rival in the race for colonial acquisitions in the Far East.

(iii) Russia's Wanton Interference in Korea: Japan regarded Korea as her sphere of influence but unfortunately Russia took initiative to reduce Japanese influence in Korea. However, Japan and Russia signed the Yamagata Labanoff Protocol by which both the countries agreed to withdraw their troops from Korea. But Russia violated the letter and spirit of the protocol and refused to withdraw her army. Naturally this led to mounting tension between the two countries. On the other hand Russian agents were engaged in subversive activities in Korea. For instance, a Russian citizen Bezobrazoff was engaged to exploit concession obtained from the government of Korea. That concession carried with it a right to cut timber on Yalu river. Bezobrazoff had great influence over the persons engaged in the entourage of the Czar. Work was begun on the Yalu river in April 1903 and on that pretext Russian troops were moved towards the river. This was the direct violation of the agreements concluded between Russia and Japan with regard to Korea. Japan had invested heavily in Korea and she would never tolerate preponderance of Russian influence in Korea. Japan made representations at St. Petersburg and lodged protest with the Czar deploring the subversive activities of Russian agents in Korea.

(iv) Anglo-Japanese Alliance (1902) a Morale-booster for Japan: There was a powerful lobby headed by Count Hyashi in Japan. This lobby was in favour of an Anglo-Japanese alliance because of the adoption of bellicose attitude by Russia. The ruling circles of Japan were also impressed by the advocacy of Count Hyashi for an alliance with England. Prime Minister Katsura of Japan and the

eminent military leader Yamagata also favoured Anglo-Japanese alliance which materialised on January 13, 1902. The morale of Japan was boosted by the fact that Japan could invoke the relevant provision of Anglo-Japanese Treaty (1902) according to which it was mandatory for Britain to give armed assistance to Japan in case the latter was attacked by more than one country. In other words if Russia attacked Japan, Britain would observe friendly neutrality and in case Russia was given military aid by another Power in her war with Japan, then Britain would give military support to Japan. However, Japan was confident of facing the challenge of Russian military power single handed.

(v) Break-down of Russo-Japanese Negotiations: Due to the conficting interests of Russia and Japan in Korea, the war appeared to be imminent between the two countries. However, Japan started goodfaith negotiations with Russia in an effort to defuse the crisis. Japan informed Russia that she was willing to recognize Russian special rights in Manchuria provided Russia agreed to recognize Japanese special interests in Korea. Japan insisted that she and Russia should respect the political sovereignty and territorial integrity of Korea and China. Unfortunately Russia adopted uncompromising attitude towards Japans proposals. Japan gauged the intransigent Russian attitude and made hectic efforts for general mobilisation of her armed forces for imminent show down with Russia. Russia gave no response to Japanese proposals regarding Manchuria and Korea and consequently Japan severed her diplomatic relations with Russia on 5th February 1904 and immediately after this, hostilities commenced between Russia and Japan.

(2) Course of Russo-Japanese War (1904-05)

Japan launched military offensive on the Russian fleet at Port Arthur and Chemulpo on February 9, 1904 without making any formal declaration of war. Soon Admiral Togo of Japan destroyed the Russian fleet and besieged Port Arthur. However, Japan made formal declaration of war on 10th February 1904. The war continued for about eighteen months till August 1905.

(i) Capture of Port Arthur : On the New Year Day in 1905 Port Arthur fell into Japanese hands following the surrender of 25000 Russian soldiers to Japanese General Nogi.

(ii) Japan's Resounding Victory at Mukden : Japanese commander Marshall Oyama swept south Manchuria and due to thrust of Japanese army the Russian soldiers had to retreat to North Manchuria which became the chief theatre of war. During February-March 1905 fierce fighting between the two countries continued

at Mukden the capital of Manchuria. Russian casualties numbered 150,000 soldiers killed and wounded. Ultimately Japan emerged victorious and she captured Mukden after a long siege.

(iii) Military Confrontation on Sea: Russian fleet in the Baltic was ordered to sail to the Far Eastern waters. On 27th May 1905 Japanese navy went into action. A fierce fighting took place and the Russian admiral surrendered in the battle of Tsushima. Thus, Russian fleet was routed with only one cruiser and two destroyers reaching Vladivostok. Russian resistance on land and sea collapsed. However, both the parties were completely exhausted and peace was ultimately brought about through the good offices of President Theodore Roosevelt of the USA.

(iv) Cessation of Hostilities and the Treaty of Portsmouth (1905): At Portsmouth in the USA the representatives of Russia and Japan assembled to negotiate the peace treaty. While Japan fared well at military front, she was out-manoeuvred in the art of diplomacy by Russia. However, the terms of the Treaty of Portsmouth signed by Russia and Japan on 5th September, 1905 were the following:

(i) Russia recognized Japans paramount interests in Korea.

(ii) Russia and Japan agreed to respect the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Korea.

(iii) Russia and Japan agreed to evacuate Manchuria and recognize Chinese sovereignty over Manchuria except in the leased areas.

(iv) Both the Powers agreed to adhere to the policy of Open Door towards all countries interested in trade relations with China.

(v) The lease of Port Arthur and adjacent areas of Liaotung peninsula and mining and railway privileges in South Manchuria were to be transferred by Russia to Japan.

(vi) The island of Sakhalin which Russia had wrested from Japan in 1875 was to be restored to Japan.

(3) Impact of Japan's Victory in the War with Russia (1904-05)

Japan being an Asian country emerged victorious in Russo-Japanese war (1904-05). It was a well-deserved victory won by the Japanese soldiers who in the hour of national crisis demonstrated great discipline and efficiency. The impact of Japans victory over Russia was decisive. The repercussions were felt in the Western countries and the subject countries of Asian continent. The effects of the war are discussed as follows:

(i) Resurgent Nationalism in Asia: The myth of invincibility of European countries was dynamited by Japanese victory. This generated self-confidence in the people of subject nations struggling for independence. The process of decolonization began with Japanese victory over Russia in 1905. India got inspiration from Japans victory and under Congress leadership, struggle for independence was intensified.

(ii) Impetus to Japan's Imperialism : After victory in 1905 Japan went ahead with her programme of territorial expansion. She flagrantly violated the Treaty of Portsmouth and in 1910 Korea was annexed by her. In contemptuous disregard of treaty obligations Japan violated the open door principle and thus she incurred the displeasure of America. Japan had covetous eyes on Manchuria. In 1907, 1910 and 1917 Japan entered into secret treaties with Russia and changed the status quo maintained by the Treaty of Portsmouth by making south Manchuria as her sphere of influence and leaving North Manchuria for Russian influence. Thus, imperialist Japan violated the sovereignty of China over Manchuria.

(iii) Rise of Militarism in Japan : Military leaders of Japan were puffed with pride and power as a result of victory in the Russo-Japanese war. The politicians and leaders of Japan who counselled moderation in the conduct of foreign policy of the country were discredited. Only militarists got the upper hand in the ruling circles of Japan and inevitably this trend generated aggressive nationalism at home and imperialism abroad. It was unfortunate that liberal leaders like Itagaki and Okuma lost influence in Japan and the idealism of the Meiji Era began to fade. Only militarists and chauvinists had established a power nexus in ruling circles of Japan. Ultimately militarism boded ill for Japan which paid a heavy price in terms of loss of life and property during the Second World War.

(iv) Czar's Regime in Russia Discredited: Defeat of Russia in Russo-Japanese war was a national humiliation. As compared to Russia a giant of Europe, Japan was a pygmy. It was a curious turn of events that the country like Russia had suffered several reverses in the war and ultimately she had to sign a humiliating treaty. Japan which harboured the political vendetta against Russia after the surrender of Liaotung Peninsula and Port-Arthur to China, was happy to retain these two territories. The people of Russia were stunned and appalled to learn the news of ignoble retreat of Russian army and eventual loss of territories. The image of Czars government was tarnished both at home and abroad. The people were

disillusioned to witness the Russian debacle in the war. The Russian people dubbed Czar as corrupt weak and inefficient ruler. The seething discontent generated by the defeat was responsible for popular uprising in 1905 in Russia. Though Czar crushed the rebellion with iron hand, yet the voice of dissent continued to prevail and embers of discontent continued to smoulder till 1917 when Bolshevik revolution broke out and monarchy was replaced by communist regime in Russia. Thus, the defeat of Russia in her war with Japan (1904-05) was of far-reaching consequences.

(v) Impact on China : The Russo-Japanese war shook China from her slumber. She felt humiliated at the thought that two foreign Powers made her territory a theatre of war. It was a curious phenomenon that both Russia and Japan were fighting to gain ascendancy in the territories over which China had legitimate right to exercise her sovereignty. This war encouraged national and revolutionary movements in the areas leased to foreign countries. The intelligentsia of China now questioned the validity of extra-territorial rights granted to foreign nationals in China. In the leased areas of China, pressure was mounted on the ruling country to introduce suitable reforms for the benefit of the Chinese people.

(vi) Anxiety of Western Countries About Yellow Peril : Prior to the Russo-Japanese War (1904-05) and Sino-Japanese War (1894-95), the imperialist conquests were under the domain of Western countries; but after the Russo-Japanese war, Japan emerged as a great Power on international scene. Western imperialists viewed the rise of Japan with grave concern and anxiety because Japans imperialist designs could endanger the imperial interests of Western Powers in the Far East. The imperialist European countries were apprehensive of the possibility that Japan might get the largest slice of Chinese melon. In other words European imperialists liked to prevent Japan from annexing large territories of China. The USA pursued the policy of open door in China and laid emphasis on the political sovereignty and territorial integrity of China. America was not motivated to respect Chinese sovereignty on account of any good will for China but the USA was interested to promote her trade with sovereign and independent China by pursuing the policy of Open Door. This policy of Open Door was contrary to the Japaneses programme of territorial expansion in China. Thus, during the Post-World War I period Japan was in the grip of militarists who ruthlessly implemented the programme of imperialist conquests in defiance of international law and morality. However, the rise of Japan as Great Power was viewed with great anxiety by the Western Powers.

F. Japan's Participation In The First World War And Paris Peace Conference (1919)

(1) Golden Opportunity for Japans Military Adventure in the Far East

Prior to the out-break of the First World War, Europe was divided into two armed camps. England, France and Russia formed Triple Entente whereas Germany Austria and Italy formed a defensive alliance known as Triple Alliance. Europe was sitting on a powder magazine due to these hostile combinations of major Powers of Europe and only a spark was needed for world conflagration. This spark came in the shape of assassination of Archduke Francis Ferdinand the prince of Austria on 28th June 1914 in Bosnia. Austria accused Serbia of her hand in the murder but Serbia denied the charge. Austria was not convinced of Serbia's innocence and on 28th July 1914 she declared war on Serbia. Russia supported Serbia and joined the war whereas Germany joined the war on 1st August 1914 in support of Austria. On 3rd August 1914 France entered the war whereas Britain joined it on 4th August 1914. The war offered a golden opportunity to Japan for territorial expansion in the Far East.

(2) Japan's Ultimatum to Germany

On 15th August 1914 Japan served Germany with an ultimatum to the effect that Germany must deliver within seven days the lease-hold of Kiaochow and withdraw her ships. Japan also informed Germany that the former was under obligation to give military support to England according to Anglo-Japanese Treaty (1902). Japan also reminded Germany that latter had joined hands with Russia and France in 1895 to deprive Japan of Liaotung Peninsula and Port Arthur. Germany gave no response to the Japanese ultimatum. However, on 23rd August 1914 Japan declared war on Germany on the expiry of the period of ultimatum. Japan desired to seize Kiaochow and Shantung which were spheres of influence of Germany.

(3) Japan's Territorial Gains and Her Notorious Twenty-one Demands

During the course of hostilities Japan captured Kiaochow and the German bases in the Marshall, Mariana, Caroline and other islands in the Pacific. The Allied Powers England France and Russia allowed Japan a free hand in Kiaochow and Shantung. Being encouraged by the attitude of the Allied Powers, Japan began to play the role of bully in China. In September 1914 Japan occupied the

German Tsingtao rail road in China. This was followed by presentation of the infamous twenty-one demands by the Japanese minister Eki Hioki to the Chinese President General Yuan Shih-kai on January 18, 1915. These ridiculously inflated and unjust demands made the mockery of Chinese sovereignty. These demands aimed a regularising and strengthening Japanese control over Shantung, Manchuria and Eastern Inner Mongolia. The major demands were as follows:

(i) Japan was to enjoy in Shantung all the privileges formerly ly enjoyed by Germany, (ii) Japan's privileges in Liaoning, Kirlin and Inner Mongolia should be recognized by China, (iii) China should not lease any harbour, bay or island along Chinas coast line to any other Power other than Japan, (iv) Police departments in all big cities in China should be placed under Sino-Japanese supervision, (v) China's armed forces should be jointly supervised by China and Japan, (vi) The lease of Port Arthur and Danly and certain railways should be extended for the period of 99 years, (vii) China should not raise the loan from any foreign country except with concurrence of Japan, (viii) China would grant freedom of movement, freedom to practise religion and freedom to carry on business to the Japanese in Manchuria, Eastern Inner Mongolia and other areas under Japanese occupation, (ix) China would give Japan the rights of railway construction and mining in Fukein, (x) China should necessarily purchase Japans ammunitions in order to cater to her defence needs. All these major demands were designed to cripple China economically, humble her militarily and weaken her politically.

(4) China's Response to Japan's Twenty-one Demands

President Yuan Shih-Kai of China conceded most of the demands except those which impinged on sovereignty of China. After protracted negotiations Japan gave an ultimatum to China's President to the effect that China would have to face dire consequences in case she hesitated in accepting the demands. Chinese President had to be amenable to Japan's mounting pressure and on 30th May 1915 under sheer duress China signed several treaties with Japan conceding 16 out of 21 demands. Now Japan's sphere of influence extended over Shantung, Fukien, Eastern Mongolia, and Southern Manchuria.

(5) Japan's Diplomatic Offensive Against China and Her Role at Paris Peace Conference (1919)

Diplomatically Japan succeeded in isolating China. She enlisted the support of Western Powers for her demands at Paris Peace Conference. Japanese control over South Manchuria and Eastern

Mongolia was recognized by Russia according to Russo-Japanese agreement in 1916. Similarly, in 1917 Japan entered into the Lansing-Ishi agreement with the USA by which latter recognized that "territorial propinquity creates special relations between countries" and Japan "has therefore, special interests in China". In other words the USA recognised Japanese special interests in China because latter is situated in close proximity with Japan.

Although both Japan and China joined the First World War on the side of the allies, their delegations presented at the Paris Peace Conference (1919), their conflicting claims. Here also Chinas voice was one in wilderness. The Allied Powers paid no heed to Chinese claims and accepted Japan's demands. Japan was given all the privileges which Germany had enjoyed in Kiao-Chow. Japan was also given the Chinese province of Shantung and the German islands north of the Equator. These German islands were given to Japan as mandated territories under the jurisdiction of the League of Nations. Thus, Japan became a mandatory state of German islands. Obviously China was disappointed by the Paris Peace Settlement.

(G) Japan's Foreign Policy Between The Two World Wars

(1) Japan's Reaction to Paris Peace Settlement (1919)

Although Japan had obtained Shantung and the German islands north of the Equator according to Paris Peace Settlement, she was not very happy. In this context, Claude A. Buss in his book entitled "The Far East" has aptly remarked thus, "Japanese encountered determined hostility from Chinese who were in no mood to surrender Shantung to the Japanese. They were not able to obtain a clear cut international recognition of the principle of racial equality to which they were dedicated. They were not able to get outright title to the German possessions north of the equator inspite of war-time agreements. Mandates subject to supervision by the League of Nations seemed poor substitutes for colonies which Japan had expected to receive and develop strictly for its own benefit. The Japanese signed the Covenant of the league of Nations but they were not happy about commitments to respect and preserve against external aggression the independence and integrity of member states including China. They disliked the obligation to settle disputes by arbitration, conciliation or adjudication before resort to war".

The Far Eastern peace settlement created bitterness and resentment in China, disappointment in Japan and nervousness in the United States. China was bitter because she was forced to surrender

to Japan what she expected to obtain for herself, while Japan was disappointed because she did not obtain what she was promised to be given. America was nervous because there was enormous increase in the power and prestige of Japan in the Far East.

(2) Circumstances Leading to Japanese Participation in Washington Conference (1921)

(i) Rivalry Between the United States and Japan : One of the most important result of the Far Eastern Peace Settlement was the growing rivalry between Japan and the USA. The co-belligerency of the United States and Japan during the First World War failed to harmonise their respective far eastern policies. Since the days of Japan's victory over Russia in 1905 the United States had begun to look upon Japan's movements with suspicion. Commenting upon US-Japanese relations Paul Hibbert Clyde observes thus "Dollar diplomacy in Manchuria, special interest versus the 'Open Door' in China had already made it clear that there was growing coolness in the traditional nineteenth century friendship between Japan and the United States. By 1920 there was a wide-spread popular conviction in the United States and Canada and to a lesser degree in Great Britain and France, that Japan had shown little interest in the defeat of German militarism and that she had used the war primarily to advance Japanese hegemony in China".

(ii) United States Concern Over the Naval Race in the Pacific: Amicable relations between the USA and Great Britain after the First World War gave credence to the open secret that America and Japan were preparing to fight for hegemony in the Pacific. Apart from the danger it constituted in regard to peace, the naval race cost Great Britain, the USA and Japan vast amount of money which adversely affected the economies of these naval powers. In the USA, public opinion was against war. The people in the United States wanted disarmament as Wilson's peace programme and the ideals for which they had fought in the First World War were still fresh in their memory.

(iii) America's Dislike of Anglo-Japanese Alliance (1902): The United States feared that in the event of war between Japan and the US, it was obligatory for Great Britain to give military support to Japan according to the Anglo-Japanese alliance. The USA tried to persuade Britain to repudiate Anglo-Japanese alliance. Now the British government after the end of the First World War was preoccupied with the question whether Great Britain under new Anglo-Japanese alliance (1911) should support the special interests of Japan in the Far East or to align more solidly with the traditional

American principles of the 'Open Door' and integrity of China. Britain's attitude towards her alliance with Japan became cold and she came closer to the United States.

(3) The Washington Conference (1921-22)

In order to put check on the mad race for naval armaments, President Harding of the United States issued formal invitation to Britain, France, Italy and Japan to participate in an international conference at Washington where discussions would be held on the subject of limitation of naval armaments. The conferences at Washington were in session from November 12, 1921 to February 6, 1922. Invitations were also sent to the governments of China, Belgium, Netherlands and Portugal to take part in the deliberations of the proposed conference. The following were the important treaties which were concluded at Washington Conference.

(i) Four Power Pacific Treaty : The first fruit of the Washington Conference was the Four Power Pacific Treaty signed on 13th December, 1921. By this 10 year treaty pronouncing the end of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance the USA, Britain France and Japan agreed to respect one another's rights in the regions of the Pacific. These countries also agreed to meet in joint conference for consideration and adjustment of any Pacific question which was not settled by diplomacy. In case the rights of these countries were threatened by the aggressive action of any other country, it would be obligatory for the signatories to the above treaty to communicate with one another regarding such development.

(ii) The Five Power Naval Treaty : This treaty was signed on February 6, 1922 by the representatives of the governments of the USA, Japan, Britain, France and Italy. It called for a ten year construction holiday in case of naval armaments. The treaty limited capital ships to 35000 tons and 16 inch guns and air craft carriers to 27000 tons and 8 inch guns. The signatories the USA, Japan, Great Britain, France and Italy were to maintain a ratio in capital ships of 5:5:3:1.67:1.67. The Treaty was to be in force until 31st December, 1936 and might be terminated thereafter through two years notice by any signatory.

(iii) Nine Power Open Door Treaty : The third significant outcome of the Washington Conference was the Nine-Power Treaty signed on February, 6, 1922 between the United States, Great Britain, France, Japan, Italy, Belgium, Netherlands, Portugal and China. The signatory states pledged themselves to respect the sovereignty and territorial integrity of China. They also agreed to maintain and advance the principle of equality of commercial oppor-

tunity in China. The signatories also pledged not to take or support any action designed to create spheres of interests in China. Americans regarded this treaty as the victory of the open door whereas the optimists considered it as a 'Magna Carta for China'.

(iv) Sino-Japanese Treaty : Besides above treaties, another treaty was signed between Japan and China on February 4, 1922 whereby Shantung which was formerly given to Japan, was returned to China but Japan was permitted to retain the control of the Tsinan-Tsingtao Railway for fifteen years.

(v) US-Japanese Treaty : Yet another important result of Washington Conference was American-Japanese treaty signed on February 11, 1922 whereby the United States recognised the Japanese mandate over the former German islands in the North Pacific while Japan in return granted to the Americans residential, cable and radio rights in the island of Yap.

Besides, the Conference also adopted some twelve resolutions concerning the foreign postal agencies in China, the issue of extra-territoriality, the foreign radio stations and other miscellaneous questions.

(4) General Appraisal of the Washington Conference

The Washington Conference (1921-22) was one of the most significant events in the history of the Far East after the First World War. It achieved what Paris Peace Conference failed to achieve viz. the inauguration of peaceful relations in the region of the Far East. The Anglo-American delegates had assembled in Washington with two main objectives:

(i) To prevent the Anglo-American-Japanese naval race, and

(ii) To prevent the predominating influence of Japan in China.

The first objective was achieved through the Five Power Naval Treaty whereas Four Power Pacific Treaty and Nine Power Treaty had attained the second objective. Commenting on the significance of Washington conference E. H. Carr says "The Japanese menace to the integrity of China and to Anglo-American naval supremacy in the Pacific had been removed. Japan had been forced to abandon her sole war gain on the main-land of China and the Powers had jointly agreed to safe guard the integrity of that country. China was offered one more opportunity to put its house in order to save its own distracted inhabitants and to play a part in world affairs as a modernised sovereign state".

(5) Japan's Relations with the West between 1922-1930

In January, 1923 the government of Japan carried out the

restoration of Kiachow to China in accordance with the Shantung Treaty signed at Washington. US - Japanese sentiments reached the height of goodwill when during 1923, the United States contributed money and supplies worth seven million dollars for relief and reconstruction in the Yokohama earthquake disaster of September 1, 1923. A number of Japan's most distinguished statesmen, diplomats, jurists and public men served with the League of Nations. Japan was also a signatory of the Convention for the Pacific Settlement of International Disputes. In 1929 Japan signed the Pact of Paris which was meant for renunciation of war for resolving international disputes. In February 1927 Japan participated in Geneva Disarmament Conference at the invitation of US President Coolidge. In April 1930 Japan also participated in London Conference and signed the London Naval Treaty with Great Britain, the USA, France, and Italy. During this period, Japan was regarded by Western Powers as a bul-wark against communism in Asia.

(6) Circumstances Leading to Japan's A ttack on Manchuria (1930-31)

A variety of factors contributed to Japan's attack on Manchuria in 1930. These factors are discussed as follows:

(i) Japan's Lack of Co-operation with the West: As remarked by Claude A. Buss in his book entitled 'the Far East' "the Washington Conference (1921-22) was in many respects an unhappy diplomatic denouncement for Japan". The Western Powers had jointly committed to the integrity of China. Japan was forced to abandon her alliance with Great Britain according to Four Power Pacific Treaty signed on December 13, 1921. Japan was also not happy with the inferior position allotted to her in the manufacture of capital ships according to Washington Naval Treaty. She began to accumulate more ships to strengthen her navy. Britain now began to realise that Japan was her potential rival in the Far East. Japan surreptitiously enlarged her navy and also threatened to displace British and American leadership in the international markets of the world. Japan made no secret of her resentment over US policy of open door in China. She was apparently annoyed at US policy of maintaining the sovereignty and integrity of China. After the Washington Conference (1921-22) Japan abandoned for the time-being her imperialistic designs in China. She was looking for an opportune time to strike at China.

(ii) Renunciation of Policy of Conciliation Towards China: After the Washington Conference the government of Japan headed by Shidehara followed the policy of conciliation towards China. The

first step in the policy of conciliation towards China was taken when Kiaochow was restored to China in 1923 as a friendly gesture. When in March 1927 Japanese consulate was attacked by the Chinese, the Japanese naval forces did not join the Anglo-American bombardment of Nan-King.

Due to the weak policy, Shidehara was forced out of office in April, 1927 and replaced by General Tanaka who was in favour of an aggressive policy towards China. He re-emphasised that Japan had special interests in Manchuria. In April, 1928 Japanese army was sent to Tsinan the capital of Shantung and terminus of the Kiaochow railway where Japanese economic interests were extensive. On May 3, 1928 the Chinese Nationalist troops clashed with Japanese army. Japan issued an ultimatum demanding the withdrawal of Chinese Nationalist forces from Tsinan. The Chinese did not pay any heed to the ultimatum. So the armed conflict arose between the two sides in Shantung. However, Japan suffered heavy casualties and the matter was settled through negotiations on 28th March, 1929. General Tanaka's regime in Japan tried to seize any opportunity which would bring territorial benefit to Japan.

(iii) Ascendancy of War Lords in Japan : The Washington Conference was a victory of the Japanese civilians who succeeded in keeping the military party in check for a decade but the offensive attitude of China after 1927 towards Japanese interests exhausted the patience of the people of Japan. The militarists launched a movement for adopting sterner attitude towards China. The assassination of Hamaguchi the Premier in 1930 made it clear that the young army officers were discontented with the liberal and pacific policy towards China. After some time Japanese Premier Inukai was assassinated. The army now made it clear that it would not accept any government which refused to toe its line of promoting Japanese imperialism. Thus, there was conspicuious switch over to Japan's aggressive policy towards China and the liberal elements in Japan lost their credibility.

(iv) Impact of Economic Depression (1930) on Japan's Industries: The Japanese war lords justified violence at home by following an aggressive foreign policy abroad. This was all the more urgent for solving the serious problem of Japan's shrinking foreign trade caused by the depression (1929-30). The depression had increased the unemployment figure and there were about one million unemployed people. The Japanese national debt was nearly doubled since 1920. To Japan the prosperity of international trade was a vital issue. Japanese export of raw material to the United States formed

one of the chief items of export trade. It suffered a severe blow due to the depression of the thirties. Another source of Japans prosperity was trade with China. This trade received a setback due to the campaign of boycott resorted to by the Chinese people. By 1931 Japans attempt to solve the problem of her foreign trade and ease the internal economic crisis had failed completely. The only solution appeared to be the capture of Manchuria.

(v) Japan's Deep-rooted Interest in Manchuria: Japan had coveted Manchuria for long but she failed to have it in her exclusive possession partly because of opposition of China and partly because of the opposition of the Western countries. Since the Western Powers were busy in the solution of their economic problems created by the world-wide slump, Japanese cupidity was aroused once more. Economically Manchuria was an exceedingly fertile land of about 380,000 square miles as large as the combined area of Germany and France. There were plenty of important minerals like coal, iron, gold and timber. Japan had invested heavily in Manchuria and protection of that investment was a national urgency. Strategically Japan's control of Manchuria would give her a valuable base for offensive military operations against either China or the Soviet Union. On the other hand the vast and contiguous land of Manchuria promised to be a fit place for colonization for rehabilitating the ever-increasing population of Japan.

(vi) Mukden Incident and Occupation of Manchuria: According to the Treaty of Portsmouth which ended the Russo-Japanese War in 1905, Japan had acquired the right to maintain some 15000 troops in Manchuria for the protection of South Manchurian Railway. On 18th September, 1931 a Japanese patrol party near Mukden the head-quarters of the Japanese troops alleged to have found a detachment of the Chinese soldiers attempting to blow up the mainline. The Japanese army immediately went into action and a major battle ensued. As a result of the hostilities 10,000 Chinese troops in Mukden were disarmed and within four days all the towns situated within a radius of 200 miles north of Mukden were occupied by the Japanese army. By November 1931, the whole of North Manchuria was in the hands of the Japanese. By January 1932 the whole of Manchuria was conquered by Japan.

(7) International Reaction to Japan's Military Action in Manchuria

(i) Reactions in the Political Circles of the League of Nations: The Manchurian episode was the first major test of the collective security system of the League of Nations. It heralded the return to

power politics which the League of Nations proposed to check. The league appointed the Lytton Commission to investigate into the causes of Manchurian crisis and to identify the aggressor. The commission gave report to the effect that Japan was the aggressor; but the member states of the League evaded the responsibility of taking military action against Japan for maintaining the territorial integrity of China. The Japanese attack on Manchuria was a breach of the covenant of the League of Nations. Japan by her aggression violated the Nine Power Pact signed during the Washington Conference. The Kellogg-Briand Pact of which Japan was a signatory was also violated. This pact laid stress on renunciation of war as an instrument of national policy. Britain the influential member of the League of Nations pursued the policy of appeasement and regarded Japans militarism as an insurance against communism. Commenting on the apathy and inaction of the League of Nations, Gathorne Hardy has aptly remarked thus; "The shock therefore, which the incident administered to the whole system of collective security was tremendous and well nigh fatal and the only question on which opinion can be divided is as to whether the responsibility for this wholly lies at the door of Japan or whether it must be shared by those who planned a system which the world is incapable of working".

(ii) Reactions in China : The immediate effect of the Japanese ese aggression was in China. A country-wide boycott of Japanese goods was launched and as early as September 1931 National anti-Japanese Associations were formed at Shanghai, Hankow Nanking and other major cities.

(iii) The United States and Manchurian Crisis : To the United States, Japan's conquest of Manchuria was a direct challenge to the Nine Power Treaty signed during the Washington Conference. Japan's aggression in Manchuria was a flagrant violation of the Pact of Paris and the collective security system of the League of Nations. The US Secretary of State Mr. Stimson condemned Japan's military action in Manchuria and he was not willing to take any action likely to lead to open war between the United States and Japan. Mr. Stimson simply gave no recognition to de facto military occupation of Manchuria by the Japanese and informed Britain and France the leading members of the League of Nations that the United States did not favour the imposition of sanctions upon Japan. This enunciation of the American policy came to be known as "Stimson's Doctrine of Non-recognition". The economic troubles of the United States due to the world slump were so acute that neither the US government nor the public opinion would like a stronger action against Japan. The

Americans were too busy in their domestic troubles to pay serious attention to the developments in the Far East.

(8) Japan's Monroe Doctrine

After acquiring a strong foothold in Manchuria Japan gave more formal and clear expression to her imperialistic aims in Asia. On 17th April, 1934 Eji Amau the Japanese Foreign Office spokesman issued a statement about Japan's policy towards China. The text of the statement was as follows:

"Japan would object as a matter of principle to any joint operations undertaken by foreign Powers even in the name of technical or financial assistance which must give rise to political complications. Supplying China with war planes, building aerodromes in China, sending military instructors or military advisers to China, and contracting loans to provide funds for political uses would tend to make friendly relations difficult among Japan, China and other countries and to disturb peace in East Asia". The Amau statement was not so much a threat to China as a severe warning to the Western countries. They regarded Japan's programme of territorial expansion as unjust and illegal while Japan looked upon their opposition as tantamount to denial of Japan's right to existence. The years following the Manchurian crisis were therefore, the period of mounting tension between Japan and the Western Powers on the one hand and between Japan and China on the other.

(9) Japan's Militarism and Collapse of Naval Limitation

After the Manchurian episode Japan rode roughshod over the feelings and pronouncements of Western Powers. Due to the bellicose attitude of Japan the World Disarmament Conference at Geneva had failed in 1932. On the other hand International Economic Conference at London also met its doom in 1933. On 28th December, 1934 Japan gave two years notice of her intention to denounce the Washington Naval Treaty of 1922. Japan withdrew from the London Disarmament Conference in 1935. Thus, the whole structure of international naval co-operation so assiduously constructed since Washington Conference (1922) collapsed and race for acquisition of naval armaments began.

(10) The Renewal of Fighting between Japan and China (1937)

Strengthened by the Anti-Comintern Pact with Italy and Germany and the policy of appeasement of the Western Powers, Japan reopened hostilities in 1937 against China. On 7th July, 1937 there was exchange of fire between the Japanese troops and Chinese

troops at the Marcopolo Bridge and soon after the government of Japan demanded from the Chinese government that all Chinese troops should immediately be withdrawn from North China and anti-Japanese propaganda be stopped immediately and co-operation against communism be extended. By the end of July, 1937, the fighting spread over the whole of North China. On 29th July, 1937, Chiang Kai-Shek appealed to Chinese people to resist Japanese aggression with courage. On 29th August, 1937 China entered into Non-aggression Pact with Soviet Union. In September 1937 the Chinese Communist Party established a united front with the Kuomintang to resist Japanese aggression against their country. However, the Japanese troops continued their advance. In December 1937 the capital of Nanking was occupied and untold atrocities were perpetrated to the innocent Chinese people. A provisional puppet government was established in Nanking. Japan demanded that Chiang-Kai-Shek should repudiate the non-aggression pact with the Soviet Union, recognise Manchukuo under Japans control, pay the costs of the war and lastly appoint Japanese advisers to conduct the administration. But the Chinese government refused to accept these peace terms.

Fighting was again resumed in the spring of 1938 and Japanese troops occupied the island of Hainan in February, 1939 and later in March 1939 she seized Spratley Island. In March, 1940 Japan established a new puppet regime at Nanking under the headship of Wang-Chang Wei. By the end of 1940, the Chinese War became a part of the Second World War.

(11) Japan and the Second World War

(a) Conclusion of Russo-Japanese Neutrality Agreement (April 1941): On August 23, 1939 Russo-German Non-aggression Pact was signed and in September 1939 the Second World War broke out. These developments affected Russo-Japanese relations. Japan believed that Russo-German Non-aggression Pact violated the spirit of Anti-Comintern Pact between Germany Japan and Italy. Japan also apprehended a possible Russian attack. So she ironed out her differences with Russia and signed the Russo-Japanese Neutrality Agreement on 13th April, 1941. The pact was a pledge of neutrality by Japan towards Siberia and outer Mongolia. According to this pact Russia pledged her neutrality towards Japan and Manchukuo.

(b) Japan's Military Operations and US Entry into the Second World War: The immediate cause of the US entry in the Second World War can be found in events in the Far East and in particular, in her relations with Japan. By 1939 Japan had succeeded in

annexing Korea, in establishing a puppet government in Manchuria and in having a predominant position in China. Japan had captured several big cities of China such as Hankow, Canton, Nanking, Shanghai, Peiping and Tientsin and had established control over most of the main railway lines of that country. All these developments were contrary to the American policy of open door in China and US determination to maintain Chinas territorial integrity. So the United States viewed the Japanese imperialist conquest with grave concern and anxiety. After the out-break of Second World War Japan launched military offensive for territorial aggrandizement in South-East Asia. During the first half of the year 1939, Japan occupied the Chinese island of Hainan and annexed the Spartley Islands. In June, 1940 Japan forced the French government to agree that Japanese inspectors might be stationed at key points in Indo-China with necessary authority to supervise and control all traffic through that French colony. All these steps taken by Japan greatly prejudiced the interests of the United States in the Far East. America had been constantly protesting to the war like moves of Japan. On 25th July, 1941, both Britain and the USA declared Japanese assets frozen and thereby ended any important trade with Japan. On November 9, 1941 British Prime Minister Churchill declared in a public address that if the United States got into the war with Japan; Britain's declaration of war "will follow within an hour". Negotiations between the United States and Japan started to avoid war. On 26th November, 1941, the United States sent some proposals to Japan to the effect that the latter should (1) recognise the integrity of Indo-China, (2) withdraw her forces from that country, and from China, and (3) abandon the puppet government of Wang-Ching-Wei and recognise the government of Chiang-Kai-Shek. The United States would in return remove all restrictions on American exports to Japan and help Japan in the stabilisation of her currency and conclude a favourable trade agreement. The United States also proposed a joint declaration for recognition of the principles of non-aggression; international co-operation and equality of opportunity in the Pacific. The American proposals were rejected by Tokyo. Without a declaration of war Japan suddenly launched an attack upon Pearl Harbour in the Hawaii islands on Sunday the 7th December, 1941. A few hours after the attack Japan declared war on the United States and Britain. The US Congress took thirty two hours to declare war upon Japan. On 8th December, 1941 Britain and Canada entered the Far Eastern War on the side of the United States. China also issued the declarations of war against Germany, Italy and Japan. Eight Latin American countries also declared war

against Japan. So with the involvement of the United States, Britain Japan and Latin America and China, the Second World War became a global struggle.

(c) Escalation of War in the Far East and Surrender by Japan After Atomic Explosion on Hiroshima and Nagasaki: Japanese attack at Pearl Harbour which precipitated entry of the United States in the war rendered half the capital ships of American navy inoperative. On 10th December 1941, two British warships, 'the Prince of Wales', and the Repulse were sunk by Japanese air force. Within a short time Japan captured Hongkong, Guam, the Philippines, Siam, Malaya and the Dutch Indies. Japanese attack was like a whirl wind and after consolidating her position in Malaya, Japan invaded Burma and in March, 1942 Rangoon fell in Japanese hands. By May, 1942 Japan succeeded in occupying Burma and the British were compelled to retreat to India. Quite a vast area of land comprising well over 500 million people passed under the control of Japan. The expected invasion of India however did not take place. In October, 1944 General Mac Arthur of the United States launched a full scale invasion of Philippines. In February, 1945 American army liberated Philippines where the Japanese had established their control. In August 1944 Britain had launched an invasion of Burma. The war was progressing unfavourably for Japan on all fronts and the Japanese army was on defensive. On 5th April 1945 Soviet Union denounced the Neutrality Pact of 1941 because Japan had aided Germany against the Soviet Union. The Soviet Union alleged that Japan was engaged in armed conflict with the United States and Britain which were the allies of Russia. In these circumstances the Soviet Union entered into war against Japan on 8th August, 1945. In July 1945 America Britain and China issued a declaration from Potsdam, where an Allied Conference was being held. In this declaration Britain and America offered the following terms of peace to be accepted by the Japanese.

(i) Japanese sovereignty would be restricted to Honshu, Hokkaido, Kyushu, Shikoku and minor islands.

(ii) The government of Japan should proclaim the unconditional surrender of all Japanese forces.

(iii) Japanese army would be disarmed.

The terms were offered in the form of an ultimatum either accept them in toto or get ready to face prompt and utter destruction. The government of Japan announced on 29th July, 1945 that the terms of peace offered by the US and her Allies, were unacceptable to her. On 6th August 1945 America exploded an atom bomb on Hiroshima. The destruction was incalculable but unfortunately

Japan did not surrender. On 9th August a second atomic bomb was dropped on Nagasaki again with devastating effect. The entire Japanese nation was demoralised. On 14th August, 1945 Japan surrendered and accepted the terms of Allied Powers offered on 26th July, 1945 provided that the prerogatives of the Emperor would not be impaired. The Allied Powers replied that Japanese emperor would be retained but would be subject to the control of the Allied Supreme Commander General Mac Arthur. However, Japan accepted the Allied demands. On 2nd September 1945 the Foreign Minister of Japan signed the instrument of surrender on board of US warship "Missouri" in Tokyo Bay in the presence of American, British, French, Russian and Chinese officers.

(H) Post World War II Developments in Japan in Economic and Political Spheres and Her Foreign Policy Since 1945

(1) Japan Under the Control of General Mac Arthur and Introduction of Democratic Constitution

After the surrender of Japan an American military government was established under the command of General Mac Arthur. After some time, Japan was placed under nominal international control. A Far Eastern Commission was set up. It consisted of the representatives of the United States, Soviet Union, Great Britain, France, China, the Netherlands, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, the Philippines and India. The veto power was given to the United States, the Soviet Union, Great Britain and China. An Allied Council was also established to advise General Mac Arthur the American Supreme Commander. However, for all practical purposes, important matters of policy were decided by the United States. General Mac Arthur was the sole executive authority in Japan on the behalf of the Allies. It was he who implemented the conditions of Japanese surrender and carried out the policies of Allied Powers.

Under the influence of the United States, a democratic constitution framed after British model was introduced. While monarchy was retained, it was made merely ceremonial like its counter-part in England. The sovereign power was vested in the people who were to elect their representatives to national Parliament on the basis of adult franchise. The Council of Ministers was made responsible to the lower house of the Parliament. A significant feature of the constitution was the provision for the protection of civil liberties of the people. The women were enfranchised for the first time in the history of Japan.

(2) Restoration of Sovereignty to Japan

In 1950 the United States published a memorandum containing the general statement of the type of the treaty which she wanted to sign with Japan. However, on 8th September 1951 the treaty was signed at the conference held at San Francisco. This treaty was signed by all the participants in the World War II except the Soviet Union and Formosa. The treaty allowed Japanese rearmament and restored sovereignty to Japan. It limited the territory of Japan to the four main islands and some adjacent minor islands. The treaty stipulated that Japan would agree to any proposal of the United States to place the Ryukyu, Bonin and Volcano islands under American trusteeship. The treaty also provided that Japan should pay reparations.

(3) US-Japanese Security Treaty

On 8th September, 1951 Japan and the United States signed a security treaty under which Japan granted to the latter the right to station land, air and naval forces on Japanese territory. Japan undertook not to grant similar rights to other nations without the consent of the United States. An administrative agreement was also signed by Japan and the United States on 28th February, 1952. According to this agreement the above security treaty was to be implemented and necessary arrangements were to be made to maintain the US military bases in Japan.

(4) Sino-Japanese Relations After the Second World War

Though the United States had succeeded in making Japan as her satellite, yet the government of Japan was interested in normalisation of relations with Communist China. Japanese Prime Minister Eisaku-Sato favoured a revival of trade with Communist China, though he had no wish to see Peking extend its hegemony. In October, 1972 Japanese Prime Minister Tanaka met Mao-Tse-Tung in Peking. He had talks with Chinese Premier Chou-En-lai. After the end of talks a joint communique was issued in which it was declared that both sides had decided to adopt all necessary measures to establish diplomatic relations as soon as possible. Both Japan and China were to start negotiations for the conclusion of a peace and a friendship treaty. China gave up her demands for indemnities from Japan for the losses suffered by her during the Second World War. Japan recognised Peking as "the sole legal government of China".

(5) Russo-Japanese Relations After the Second World War

The relations between Japan and the Soviet Union were not happy during the post-war period. The people of Japan could not

forget the sudden and unprovoked attack on Japan by the Soviet Union on 8th August, 1945. Thus, the Soviet Union had denounced the Neutrality Pact of 1941 and launched military offensive against Japan at a time when Japan was desperately trying to defend herself against the US air attacks. On the other hand Soviet Union had not forgotten the humiliating defeat which she suffered in her war with Japan in 1904-05. The Soviet Union viewed with grave concern and anxiety the establishment of military bases of the United States in the territory of Japan. The main objective of the Soviet Union was to remove American bases from Japan and to persuade Japan to denounce the Security Treaty with the United States and pursue the policy of non-alignment. But the Soviet Union has not demonstrated any leniency towards Japan. On account of Soviet occupation of the Kuriles and the Japanese half of Sakhalin after the Second World War, Japan has lost much of her former fishery bases which are now in the Soviet territory. However, despite some differences, in their approach to world affairs and unfriendly relations in the past, both the Soviet Union and Japan tried to normalise their relations. In 1956 Japan and the Soviet Union resumed diplomatic relations with each other. The Soviet Union refused to return Etorofu and Kunashiri the two southern islands of the Kuriles which Japan considered to be integral parts of her territory. However, the Soviet Union agreed to return the Habomais and Shikotan, the small islands off Hokkaido in exchange of Japans signing a peace treaty with her. But Japan refused to renounce her territorial claims and no peace treaty was signed between the two countries. Another contentious issue between the Soviet Union and Japan is the repatriation of some 10000 Japanese prisoners of war who are, according to Japanese government, still detained in the Soviet Union. However, it has been the endeavour of the Soviet government to win over Japan in view of serious Sino-Soviet differences. In May, 1964 Communist China organised a trade fair to tour the major cities of Japan and display a big variety of industrial goods. The purpose behind the trade fair was to impress the people and the government of Japan with the strides of China in the field of science and technology. In the same month A. I. Mikoyan then First Deputy Premier of the Soviet Union paid a surprise visit to Japan and held talks with the business magnates of Japan on the prospects of Soviet-Japanese trade.

Today Japan is a highly advanced country with a viable economy. Her economic boom is a great asset and it is because of her economic strength that Japan is held in high esteem by the world community. However, there is no gain-saying the fact that Japan of today is pro-West.

(6) Japan's Fantastic Post-war Reconstruction

Explosion of atom bomb on Hiroshima and Nagasaki in August, 1945 had devastating effect on the economy of Japan. But the people of Japan by their perseverance and indefatigable enthusiasm succeeded in retrieving the economic situation. Their recovery was swift and spectacular. Japan wiped out the war scars. She registered annual growth rate of over 10 per cent and overtook many advanced European countries in the field of industrial progress. The Korean war (1950-53) improved Japanese trade due to US off-shore purchases. In 1954 Japan became a donor member of the Colombo Plan. The trade barrier with Commonwealth countries was removed in 1955. The trade with South East Asia and Britain was reopened by Japan. However, it cannot be denied that America gave the necessary economic aid to Japan for a few years after her surrender in August, 1945. Mr. Dodge, General Mac Arthurs economic adviser aptly described the condition of Japan when he stated that Japan in the days immediately after her surrender suffered from "too many people, too little land and too few natural resources". But her meteoric rise to the pinnacle of prosperity is due to the national character of Japanese people. Today Japan's progress in electronic industry has become an object of envy. Japan has demonstrated to the world community that great economic progress is also possible under democratic set up. It may be recalled in retrospect that the traditional financial house Zaibatsu which supported militarists and imperialism was dissolved in Japan under the pressure of the USA. Today Japanese economy is democratised and Japan is pulsating with life. Commenting on the spectacular progress of Japan the London Times correspondent Peter Hazel-hurst has aptly remarked thus "Already the world's largest and the most efficient producer of ships, motor cycles and electronic consumer goods, Japan has surpassed the United States this year (1980) as the leading manufacturer of steel and cars — the very symbol of industrialisation. It has produced 5.6 million passenger vehicles - 1.4 million units more than the United States in the first six months of the year".

3

WORLD WAR I (1914-18)

OUTLINE:

(A) Nature of First World War.

(B) Causes of First World War.

(C) Course of First World War.

(D) Consequences of First World War.

(A) Nature Of The First World War

The First World War had far-reaching consequences for humanity. It caused colossal loss of life and property. This war was novel in many respects. According to Dr. David Thompson "Its greatest novelty historically was a remarkable disparity between the end sought, the price paid and the results obtained". Unlike all the previous wars it was the first war in human history which was waged not only by armies, navies and war planes but also by whole peoples of the world for their high ideals.

Commenting on the nature of war Lipson has aptly remarked thus "The war of 1914-18 had a profound psychological effect. In turning Europe into shambles, it extinguished whatever may have remained of the romantic notion of war as a kind of medieval tournament. Completely stripped of its glamour, modern warfare was exposed in all its naked ferocity by the revelation of stark realities — the subterranean fighting in trenches and high-explosive shells which littered the battle fields with the mangled bodies of the combatants; at home the darkened cities and bombs rained from the skies on a defenceless population. Moreover, the former division of a nation into the two categories of participants and spectators has ceased to be valid. All are now participants if not in the actual fighting or in manufacture of war material, at any rate in the dangers of war".

The First World War demonstrated the profound truth that a modern war is conducted on two fronts: the fighting front and the home front. The latter is not less important than the former because a country may win every battle yet lose the war if the morale of the people collapses under the strains of hardships caused by the war. However, in economic sense, there are no victors. Commenting on the colossal loss of human life Walter Langsam and Otis Mitchell observed thus "The First World War which lasted for 1565 days was the bloodiest and costliest war that had yet been fought. During the conflict about 65000,000 men participated in the economically unproductive activity of organised destruction. Approximately one out of five of these men was killed in action or died later of wounds received in battle. One in three was wounded and some 70,00000 of these were permanently disabled. Many of the wounded died within a few years after the end of hostilities as a result of war-inflicted disabilities".

In the First World War the Central Powers participated for establishing their hegemony in Europe and the World whereas Western democracies such as Great Britain, France and the USA fought for making the world safe for democracy and national self-determination.

Thus, the nature of the war was characterised by (1) participation of many nations of the world, (2) colossal loss of life, (3) devastation of the economies of the victors as well as the vanquished, (4) involvement of civilian population in the war efforts, (5) use of most destructive weapons like machine guns, explosive shells, armoured tanks, torpedoes, submarines, dread-noughts and cruisers, (6) long duration of hostilities, and (7) the ideals of democracy and national self-determination.

(B) Causes Of The First World War

The First World War (1914-18) inflicted unprecedented disasters on the mankind. The fear of extinction haunted the mind of the people as well as the statesmen in almost all countries. The war which lasted for 1565 days and took the life of one in every five and wounded one in every three soldiers was due to many causes which are discussed as follows

(1) Division of Europe into Two Armed Camps Due to Triple Alliance and Triple Entente

S. B. Fay in his book "Origin of World War 1914-18" says "The greatest single underlying cause of the war was the system of secret

alliances which developed after Franco-Prussian War. It gradually divided the Europe into two hostile camps which were increasingly suspicious of one another and steadily built up greater and greater armies and navies".

In Europe there was big power rivalry based on aggressive nationalism and imperialism. Due to this rivalry a system of secret alliances was inaugurated in Europe which was eventually divided into two armed camps. A brief review of this development is given as follows:

(a) Dual Alliance Between Austria and Germany : Germany had wrested Alsace and Lorraine from France in the War of 1870-71. Hence, France was determined to take revenge against Germany, and she was in search of an opportune time to settle the scores with Germany in order to take back the French territories of Alsace and Lorraine. So in the circumstances Germany after 1871 was apprehensive of possible French attack. In this context G. P. Gooch says "The governing principle of Bismarck's policy since 1871 was to safe-guard conquests and to preserve peace of Europe by keeping France in quarantine for without allies she was too weak to challenge the Treaty of Frankfort". In 1879 Bismarck the Chancellor of Germany concluded an alliance with Austria. This alliance was mainly directed against France.

(b) Conclusion of Triple Alliance (1882) : Italy had also imperialistic ambitions. She resented the establishment of French Protectorate over Tunis which was a part of tottering Turkish empire. She wanted Tunis to be under her sphere of influence. So in order to promote her imperialistic designs she joined the above Dual Alliance of Germany and Austria in 1882. Thus, Triple Alliance came into existence. Robertson called the Triple. Alliance as the "culmination of Bismarckan system". The conclusion of this alliance secured the isolation of France and ensured German predominance in Europe.

(c) Formation of Triple Entente: Close relations between Germany Austria and Italy made France sensitive to her state of isolation and insecurity. Russia on the other hand was apprehensive of Germany's hegemony in Europe. So both France and Russia ironed out their differences and concluded an alliance in 1894. Commenting on the alliance with Russia, French Premier Ribot declared "France has associated her interests with those of another nation in the interest of peace and European equilibrium. This alliance ratified by universal sentiment of country constitutes today our dignity and our strength". Franco-Russian alliance (1894) termi-

nated the state of isolation of France; and it was a fitting counterpoise to German domination of Europe.

In 1904 Anglo-French Entente was concluded. The common fear of Germanys hegemony in Europe converted the traditional rivals into friends. In 1907 Anglo-Russian Convention materialised. Thus, Triple Entente consisting of France, England and Russia, came into being. The rivalry between Triple Alliance consisting of Germany Austria and Italy and Triple Entente continued unabated. The rivalry between these two groups was more pronounced after 1909. The Triple Alliance and Triple Entente which in 1909 stood side by side, in 1914 stood face to face.

The system of secret alliances as Prof. S. B. Fay says "made it inevitable that if war did come, it would involve all the Great Powers of Europe. The members of each group felt bound to support each other in order to strengthen the solidarity of the group".

(2) Mad Race for Armaments

The security environment in European continent was vitiated by doubts, fear and hatred among the rival nations. The mad race for armaments commenced in Europe, particularly after 1870. Germany introduced conscription and other European countries following Germanys example began to enlarge their armies. As regards the frantic efforts of European countries to increase the size of their armies, David Thompson observes thus "Count Moltke concentrated nearly two million men for his initial attack on the West. The Belgian army that took the first shock of this attack numbered some 210,000. France could muster about one million semi-professional troops for her first line of defence. The British expeditionary force numbered about 160,000. Austria-Hungary could muster two million". Human ingenuity was fully exploited to improve the quality of the military armaments. This mad race of armaments made inroads in the budgets of the nations and on the other hand it created a sense of insecurity. According to S. B. Fay "If one country increased its army, built strategic railways and constructed new battle-ships, its fearful neighbours were straightaway frightened into doing likewise. So the mad competition in armaments went on in vicious circle". This race for armaments was also due to alliances and counter alliances. France and Germany were traditional rivals. France went to the extent of advancing a loan of half a billion francs to Russia, for the project of construction of strategic railways which were designed for military use in the event of war with Germany. All the big Powers of Europe were armed to the teeth. Early in 1914 the Russian War Minister declared "Russia is ready, France must be

also". Anglo-German naval rivalry also led to mounting tension. Thus it was this dangerous and burdensome mechanism of great standing armies and big naval fleets with the attendant evils of espionage, suspicion, fear and hatred that played a decisive role in plunging Europe in the World War I.

(3) Aggressive Nationalism

Yet another cause of the First World War was aggressive nationalism. The love of one country demanded the hatred of the other. Love of Germany demanded the hatred of her neighbour France and vice-versa. It was feeling of aggressive nationalism which was responsible for bitterness and animosity between Serbia and Austria. Being motivated by the perverted feeling of nationalism, the government of Serbia engineered the plot for the assassination of Archduke Francis Ferdinand, the heir to the throne of Austria. This murder precipitated the out-break of the First World War. Aggressive nationalism generated a feeling of national superiority among the politicians. The Britishers viewed England as a centre of the world, the Franch considered France as the Holy nation whereas the Germans regarded Germany as the centre of Gods plan for the world. The Russians exalted Slavdom. Commenting on the false sense of pride generated by aggressive nationalism Dr. D. C. Gupta has aptly remarked thus "The great historian of Germany Von Treitschke taught the German youth that the days of Englands greatness were gone and those of Germanys greatness had begun. Most Germans believed him. England saw in the New Germany a threat to her own security".

(4) National Rivalries

The national rivalries among the countries of Europe precipitated the commencement of hostilities in 1914. A brief description of these rivalries is given as follows:

(i) Anglo-German Rivalry : In 1890 Kaiser William II Emperor of Germany ousted Bismarck the Chancellor of Germany. After his dismissal the relations between England and Germany were strained. When England became involved in Boer War (1899-1903) the government of Germany and the German press maligned England on account of latters atrocities in the Boer War in South Africa. Moreover, Germany envied the vast British empire. Germany was also jealous of naval supremacy of England. Hence, in the preamble to the Navy Act of 1900 the government of Germany declared "Germany must have a fleet of such strength that a war against her would involve such risks even for the mightiest naval Power as to jeopardize the supremacy of that Power". This

declaration was an obvious reference to British supremacy in naval strength. British government expressed her grave concern and anxiety for German tariff system, the embryonic German navy, German demands for colonies and the commencement of German competition overseas in steel and iron products.

(ii) Franco-German Rivalry : As a result of the Franco-Prussian War (1870) France had surrendered the provinces of Alsace and Lorraine to Germany. The government of France nurtured the spirit of revenge and entertained the hope for the restoration of these two provinces. The iron and steel magnates of France felt that they could not do without the iron mines of Lorraine. There was a feeling in the French nation that the industrial prosperity of Germany was due to the iron mines of Lorraine which was wrested by Germany according to the Treaty of Frankfort (1871). Loss of these two territories was a national wrong. The French nation was determined to right this wrong and this was not possible without a war with Germany. Thus, after the treaty of Frankfort the war between France and Germany was inevitable. On the other hand German interference in the affairs of Morocco added fuel to the fire of hatred between France and Germany. France was interested to keep Morocco under her sphere of influence; but Germany by her interference created hurdles in the way of French imperialistic designs in Morocco. Thus, the estrangement between Germany and France continued without any prospects of rapprochment.

(iii) Conflicting National Interests of Austria-Hungary and Serbia: At the Congress of Berlin (1878) Austria-Hungary was permitted to occupy and administer the two provinces of Bosnia and Herzegovina but not to annex them but in flagrant violation of the Treaty of Berlin Austria-Hungary annexed these two territories by her unilateral action in 1908. This caused sharp reaction in Serbia which lodged strong protest with the government of Austria-Hungary. Serbia insisted on the merger of Bosnia and Herzegovina with her territory. The population of these two territories had racial ties with Serbia which now resented Austrias action to annex them. The hostility between Austria and Serbia did not augur well for world peace.

(5) Economic Imperialism

It was the endeavour of European Imperialist Powers to acquire colonies, and to establish protectorates and spheres of influence in the backward areas of Asia and Africa. Each colony was a source of supply of raw materials to the imperialist country. Every colony was also a market for the consumption of machine-

made goods of the imperialist country. So prior to the out-break of First World War scramble for Africa began resulting in polarization between the imperialist Powers on account of conflicting economic interests. England attempted to build the Cape-to-Cairo railway. This project came into conflict with German, Belgian and French ambitions. On the other hand Russia built Trans-Siberian railway which was envied by Japan. Germany also did not lag behind. She began to implement the project of Bagdad railway. Apart from Africa the imperialist countries had succeeded in getting various economic concessions, leases and spheres of influence in China. Thus, quest for acquiring colonies, leases and economic concessions resulted in hostility among the imperialist Powers. Each country in the mad race for colonial acquisitions, began to enlarge its army in order to protect the empire. Thus, mad race for armaments was a direct result of economic imperialism.

(6) Irresponsible Role of the Press

The irresponsible press comments misled the public opinion specially in Austria, Serbia, Germany and France. A minor dispute between France and Germany was magnified by the pressmen as world-shaking disaster. Press in France enjoyed unbridled liberty and the editorial comments were designed to malign Germany. In this context Bismarck said "Every country is held at some time to account for the windows broken by its press; the bill is presented some day or other in the shape of hostile sentiment in the other country". There is no doubt that the press in France launched a campaign of villification and vituperation against Germany during the period preceding the First World War. The press created such a bitterness between France and Germany that prospects of friendly relations between them became remote. Only war between them became inevitability of history.

(7) Negative Attitude of Kaiser William II Towards World Peace

Kaiser William II the Emperor of Germany wanted Germany to be the strongest power in the world. He believed in the policy of "World Power or Downfall". He was so haughty that he indiscreetly thwarted the British proposals for an alliance. He was particularly jealous of British supremacy in naval power and the vast British empire. He entertained the false hope of crushing the British and wanted to establish German hegemony in the world. He was too inept and clumsy to handle international affairs judiciously. Commenting on his ability David Thompson in his book entitled "Europe since Napoleon" has remarked thus "In 1890 Emperor William II

who two years before had come to the throne of the Reich, dismissed the veteran Bismarck and opened a new era in German policy. Instead of being guided by the shrewd calculations of the realistic Bismarck, Germany was governed by the theatrical gestures and utterances of her neurotic Emperor and the emotionally unstable ministers whom he chose to advise him. His nervous and inept way of handling German foreign relations made him, even among his own advisers a byeword of clumsiness".

(8) War Psychosis in Germany

The atmosphere in Germany was suffused and permeated with war psychosis. According to the Prussian spirit prevailing in Germany "He who succeeds is never in the wrong". Victory was identified with morality. War was glorified in Germany. To quote Nietzsche a German writer "Ye say a good cause will hallow even war. I say unto you .... A good war hallows every cause. War and courage have accomplished greater things than love of neighbour". According to Mirabeau "War is the national industry of Prussia". Various writers tried to glorify war and stressed on predominance of German culture.

Treitschke openly said "Just as the greatness of Germany is to be found in the governance of Germany by Prussia so the greatness and good of the world is to be found in the predominance of all German culture, of the German mind in a word of the German character".

In words of Prof. Lamprecht "After bloody victories the world will be healed by being Germanised".

The ruling circles of Germany whipped up the spirit of war and glorified it and entire nation was geared up for war. In such circumstances the peace of Europe was bound to be disturbed. It cannot be denied that Germany played a decisive role in plunging Europe in the First World War.

(9) Absence of International Organisation for Amicable and Negotiated Settlement of Disputes Among Nations

There was anarchy in international relations. The disputes were settled by resort to armed action in absence of international forum. There was no machinery for arbitration, adjudication and conciliation in case of disputes arising among the nations. The solution of disputes lay in superior military force. A strong nation could flagrantly violate the international law and morality and impose its will on the weaker nations. So in absence of any international forum for pacific settlement of disputes, the force of

arms was deemed to be necessary for protection of national interests. When the national interests of big Powers clashed, the war was inevitable.

(10) Low Tone of International Morality

Certain resolutions regarding international law and conduct of foreign relations were passed at the Hague Conferences of 1899 and 1907; but these were observed by the various countries according to their convenience. Every country considered itself to be sovereign and did not consider itself bound by its international commitments. There was low tone of international morality. International relations were not regulated by international laws or canons of morality but the relations among the nations were governed by secret displomacy, hypocrisy, deceit, intimidation and power politics. Naturally the climate of world peace was vitiated by doubts, fears and hatred among the nations which began to arm themselves to resist any aggression. The nations of Europe made frantic efforts for increasing armed strength which alone was a decisive factor in international relations. In such circumstances hope for a durable peace was a far cry.

(11) Assassination of Archduke of Austria

Europe was sitting on a powder magazine and a spark was needed for world conflagration. This spark came in the shape of the murder of Archduke Francis Ferdinand, the nephew of Francis Joseph the Emperor of Austria and heir to the throne of Austria and his wife Sophia. The murder took place at 10.15 A.M. on 28th June 1914 at Serajevo a town in the province of Bosnia. The assassin was Gavrilo Princip a 24-year old citizen of Serbia. In 1908 Austria had annexed Bosnia in violation of the Treaty of Berlin. This outright annexation incurred the highest displeasure of Serbs who were in majority in Bosnia. The Serbs launched secessionist movement and wanted to separate Bosnia from alien domination of Austria. The plot for murder of Archduke of Austria was hatched by Serbia. This murder triggered the four-year long war and set Europe ablaze. Emperor Francis Joseph of Austria wrote to German Emperor Kaiser William II "The crime against my nephew is the direct consequence of the agitation carried on by Russian and Serbian Pan Slavists, whose sole aim is to weaken the Triple Alliance and shatter my empire". For Austria, the death of the Archduke was a pretext to wreak vengeance on Serbia. On 23rd July, 1914 with the prior approval of Germany, Austria gave a strongly worded ultimatum to Serbia. It carried a severe threat that Austria would take action after two days if anti-Austrian propaganda in Serbia was not

stopped. Further Serbia was asked to dismiss anti-Austrian officials and allow Austrian officials to enter Serbia for conducting probe regarding the crime that had been committed. Serbia promptly replied well before the expiry of 48 hours that she would accept all the demands of Austria but would not allow the Austrian officials to make an investigation of the crime on Serbian soil; because this was inconsistent with her national dignity and sovereignty. The war seemed to be imminent due to emotional atmosphere in Vienna. So Serbia began general mobilisation of her army. Austria angrily reacted against Serbia saying that her reply did not meet Austrias demands. On 28th July 1914 Austria declared war on Serbia and subsequently other European Powers such as Germany, England, France, Russia and Italy joined the war; which ravanged the whole continent of Europe.

(C) Course Of War

The First World War began on 28th July, 1914 with the armed attack of Austria on Serbia. The war was waged between Allied Powers and the Central Powers. The Allied Powers were England France, Italy, Russia, Japan, China, Rumania, Greece, Serbia, Montenegro, Belgium, Portugal and the United States. The Central Powers were Germany, Austria-Hungary, the Ottoman Empire and Bulgaria. After Bloshevik revolution (1917) Russia deserted the allies and in April 1917 the United States joined the allies. The war ended on 11th November, 1918.

(1) Entry of France and Russia in the War

After the commencement of hostilities between Austria-Hungary and Serbia, Russia made war preparations to suport Serbia. Germany sent ultimatum to Russia demanding her neutrality in the war. Russia made no response to 12 hour ultimatum of Germany and commenced general mobilisation of her army. On August 1, 1914 Russia declared war on Germany. French neutrality was also demanded by Germany which sent an ultimatum to this effect to France. But due to the fear of loss of prestige, France paid no heed to 18 hour German ultimatum and declared war on Germany on 3rd August, 1914. Thus, the war escalated and only England and Italy the major Powers of Europe were yet to join the war.

(2) Violation of Belgian Neutrality and Entry of Great Britain in the War

Germany sought permission from the government of Belgium to allow German troops to use the territory of Belgium in order to

attack France. The permission was politely refused on 4th August 1914 as it was inconsistent with her sovereignty. But German troops immediately over-ran the small state of Luxemburg and entered the territory of Belgium. Since Belgium is situated in close proximity with England, the latter had guaranteed the formers neutrality. But German invasion of Belgium violated the Belgian neutrality. So England had no alternative except to discharge her obligation to uphold the neutrality of Belgium by joining the war. Thus, the violation of the International Treaty of 1839 regarding Belgiums neutrality, led to Englands participation in the First World War. The German troops committed the acts of vandalism and perpetrated untold atrocities on the people of Belgium. They sansacked the library of the famous university of Louvain in Belgium, and set fire to other public buildings. At this hour of national crisis of Belgium, England declared war on Germany in August 1914.

(3) Entry of Japan in the War

On 17th August 1914 Japan which had entertained imperialist designs in China, sent an ultimatum to Germany calling upon her to withdraw all her warships near China and surrender the leased Chinese territory of Kiaochow by 15th September 1914. Germany refused to abide by the Japanese ultimatum. So Japan declared war on Germany on August 23,1914.

(4) Participation of Turkey in the War on the Side of Central Powers

On 1st August 1914 Germany declared war on Russia. Turkey knew that Russia was one of those countries which favoured the dismemberment of Turkish empire. So Turkey entered into a secret treaty with Germany and promised military support to her against Russia. On 29th October 1914 Turkish armed forces began to bombard Russian ports on the Black Sea. At once Russia declared war on her and England and France followed suit on November 5, 1914.

(5) Germany and Austria Deserted by Italy

Italy was an ally of Germany and Austria as she had entered the Triple Alliance in 1882. When the hostilities started in August 1914, Italy did not give military support to Austria and Germany. Italy betrayed her allies by offering cold neutrality. In 1915 she signed a secret Treaty of London under which the Allied Powers promised to offer Trentino and Trieste and other territories to Italy after the end of hostilities. So Italy joined the war in 1915 on the side of the allies.

(6) Defection of Russia in 1917

Russia fought on the side of the Allied Powers upto 1917. The Russian suffered great reverses in the battles of Tannenburg (August 26, 1914) and the Masurian Lakes (August 26-31, 1914). During the military operations one million Russian soldiers were taken prisoners. One million Russian soldiers were wounded and about half million killed. The plight of the Russian armed forces was miserable due to inefficient Tsarist regime. By September 1915 the whole of Poland with the major part of Lithuania was occupied by the Central Powers. In 1917 Bolshevik Revolution broke out and Tsar Nicholas II was overthrown and communist regime was established in Russia. On March 18, 1917 Russia signed the humiliating Treaty of Brest Litovsk and surrendered to Germany and Austria, the territories of Ukraine, Lithuania, Estonia, Latvia and Eastern Poland.

Thus, Russia withdrew from the First World War.

(7) Europe the Main Theatre of War

On 9th March 1916 Portugal an ally of Britain declared war on Germany and on 27th August 1916 Rumania joined the war on the side of the allies. Thus, the whole of Europe except Scandinavia, Hollond Switzerland and Spain joined the war.

(8) The United States and the First World War

When the First World War broke out, President Woodrow Wilson of the United States proclaimed his nations strict neutrality. While Germany fared well in her initial military operations, the prospects of her victory became remote at later stage. So she adopted desperate measures to clinch victory. In order to destroy British navy, Germany resorted to submarine warfare. On 31st January 1917 Germany prevented the American ships from reaching England and France, and she announced that she was no longer bound by her pledge to observe neutrality in case of movement of American ships in the seas around Britain, France and Italy. The war seemed to be imminent between the Central Powers and the United States due to the belligerent attitude of Germany. The United States declared war on Germany on 6th April, 1917 and on Austria in December, 1917. Later on Siam, Liberia, China, Brazil, Gautemala, Costa Rica, Nicaragua, Haiti and Honduras also joined the war in favour of the allies. Thus, the Central Powers were confronted with the most formidable prospects of defeat as the balance was tilted in favour of the allies due to the entry of the United States in the war.

(9) Surrender of Germany and Her Allies

The manpower and resources of the Allied Powers far outweighed those of the Central Powers which were out-manoeuvred by the allies both in diplomacy and war. On 30th September, 1918 Bulgaria surrendered unconditionally. A month later Turkey and Austria-Hungary followed suit. Kaiser William II the Emperor of Germany entrusted the Chancellor Prince Maximilian of Bader to undertake the unenviable task of conducting negotiations with the Allied Powers for peace-settlement. On 9th November, 1918 after naval mutiny at Kiel and revolution in Munich Kaiser William II abdicated and fled to Netherlands. On 11th November, 1918 German delegation under the instructions of Prince Max the German Chancellor signed the peace terms with Marshall Ferdinand Foch the Supreme Commander of Allied Powers. The cease-fire came into force immediately after the Armistice Agreement was signed on 11th November, 1918 and this marked the end of a long drawn war.

(D) Consequences Of First World War

The First World War (1914-18) which lasted for 1565 days had far-reaching consequences. It was different from the wars that preceded it. In all previous wars among the countries, the armies of belligerents fought and engaged themselves in the unproductive activity of organised destruction. But the First World War was the first war of its kind in which all the resources of the countries involved were mobilised. It was not merely a clash of contending armies but it was a total war leading to consequences of world-wide significance. These consequences are discussed as follows:

(1) Colossal Loss of Human Lives

There was unprecedented loss of human life and property. Judging from the results of the war, the price paid in terms of loss of human life was staggering. Nearly four crores, fourteen lakhs thirty five thousand people including the soldiers and civilians were killed in the war according to an estimate taken in 1931 by Inter-Parliamentary Union of Enquiry. Regarding the loss of human life Langsam has aptly remarked thus "More than twice as many were killed in battle during the First World War as in all the major wars from 1790 to 1913 together, including the Napoleonic wars, the Crimean war, the Danish war of 1864, the Austro-Prussian war, the Boer war, the Russo-Japanese war and the Balkan wars". In the same vein David Thompson in his book entitled "Europe since Napoleon" has remarked thus "Each belligerent nation after more than four years of ordeal of battle bore lasting scars. The greatest of

these was the loss of millions of its fittest men and the permanent disabling of many more. Russia the heaviest loser lost more than two million, Germany nearly two million, France and her colonies nearly one and a quarter million, Austria-Hungary one and a quarter million, the British Empire nearly one million. The USA incurred 115000 deaths, half of them as a result of disease or in the great influenza epidemic that followed the armistice. Some ten million men of all nations lost their lives and most of them were under forty years old. More than twice the number were wounded, a considerable portion of them maimed for life". Millions of civilians all over the world died of starvation and disease. The war created a serious human problem because countless families were rendered homeless. Thus, the war gave rise to the problem of rehabilitation of refugees and disrupted families. On the other hand the war led to imbalance in sex. The female population in Europe far exceeded the male population because millions of men died in the military operations. Consequently the birth rate fell in Europe.

(2) Unprecedented Damage to Property and Devastating Effect on Economies of Nations

The monetary cost of the battles and the loss in property were very heavy. According to a rough calculation, the cost of the war in terms of money for all the belligerents was 186 billion dollars. To this may be added the damage caused by the destruction of property, the loss caused due to the sinking of ships and cargoes and the labour that had been used for unproductive purposes.The war indeed resulted in the economic exhaustion of Europe. In Central Europe the economic exhaustion became still more apparent. Mounting national debt and inflation dislocated normal economic life.

Unemployment and under-nourishment ate into the vitals of the economic life of the European countries. In the words of David Thompson". It was this dislocation of economic life and this disruption of world trade which proved to be the most intractable economic result of the war. The war had undermined the foundation of Europes industrial supremacy in the world". Economic dislocation affected Europe's Balance of Trade". The United States became henceforth the leading industrial nation. The United States became a creditor country in the post-war era and she advanced substantial loans to various European countries for post-war reconstruction of Europe and for the repayment of reparations.

(3) Downfall of Monarchies and Emergence of Resurgent Nationalism

The political consequences of the First World War were far-

reaching. In Germany, Austria and Russia monarchies tumbled down. One of the significant results of the First World War was the emergence of resurgent nationalism. The application of the principle of self-determination according to the Peace Treaties of 1919 led to the eventual disintegration of the Austro-Hungarian empire and creation of several new states in Europe like Poland, Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia, Lithuania, Estonia and Latvia. In the colonial countries the post-war period saw the progress of national liberation movement. In India the Congress launched Non-cooperation Movement in 1921 against British imperialism. In Egypt, the Wafd party compelled Great Britain to give nominal recognition to her independence in 1922; while in December 1921 the Irish Free State acquired the Dominion Status as a result of a long struggle against colonial rule.

(4) Emergence of Japan as Great Power

Among other events of importance the rise of Japan in the Far East was a challenge to Europe as well as the United States. The rise of Japan as a Great Power was looked upon with suspicion by the United States whose interests in the Far East naturally prompted her to curb Japans influence. The militarist Japan threw her weight in favour of Nazi Germany and Fascist Italy and consequently Rome-Berlin-Tokyo-Axis emerged. These three totalitarian states jeopardized the world peace by following their programmes of territorial expansion.

(5) Dismemberment of Turkish Empire

Among the prominent results of the First World War was the disintegration and dismemberment of Turkish empire. The Arabs were encouraged by Britain and France to rise in revolt against Turkish government and they were promised independence; but unfortunately after the cessation of hostilities the Arab countries were brought under the control of the Allied Powers. Iraq, Trans Jordan and Palestine were mandated to Britain where as Syria and Lebanon were given to France as mandates by the League of Nations. It is pointed out that these Arab territories were separated from Turkish empire by the Allied Powers. Thus, the responsibility of dismemberment of Turkish empire rested on the Allied Powers.

(6) Rise of Totalitarianism in Europe

US President Wilsons dream of making the world safe for democracy was not realised. The rise of Fascism in Italy and Nazism in Germany constituted a challenge to democracy. Hitler of Nazi Germany and Mussolini of Facist Italy launched a programme of territorial aggrandizement, which endangered the world peace.

The philosophy of Nazism and Fascism was based on aggressive nationalism which made every thing subordinate to state. The collapse of democratic institutions in Spain was also caused by Hitler and his accomplice Mussolini. In such circumstances hope for a stable peace in European continent was a far cry.

(7) Emergence of the United States as a Great Power

The United States involvement in the First World War tilted the balance in favour of the allies. It was because of the resources of the United States that the allies emerged victorious in the war. During the post-war period the growing influence of the United States in world trade was an unquestionable fact. The USA had nearly trebled her exports in the post-war period. She became the creditor country in the post-war economic reconstruction of Europe and for the payment of reparation, the USA advanced loans to different European countries. The effect of the payment of both reparations and inter-Allied war debts was the dumping of Worlds gold into American vaults. On the political plane there was a serious setback to the collective security system of the League of Nations because the USA dissociated herself with the League though it was founded according to the 14th point of President Wilsons peace programme. The defection of the United States made the League of Nations a weak organisation in-capable of enforcing its will and maintaining peace in the world.

(8) Economic Stagnation and Political Humiliation of the Defeated Powers

Dishonourable treatment was meted out to Germany and her allies. According to Germany the Treaty of Versailles was a vindictive and fraudulant departure from the principles on the faith of which Germany laid down her arms. Germany had to surrender all her warships, sub-marines, tanks, armoured cars aeroplanes and other war material. Her colonies were seized by the victorious Powers. She was required to pay huge reparations to the victors. The enormity of demand and the w ay it was sought to be extorted were indefensible. The accusation of sole responsibility of Germany for the war is historically questionable. The Treaty of Versailles reduced the European area of Germany by one-eighth and her population by 6500,000. It deprived her of all her colonies and of all holdings and investments abroad. Thus, Germany was economically crippled politically segregated, militarily humbled, nationally humiliated and physically exhausted.

Germany's principal ally Austria-Hungary signed the humiliating treaty of St. Germain on September 10, 1919. The preamble of

the treaty declared that the former Austro - Hungarian monarchy had ceased to exist and had been replaced in Austria by a republican government. Austria was the greatest sufferer. Her empire, army and glorious dynasty all disappeared in the whirl-wind. The Hungarians declared themselves independent while the Czechs and Slovaks broke away. In the end a small republic of some six million people was all that was left of the once famous empire which had ruled over fifteen races.

Like-wise the Treaty of Lausanne signed by Turkey was very humiliating. According to this treaty Turkey renounced her claims over Libya, Egypt; the Sudan, Palestine, Iraq and Syria and recognised British occupation of Cyprus.

(9) Establishment of the League of Nations

In 1920 the starting point of world politics was the formation of the League of Nations. Its establishment at the Paris Peace Conference of 1919 represented the most ambitious effort ever made to extend the principle of international organisation into the sphere of international political relations. On January 8, 1918, President Wilson of the United States, issued his famous Fourteen Points Peace Programme, the last of which declared "A general association of nations must be formed under specific covenants for the purpose of affording mutual guarantees of political independence and territorial integrity to great and small states alike". After the First World War there was a universal and passionate longing for peace and the League of Nations was to be established as the Instrument thereof. Commenting on the purposes of the League of Nations British Prime Minister observed thus "It is not however enough to draw up a just and far-sighted peace with Germany. If we are to offer Europe an alternative to Bolshevism, we must make the League of Nations into something which will be both a safeguard to those nations who are prepared for fair dealing with their neighbours and a menace to those who would trespass the rights of their neighbours whether they are imperialist Empires or Imperial Bolshevists. An essential element therefore in the peace settlement is the constitution of the League of Nations as the effective guardian of international right and international liberty throughout the world. It is essential that the leading members of the League should present a united front to the forces of reaction and revolution". The covenant of the League of Nations was prepared and it was unanimously accepted by a plenary session of the Paris Peace Conference on 28th April, 1919. This covenant was embodied in the first twenty six articles of the Treaty of Versailles. On 10th January, 1920 the League of Nations came officially into existence.

(10) Seeds of the World War II

Germany, Italy and Japan were not satisfied with the provisions of the Treaty of Versailles. According to Germans this treaty was harsh and vindictive — a Carthaginian peace, and it was impossible of fulfilment. The Treaty of Versailles was no peace but a twenty years truce. With the rise of totalitarianism in Germany, Italy and Japan, the system of collective security under the auspices of the League of Nations suffered a serious set-back.

The post-war period was marked by unprovoked acts of aggression by Italy, Germany and Japan. The world peace was thus jeopardized by the imperialistic designs of these Axis-Powers. The Western democracies like the USA, Britain and France pursued the policy of appeasement and regarded Axis powers i.e. Germany, Italy and Japan as fitting bulwark against Bolshevism. This policy of appeasement encouraged aggressions and precipitated the outbreak of the Second World War. Thus, there was no insurance against war and no guarantee for durable peace as the Axis Powers reduced the League to the position of a defunct body. There was no hope of a better world order during post-war period. Commenting on the First World War Dr. M. G. Gupta has rightly observed thus "The war had brought about a radical transformation in the world. It was as if one age had died on the battle fields of Europe and the Near East and a new age had dawned in which men placed their hopes of a better life but which deceived them cruelly".

4

PARIS PEACE CONFERENCE AND PEACE SETTLEMENT

OUTLINE:

(A) Nature and Problems of the Paris Peace Conference.
(B) The Basis of the Peace Treaties.
(C) The Provisions of the Treaty of Versailles (1919).
(D) Critical Appraisal of the Treaty of Versailles.
(E) Other Peace Treaties.

(A) Nature And Problems Of The Paris Peace Conference

The curtain had fallen upon the bloody scene of the battle field. The First World War which to Germany meant complete annihilation and bankruptcy, which to three historic empires the Austro-Hungarian, the Russian and the Ottoman, meant dismemberment, which to England meant complete financial break-down, which to France meant the recovery of lost territories as well as the prestige, which to the United States meant great prosperity and strength, which to Italy meant the loss of men and material and which to entire humanity meant frustration starvation, homelessness,. bloodshed and terror, came to an unexpected end on November 11, 1918. The humanity heaved a sigh of relief. There was jubilation all around that the forces of aggression had been defeated. But according to E. H. Carr "Beneath the rejoicing of victory a deep note of anxiety made itself felt". Although the headache of the problems of war was over, there was the headache of the problems of peace in the offing.

(1) Inauguration of Paris Peace Conference

After the surrender of Germany, invitations were sent to the Allied countries big and small; to send their delegates to the confer-

ence to be opened up at Paris to formulate peace terms for the defeated Powers. Paris was chosen as the site of the conference. Delegates from the defeated countries were not invited to participate in the work of peace-making.

Paris took the appearance of a vast caravan sarai where people of all parts of the world came to watch and wait for the mysterious tomorrow. In January 1919 the conference formally met at Versailles in Paris and started the stupendous task. The delegates of the allies assembled at Paris not only to make peace but to perpetuate peace. They desired to make world safe for democracy and to give the dependent people of the colonies the right of self-determination. Unfortunately these laudable principles were not the true basis of the peace settlement.

(2) Site of Conference — an Unfortunate Choice

The venue of the Conference was wrongly selected. Paris had not yet recovered from the shock of the World War I. The temper of Paris was hardly suitable for a balanced discussion of the terms of peace treaties. The advocates of a more sober policy were therefore placed at a great disadvantage in the inflamed atmosphere of the capital of France. As Dr. J. M. Keynes has observed "Paris was a night-mare and every one there was morbid. The entire atmosphere was seething with the spirit of discontent, hatred vengeance, cynicism and spite". Similarly, Dr. Charles Seymour a close associate of US President Wilson has remarked thus, "Paris was a bad place for business where we were hampered by the atmosphere itself; where German guilt was assumed to be a proved fact; sub-consciously the shell-shocks of Paris affected the nerves of all the delegates". In the same vein Dr. Langsam said "The masses were hysteric and the mass hysteria rendered the statesmen paralytic". The choice of Paris as the site of the conference was thus a great blunder.

(3) Impact of Personality of the Delegates of Big Four at Paris Peace Conference

The personal element of the diplomats who had assembled to make the peace also determined the progress of deliberations and the process of decisions at the peace conference.

(i) Among the leaders of the conference President Wilson of the United States enjoyed enormous prestige. His lofty outlook had made him at one time unpopular to European diplomats who were pre-occupied with the idea of vendetta. Even in Germany President Wilson was idealised as a symbol of disinterested morality. His soaring idealism was completely divorced from the realities of

European politics. In actual practice President was isolated from the main current of European politics.

(ii) Lloyd George who headed the British delegation was the leader of the Liberal Party. His slogans were "Make Germany pay Shilling for Shilling and Ton for Ton". The British Prime Minister Lloyd George was committed in the general elections of 1918 to a ruthless policy towards Germany. He was the most important personality in the Paris conference due to his wit, humour and cleverness in finding the weak points in an adversarys arguments.

(iii) French delegation to the peace conference was led by French Premier George Clemenceau who was sceptical and cynical about every thing. But he was the ablest diplomat at the conference on account of his thorough knowledge of world affairs. Though he criticised both the British Premier Lloyd George and American President and had once remarked that "Lloyd George believes himself to be Napoleon, but President Wilson believes himself to be Christ" yet he was prudent enough to show courtesy to them and pay outward respect to American ideals and British aspirations. It was he who never lost sight of the French goal for security at any cost to Germany. By and large the French Prime Minister Clemenceau aptly nicknamed the Tiger was the most dominating figure at the peace conference and stood as the very embodiment of the prevalent spirit of revenge basing it at the same time on the solid argument of French security.

(iv) Among other delegates mention must be made of the learned eloquent and artful Premier of Italy Vittorio Orlando who when asked to express his opinion about the League of Nations, said "Yes we believe in the League but we want the question of Fiume settled first". He had come to the conference with a definite aim — the fulfilment of the promises made to Italy in the secret Treaty of London (1915) as the prize of her participation in the First World War on the side of the allies.

(4) Defects in the Organisation of Peace Conference

(i) The conference had its misfortune in having Dutasta as its Secretary General. He was absolutely incompetent for the task entrusted to him.

(ii) The first plenary session of the peace conference was held on 18th January, 1919. Some seventy two delegates and pleni-potentiaries represented the thirty two states. Each delegation needed at least one hotel to accommodate its large army of secretaries, advisers, journalists and representatives of varied interests. This was too large and unwieldly group to conduct business efficiently.

(iii) Japan soon lost interest in the deliberations of the conference. On the other hand Italy withdrew her delegation as a protest against President Wilsons refusal to meet her special claims. The peace conference was therefore, dominated by Big three i.e., the United States, Britain and France. The delegates of these big three countries held their meeting in strict secrecy and the full conference was relegated into the background just to register the decisions of the Big Three.

(5) Problems of Paris Peace Conference

The Paris Peace Conference wanted not only to liquidate war but to establish a new order in Europe. The peace-makers desired to ensure a durable peace so that never again brute force would sit on the throne of justice. The conference was confronted with certain problems which are discussed as follows:

(i) The Wording of the Covenant of the League of Nations: A great deal of controversy arose over the advisability of incorporating the covenant of the League of Nations in the peace treaty. The US President Wilson wanted that it should be included in the treaty of Versailles. The second plenary session of the Paris Conference held on 25th January, 1919 appointed a commission under the chairmanship of President Wilson to frame the draft for the covenant of the League. He presented a report to another plenary session of the Conference held in February, 1919. However, after the insertion of twenty six changes the covenant was finally adopted on 28th April, 1919 and thus the problem was solved.

(ii) The Issue of French Security : The second urgent problem was how to provide security to France, for which she was deeply concerned. Although the Allies had won the war, France was feeling insecure in the future. The French expected retaliation from Germany because latter would never renounce her design of revenge against France which was instrumental in crushing German military strength. France wanted to cripple Germany politically, militarily, economically and territorially so that she could never raise her head to threaten France in future. So the French delegates insisted that firstly Germanys western frontier should be fixed at the Rhine and secondly the ten thousand square miles of territory between the Rhine on the East and Netherlands, Belgium and France on the West should be an autonomous zone more or less under French protection. American and British delegates opposed the French plan. However, after prolonged discussions a compromise was arrived at and the territory in question was to be under the Allied occupation for a specific period of time. It was also agreed that

in case Germany did not fulfil the treaty obligations, the Allied occupation of the above territory would continue indefinitely. In order to provide still more security to France the area of over 31 miles east of the Rhine was to be demilitarized by Germany. Besides this, in order to satisfy France, President Wilson and British Prime Minister Lloyd George agreed to sign special treaties which guaranteed that both the US and Britain would come to the aid of France in the event of German aggression.

(iii) Italy's Claims at Paris Peace Conference : Yet another problem before the conference was the Italian demands which had now exceeded the limits promised in the secret Treaty of London of 1915. According to this treaty Italy was promised the territory extending from the Brenner Pass in the Tirol to the port of Valona in Albania and the Dodecanese islands and some strip of territory in Asia and Africa. But now she laid claims to the port of Fiume and an extra part of the Dalmatian coast both of which had belonged to Austria. Without Fiume, Italy felt insecure because if Fiume was given to Yugoslavia, the latter would become a great maritime power. However, Italy did not succeed in getting Fiume and got less territory, than what had been promised according to the Treaty of London. So she boycotted the Conference in sheer disgust.

(iv) Question of Settlement of the Colonies of the Defeated Countries: The colonies of Germany and dependent provinces of Ottoman Empire were the other trouble-some issues. Some delegates wanted out-right annexation of these territories while others denounced this as imperialistic. However, the restoration of these colonies to their former master was not deemed to be expedient. In the circumstances, a new formula was devised by General Smuts. This formula was known as the Mandate System. According to this plan, the territories which were to be taken from Germany, Austria-Hungary and Turkey were to be assigned to the League of Nations which in turn, was to delegate its authority to some other countries which would govern these territories under Leagues supervision.

(v) The Issue of Reparation : In their pre-armistice note of November 5, 1918 the Allied Powers had stipulated that Germany would be expected to pay for all damage done to the civilian population of the Allies and to their property by the aggression of Germany. The Conference established a commission for determining the reparation amount. Some members of the commission insisted that Germany should be made to pay to the limit of her capacity. However, it was decided that by May 1921 Germany should pay a total amount of 5000,000,000 dollars in gold or its equivalent.

These main stumbling blocks having been removed, the Conference proceeded to give the treaty the final shape.

(B) The Basis Of The Peace Treaties

The drafting of the treaty of Versailles was not an isolated event in itself but was rather the outcome of a long peace programme already agreed upon between the Allies and the Central Powers.

When Germany laid down her arms on 11th November, 1918, she did so because of a formal agreement on the principles of the final settlement. These principles were as follows:

1. Fourteen Points of US President Wilson

President Wilson enunciated his famous fourteen points in his address to Congress on 8th January, 1918. These 14 points were to be the basis of the final settlement between the Allies and Germany. These 14 points were as follows:

(i) Open covenants of peace to be openly arrived at.

(ii) Absolute freedom of navigation upon the seas during peace and war.

(iii) Free international trade.

(iv) Reduction of national armaments to the lowest point consistent with national security.

(v) A just colonial policy.

(vi) Evacuation of Russias territory and leaving Russia free to determine her political system.

(vii) Evacuation and restoration of Belgium without imposing limits on her sovereignty.

(viii) Evacuation of invaded French territory and cession of Alsace and Lorraine to France.

(ix) Readjustment of the frontiers of Italy on the lines of nationality.

(x) Autonomous development of the people of Austria-Hungary.

(xi) Evacuation and restoration of Rumania, Serbia and Montenegro. Serbia to be accorded free access to sea.

(xii) Autonomous development for nationalities in the Turkish Empire. The Turkish provinces to be assured a secure sovereignty.

(xiii) An independent Poland with free access to sea.

(xiv) A general association of nations to be formed for affording mutual guarantees of political independence and territorial integrity to great and small nations alike.

(2) President Wilson's Four Principles

In an address to the US congress on 11 February, 1918 President Wilson enunciated Four Principles for the final settlement with Germany and her allies:

(i) The first principle was that each part of the final settlement should be based on the essential justice of that particular case and upon such adjustments as were most likely to bring a permanent peace.

(ii) The second principle was that the people and territories were not to be bartered about from sovereignty to sovereignty as if they were chattels or pawns in a game of power politics.

(iii) The third principle stated that every territorial settlement after the war should be made in the interest and for the benefit of the populations concerned and not as a part of any mere adjustment or compromise of claims among rival states.

(iv) The fourth principle enunciated by Wilson was that all well-defined national aspirations should be fulfilled as far as possible without introducing new or perpetuating old elements of discord and antagonism.

(3) Wilson's Five Interpretations

In his another speech in New York on 27th September, 1918, US President Wilson laid down his Five Interpretations of his governments duty with regard to peace.

(i) Impartial justice should be meted out to the victors as well as the vanquished without any kind of discrimination.

(ii) No special interest of any single country or a group of countries could be made the basis of any part of the peace settlement.

(iii) There should be no alliances or special covenants and understandings within the general and common family of League of Nations. In other words the member states of the League would abide by its covenant in the interest of world peace.

(iv) There should be no special selfish economic combinations within the League of Nations and no economic boycott of any form against any state. It was to be the duty of the League to impose economic sanctions against an aggressive nation in the interest of world peace.

(v) All the international agreements and treaties of every kind should be made known in their entirety to the rest of the world.

(4) Secret Agreements and Promises as the Basis of Paris Peace Settlement

The diplomats at Paris were steeped in the nationalistic tradition. The peace settlement was the outcome of a compromise of Wilsonian idealism with the exigencies of the victorious Powers. Various factors such as war time pledges, solemn statements of war aims of the nations, national aspirations of the countries involved in the war, old rivalries among the countries of Europe, disturbing implications of the Russian Revolution of 1917 and countless other restraining influences had registered their impact on the final peace settlement. In this context Palmer and Perkins have rightly said "It is not too much to say that the combination of commitments and hard facts pre-determined The Peace of Paris.

(i) The Secret Treaty of London : A secret treaty was signed between Great Britain and Italy on 26 April, 1915 in which Italy was promised in return for a declaration of war on Central Powers, the territories of Trentino, Trieste and Northern Dalmatia and a sphere of influence in Asiatic Turkey. Italy was also promised a special war loan and part of the war indemnity.

(ii) Pledge of the Allies to Rumania : A similar understanding was given to Rumania in August, 1916 when the Allied Powers agreed to concede the two provinces of Bukovina and Transylvania which she since long coveted in return for her participation in the First World War on the side of the allies.

(iii) Sykes - Picot Agreement (1917) : In May, 1916 the Sykes-Picot Agreement was signed. Under this agreement England and France spelled out the names of Turkish Arabic territories which were to be administered by them after the end of the war. England and France also agreed to grant independence to certain Arab states which were formerly the component territories of Turkish empire.

(iv) St. Jean de Maurienne Agreement (1917) : On 17th April, 1917 came St. Jean de Maurienne agreement in which Italy was granted by the Allies a sphere of influence in the Anatolian districts of Smyrna and Adalia.

(v) Naval Agreement Between Japan and Britain : In February, 1917 in return for certain naval assistance Britain promised to support the Japanese claims to the German rights in Shantung and to the German islands north of the equator.

(vi) Agreement Between France and Russia : In March, 1917 an agreement was made between France and Russia. Under this agreement Russia offered to support French claims in Alsace-Lorraine, the Saar Basin and the Rhine-land in return for French assistance in achieving Russias territorial claims with regard to the Central Powers.

(5) War-time Promises and Declarations

The political leaders had in their minds the various promises which they had made to their people during the war. These declarations ranged from "Hang the Kaiser" to "making the world safe for democracy". A genuine fear of resurgent Germany which might try to undo the work of the Peace Conference gripped the hearts of many. Germany would have to be weakened to a point where she could never make such an attempt in future. With passions still hot a natural desire to punish Germany and her allies was understandably at hand.

During the course of hostilities in the year 1915 Britain made vague and general promises to the Arab leader Husain, the Sheriff of Mecca regarding the independence of Arab states after the end of war. This commitment was not known even to France. On the other hand the British Foreign Secretary Balfour promised to the World Jewy a National Home in Palestine in public declaration, issued in November, 1917.

(C) The Provisions Of The Treaty Of Versailles (1919)

All the details of the treaty of Versailles were completed by the beginning of May, 1919, and Germany was ordered to send her delegates to receive the peace terms. German delegation arrived at Paris on 29th April, 1919. In the Trianon Palace at Versailles the peace terms were formally presented by Clemenceau to the German delegates on 7th May, 1919. The German delegates believed that the terms of the treaty were very harsh and specially they took exception to the only German responsibility for the war. All the objections of Germany were turned down by the Allies and Germany had no alternative except to accept the peace terms or to face Allied invasion. However, at three oclock in the afternoon of June 28, 1919, in the Hall of Mirrors the German delegates signed first and the Allied delegates followed.

(1) Provisions of the Treaty of Versailles

The objective of the Treaty of Versailles as stated in its preamble was to replace the state of war by a firm, just and durable

peace. The treaty was a lengthy document running into 440 articles.

(i) Territorial Clauses:

(a) Alsace and Lorraine were to be restored to France.

(b) Most of Posen and West Prussia were ceded to Poland.

(c) Belgium obtained Eupen, Malmedy and Moresnut after a plebiscite conducted by her.

(d) The coal mines of Saar were to be regarded as property of France in compensation for the destruction of the French mines. Saar was to be administered by the League of Nations for fifteen years. After this period a plebiscite was to be held and in case the people of Saar favoured merger with Germany, France was to get compensation for the relinquishment of the mines.

(e) As a result of a plebiscite held in March, 1920, Demark received Northern Schleswig.

(f) Silesia was partitioned between Germany and Poland. However, a small bit of upper Silesia was ceded to Czechoslovakia.

(g) Danzig, together with about 750 square miles of adjacent territory with a population almost wholly German was made "Free City" under the protection of the League of Nations, but it was included in Poland to provide the latter a corridor to sea and Poland was to take the charge of the Citys foreign relations.

(h) Memel was to be given to the Allies who would determine its future.

(i) Germany renounced "in favour of Principal Allied and the Associated Powers all her rights and titles over her overseas possessions". These colonies were later on distributed among Britain, France, Belgium, Japan, Union of South Africa, Australia, and New Zealand as the Mandates of the League of Nations.

(j) The islands north of the Equator and all rights of Germany in Kiaochow in China were given to Japan.

(k) German New Guinea, Nauru and islands south of Equator were mandated to Britain.

(l) German Samoa was entrusted to New Zealand as a mandate of the League.

(m) The rest of German islands were mandated to Australia.

(n) Besides these, Germanys all special rights and privileges in China, Siam, Siberia, Morocco and Egypt were given up. Her entire

property and concessions in the Ottoman Empire and Bulgaria were forfeited.

(o) The Union of Germany and Austria was forbidden without the unanimous approval of the Council of the League of Nations. Germany acknowledged the sovereignty of Austria.

(p) The total result was that Germany lost in Europe about sixty lakhs in population and about 25000 square miles of territory. The total area of German colonies seized by the allies was 10,27,000 square miles.

(ii) Economic Clauses of the Treaty of Versailles : (a) A reparation commission was to be appointed by the Allied Powers to determine the total amount of reparation and the mode of payment. Meanwhile upto 1st May, 1921, Germany was required to pay the equivalent of 5000,000,000 dollars.

(b) If the Reparation Commission so demanded, Germany was required to build ships for the Allies upto a maximum of two hundred thousand tons a year for five years.

(c) Germany agreed to make annual deliveries of coal for ten years as follows. She would give 7000,000 tons to France, 8000,000 tons to Belgium, 7700,000 tons to Italy and smaller amount to Luxemberg.

(d) In addition to coal, Germany was to give to the Allies, coal tar, ammonium sulphate, dyestuffs and chemicals in huge quantities.

(e) The Elbe, Oder, Niemen and the Danube rivers were declared international. Along with Rhine, these rivers were to be placed under the control of an International Commission so that free access to the sea might be provided for the land-locked countries of Central Europe.

(f) The products of the Allied Powers were to be accorded the most favoured nation treatment in Germany.

(g) The Kiel canal and its approaches were made open on equal terms to the merchant and war vessels of all countries at peace with Germany.

(h) All German property, private as well as public in the former German colonies and in the Allied countries was forfeited.

(i) A large number of horses, cattle, sheep etc., were to be delivered to France and Belgium in compensation for those confiscated during the war.

(iii) Military Clauses (a) The Rhine was to be demilitarized for 50 km., east of the river. Its western zone was to be occupied by the Allied Powers for fifteen years. The existing fortifications in the Rhine-land were to be destroyed. No military force was to be maintained in that region and no manoeuvres of the German army were to be held in the Rhine-land.

(b) The German General Staff was dissolved and conscription was abolished. The total strength of the German army was fixed at one lakh men including 4000 officers. These forces were to be devoted exclusively to the maintenance of law and order in Germany.

(c) The manufacture of armaments and war materials was limited and such materials could be stored only at points to be notified by the Allied Powers. No war materials were to be exported or imported. Poisonous gases. armoured cars and tanks were to be neither made or imported.

(d) Germany's navy was reduced to six battle ships of 10000 tons, six light cruisers twelve destroyers, twelve torpedo boats and a personnel of 15000. All submarines were forbidden.

(e) Heligoland was to be dismantled and the Baltic and North sea coasts were to be kept free from fortification.

The Allies reserved the right to appoint commissions of control to supervise the execution of the disarmament clauses with extensive powers of investigation.

(f) Germany was not to have any military or naval air force. She was required to surrender all aeronautical war material.

(g) All educational institutions, societies of discharged soldiers, shooting or touring clubs and generally speaking associations of every description were not to occupy themselves with any military matters.

(iv) The Legal Clauses of Treaty of Versailles : The war guilt clauses of the Treaty of Versailles stated thus: "The Allies and Associated Governments affirm and Germany accepts the responsibility of Germany and her allies for causing all the loss and damage to which they and their nationals have been subjected as a consequence of the war imposed by the aggression of Germany and her allies". The German Emperor Kaiser William II of Hohenzollern was charged "for supreme offence against international morality and sanctity of treaties". But since he had taken shelter in Netherlands which refused to extradite him, he could not be brought to trial. Only some dozen war criminals were put to trial at Leipzig and they were awarded minor punishments.

(v) Miscellaneous Provisions of the Treaty : (a) Germany was to restore within six months of enforcement of the treaty, the trophies, archives, historical souvenirs, and works of art carried away by her army from France during the Franco-German war of 1870-71. Germany was required to return to France the French flags and political papers seized by her during the course of hostilities.

(b) Similarly, Germany was to deliver to His Majesty the King of the Hejaz the original Qoran of the Caliph Othman, which was removed from Medina by the authorities of Turkey and was presented to Kaiser William II the ex-Emperor of Germany.

(c) Germany was required to hand over to British monarch the skull of the Sultan Mkwawa which was removed from the Protectorate of German East Africa and taken to Germany.

(d) Germany was to furnish to the University of Louvain manuscripts books etc. corresponding in number and value to those destroyed by the burning of the University by German forces.

(D) Critical Appraisal Of The Treaty Of Versailles

The Treaty of Versailles was ostensibly based on the principles enunciated by the US President Wilson. The creation of the League of Nations was largely due to Wilsonian idealism. But in many other respects the Treaty was a departure from the idealism preached by the American President. So the treaty has been vehemently criticised from various angles.

(1) Harsh and Vindictive Treaty

When the terms of the draft treaty were made known to the Germans, they were regarded as "staggering in their severity and impossible of fulfilment". When the proposed terms were published in the newspapers, the Germans denounced them in emphatic terms. The President of German Republic condemned the terms as "unfulfillable, unbearable and ruinous". In the same vein the President of the National Republic cried "Our enemies have laid before us a treaty which surpasses by far the fears of our greatest pessimists". The chairman of Armistice Commission remarked "The Treaty of Versailles is the work of the devil".

The Treaty was designed to keep Germany in perpetual subjection. While Germany was stripped of her armaments and left naked before her enemy; the Allied Powers were entitled to ask for impossible sums as reparations and to occupy German territory as a guarantee of payment. Commenting on the harshness of the terms, Benns has remarked thus "The prospects of crushing reparation

amount and of a long military occupation, the forced destruction of the mechanism and equipment of the German national army under the eyes of Allied Commission and the abolition of conscription, were the humiliations difficult to bear. Most obnoxious too were the arrangements for the Eastern frontiers, the revival of Poland, the Polish corridor to sea, severing East Prussia from Brandenburg and the cession to Poland of a large slice of the industrial area of Silesia. That the Germans should be compelled to renounce all the conquests of the great Frederick was the least easy for their pride to accept".

Germany's economy was shattered as a result of the vindictive treaty. Germany lost a population of 70 lakhs, 15% of arable land, 12% of her livestock and nearly 10% of her manufacturing establishments. Germany suffered the loss of 40% of her coal reserve, two-third of her iron ore and much of her other natural resources which dislocated her industry, trade and commerce. All German overseas possessions were ceded as "Mandated Territories of the League and the victorious Powers distributed these mandated territories among themselves. The rich coal mines of the Saar were taken away from Germany and placed under French administration for 15 years. Thus, Germany was militarily humbled, politically segregated and economically crippled.

(2) Element of Dictation in the Treaty of Versailles

The Treaty had an element of dictation in it. Professedly the provisions of the Treaty were drafted according to the principles enunciated by President Wilson of the United States. But it was in reality a peace imposed by the victors on the vanquished. Throughout the Paris Peace Conference, the German delegates were not consulted even for once. Commenting on the position of German delegates Dr. Langsam says "The movements of the delegates were carefully restricted; they were guarded by Allied officers, were kept in their hotel behind barbed wires, and were forbidden to communicate with Allied Deputies". In the Trianon Palace at Versailles the peace terms were formally presented by the French Premier Clemenceau to the German delegates on 7th May, 1919. The Allied delegates while entering the palace were presented a guard of honour but it was withdrawn then the German delegates came in. Addressing the German delegation Clemenceau said "You have before you the accredited plenipotentiaries of all the small and great Powers united to fight together in the War that has been so cruelly imposed upon them. The time has come when we must settle our accounts. You have asked for peace. We are ready to give you peace". Much to its disappointment the German delegation came to know that there would be no negotiations. The German delegates were

informed that three weeks would be allowed in which they were to consider the terms and that complaints if any should be submitted in writing. On 29th May, 1919 the German delegation submitted to the Allies a detailed memorandum elaborating its criticism of the Treaty. This memorandum covered 443 printed pages. All the German objections were turned down. The Allied Powers sent ultimatum to Germany "Either accept the terms by seven Oclock in the evening of Monday June 23, 1919 unconditionally or get ready to face the invasion". The National Assembly of the German Republic decided to accept the treaty after a few stormy sessions during which Scheidemann the Minister President declared "Let the hand wither that signs it". On 28th June, 1919 at 3 p.m. in the Hall of Mirrors the German delegates signed the treaty and on the following day the German National Assembly by 208 votes to 115 approved the treaty. The nation thereafter held that the treaty was imposed on them by brute force and as such this dictated peace was not morally binding on them.

(3) Violation of the Principle of Reciprocity

Reciprocity regarding disarmament, transportation, colonies and punishment of guilty officers and soldiers was not observed. In this context M. G. Gupta has observed thus "War crimes were not the monopoly of the German officers and the record of the Allied army men was not hundred per cent clean". In same vein Adams Gibbons has remarked thus "Since reciprocity was not promised in the disarmament, transportation and economic clauses of the treaty, Germany virtually signed away her sovereignty and put herself in the hands of the receivers. All the ideals upon which the Treaty was based were forced upon Germany alone and completely disregarded by the Allies". So without reciprocity it was peace of force and its terms were possible of execution. Only as long as the force which caused Germans to sign it, continued to make them execute it.

(4) Treaty not Based on Promises Made

In their imposition of the terms of the Treaty upon Germany, the Allies took the position that everything demanded of Germany was just and reasonable in itself, the reasons being that Germany was responsible for the war and had to be crippled. The basis of the Treaty of Versailles was in reality not the laudable Wilsonian principles but the victory of the Allies. The following facts indicate the betrayal of Germany by the Allied Powers.

(i) The Covenants of peace were not openly arrived at. Strict secrecy was observed by the Big Four in the deliberations for the formulation of the covenants of peace with Germany.

(ii) The freedom of seas was not secured.

(iii) Free trade was promised in Europe but on the contrary a set of tariff walls was erected and this adversely affected Germanys economy.

(iv) National armaments were not reduced; but a race for accumulation of armaments continued unabated.

(v) The colonies of Germany were distributed among the Allies in a manner which was neither free nor open minded nor impartial.

(vi) The Soviet Union was debarred from being the member of the League of Nations.

(vii) The frontiers of Italy were not drawn along the lines of nationality. Much against her will, lakhs of Germans and Yugoslavs were included in Italy. The territories of Poland included many people who were indisputably not Polish. On the other hand three million German speaking subjects of the former Austrian Empire were included in the new state of Czechoslovakia.

(viii) The League of Nations in actual practice did not scruplously adhere to the principle of equality in dealing with big and small nations.

Thus, the treaty constituted a breach of faith. In this context Albjerg and Albjerg remarked thus "The Treaty was not altogether free from deception. The Germans had been promised peace on terms which were not observed at the conference. The Fourteen Points were observed when it was to the advantage of the victors,. they were often overlooked when their execution would have benefited the Germans. The latter too frequently could claim that they had been tricked and a considerable portion of world opinion would not deny it".

(5) Fragmentation of Europe

One of the unfortunate results of the Treaty of Versailles was fragmentation of Europe. It may be noted that prior to the out-break of the First World War Europe was composed of only 19 states and after the enforcement of the Treaty of Versailles there were as many as 26 states. In the words of Albjerg and Albjerg "Many of these were so small that from an economic point of view, they could not sustain themselves and economics played an even more important role after 1919 than it had played before the opening of the war. When these small states were seized by a tariff psychosis their policies seriously interfered with the flow of goods from one part of Europe to another".

(6) Lip Service to the Principle of Self-determination

When the US President and other Allied statesmen were speaking of the applicability of the principle of self-determination to the subject peoples of the Austro-Hungarian and Turkish empires, they knew that in their mouths this phrase was only a battle cry, an incitement to them to revolt against their masters. It cannot however, be denied that after their purpose was served, they in many cases forgot the promises that had been freely made. The most notable exceptions to the right of national self-determination were the creation of the Free City of Danzig stemming from President Wilsons promise to give Poland an access to the sea, the prohibition of the union of Germany and Austria, the provisional separation of the Saar basin from Germany for the purpose of reparations and the transfer to the newly created State of Czechoslovakia of about three million Germans so that she might have a strategic frontier. One-third of the population of Poland belonged by racial test to other states but these people were placed under Polish rule in order to give her economic viability and an access to sea. However, to the credit of the Paris Peace Conference it must be said that it sanctioned the liberation of millions of people who had suffered national oppression in Czarist Russia, Germany and Austria Hungary.

(7) Treaty Partly Enforced

The most serious failure of the Treaty was that it was not completely enforced. As soon as it was signed, England and France assumed divergent attitudes towards Germany. British Prime Minister believed that Germany could not recover in sixty years whereas French Premier Clemenceau was worried over Germanys military potential even in defeat. This different approach to the problems of Europe and the diplomatic rift between England and France provided Germany with an escape.

(8) Promise of New Life not Reflected in the Treaty

The Treaty of Versailles did not bring about any welcome change in the world order. It contained nothing to improve the quality of life of the international community. In the words of General Smuts "The promise of the new life, the victory of the great human ideals for which the peoples have shed their blood and their treasure without stint, the fulfilment of their aspirations towards a new international order and a fairer better world are not written in this treaty. There are territorial settlements which in my humble judgment will need revision. There are guarantees laid down which, we all hope, will soon be found out of harmony with the new peaceful temper and unarmed state of our former enemies. There are indem-

nities stipulated, which cannot be exacted without grave injury to the industrial revival of Europe".

(9) Mandatory System Unsatisfactory

The Mandatory system introduced by the Treaty of Versailles looked grand on the paper but in actual practice it did not work well. The people of the former German and Ottoman empires were placed under the control of advanced mandatory Powers like Britain, France, Belgium, and Japan which unfortunately did not discharge their obligations satisfactorily. These people of subject nations were denied the right to self-determination. The mandatory Powers tried to perpetuate their rule over the mandated territories.

(10) Powerless League of Nations

The covenant of the League of Nations was incorporated in the Treaty of Versailles. It was thus the responsibility of the League to enforce the clauses of the Treaty of Versailles. When Nazi Germany under Hitler repudiated the Treaty of Versailles, the League could do nothing to enforce the treaty. With the launching of imperialistic programme of territorial expansion by Japan, Germany and Italy, there was a spree of violations of the Treaty of Versailles. The policy of appeasement followed by Britain and France reduced the League to the position of a defunct body. The responsible and eminent member states of the League were the spectators of the violations of the Treaty of Versailles and their policy of appeasement gave fillip to the programme of aggression by the Axis Powers.

(11) The Treaty of Versailles Responsible for the Second World War

The Treaty of Versailles contained the seeds of the Second World War. According to Dr. W. C. Langsam "They (Peace Treaties) were replete with unstable compromises. They reflected materialism tinged only here and there with idealism. They contained the seeds of future conflict. They created new wounds in the process of healing old ones". Dr. Langsam is of opinion that the fourteen points of President Wilson did not fare well in the final peace settlement five were put into effect, an equal number disregarded and four carried out in a manner which benefited the allies but not the defeated Powers.

The German plea that the treaty was an obvious contradiction of all the assurances that they had received from the US President Wilson in his speeches notably the speech containing the 14 points had raised a good deal of controversy. The point was more than academic one since it was an accusation of bad faith on the part of the

allies. The treaty registered on the consciousness of the German nation the concept of dictated peace which could be altered only by superior force. Thus, Germany was the principal aggrieved party as the peace treaty was harsh, vindictive and impossible of fulfilment. Besides Germany, the national aspirations of Italy were not fulfilled. She was dubbed as Jackal on the feast at the Paris Peace Conference. She could not succeed in getting Fiume which was of strategic importance to her. The Allies hurt Italy when they did not meet Italys territorial demands according the secret Treaty of London (1915). So dissatisfaction with the Treaty of Versailles was one of the major causes of rise of totalitarianism in Italy. Thus, Nazi Germany and Fascist Italy joined hands to resort to unilateral repudiation of the Treaty of Versailles. They launched an imperialist programme of territorial aggrandizement which precipitated the out-break of the Second World War.

The Treaty of Versailles was no peace but only a twenty years truce as remarked by Marshal Fock, the Supreme Allied Commander.

(E) Other Peace Treaties

(1) Treaty of St. Germain with Austria

The Austrian delegation had reached St. Germain-en-Laye in May, 1919. A draft peace treaty was offered to the Austrian delegates on June 2, 1919. Certain amendments were made to incorporate some demands of the Austrian delegation and the treaty was finally signed on September 10, 1919 at St. Germain.

(i) The preamble of the St. Germain Treaty declared that "the former Austro-Hungarian monarchy had ceased to exist and had been replaced in Austria by a republican government".

(ii) Article 88 of the treaty forbade the re-union of Austria and Germany.

(iii) The Austrians were compelled to change the name of their country from German Austria to the Republic of Austria.

(iv) According to article 177 Austria was to accept the responsibility for causing loss and damage to the Allies.

(v) Italy received from Austria the South Tirol, the Trentino, Trieste, Istria and some islands off Dalmatia.

(vi) Poland obtained Austrian Galicia.

(vii) Rumania was awarded Bukovina.

(viii) Yugoslavia got Bosnia, Herzegovina and Dalmatian coast and some islands.

(ix) A new state of Czechoslovakia consisting of the Austrian territory of Bohemia, Moravia and Silesia was created.

(x) Austria surrendered her entire navy retaining only three boats for police purposes on the Danube. Her army was reduced to 30,000 men.

(xi) Austria renounced all her rights, privileges and concessions in non-European areas. She assented to blank reparation cheque and acknowledged the right of the Allies to try Austrian war criminals.

(xii) The articles of the Treaty of Versailles regarding the formation of the League of Nations and the ILO were also included in the Treaty of St. Germain.

Thus, Austro-Hungarian empire, her large army and glorious dynasty all disappeared in the whirlwind. Hungary declared herself independent whereas the Czechs and Slovaks broke away. On account of the these territorial arrangements Austria lost three-fourth of her territory and population. Thus, Austria emerged as a small republic of some six million people and lost her prestine glory.

(2) Treaty of Neuilly with Bulgaria

In order to escape the severity of peace terms Bulgaria sent a comprehensive memorandum to the Paris Peace Conference stating that Bulgarias entry into the war was due to the intransigence of the ex-King Ferdinand who had abdicated on 4th October, 1918 and therefore, she did not deserve much punishment. She pleaded for extension of her territory particularly in Macedonia and Dobruja. This logic was rejected by the Allies who reminded Bulgaria that she was a defeated Power and could not get what she desired. However, Bulgaria accepted the treaty of Neuilly on 27th November, 1919.

(i) Due to military and strategic considerations Yugoslavia was given small regions in Western Bulgaria. All these regions contained Bulgarian majorities.

(ii) Greece was given Western Thrace and new Greco-Bulgarian boundary was demarcated. Due to this adjustment of boundary between Greece and Bulgaria the latter lost her coastline of the Aegean Sea.

(iii) The strength of the army of Bulgaria was fixed at 20,000 men.

(iv) Her navy was dismantled. However, for police and fishery operations she was allowed to retain four torpedo boats and six motor boats.

(v) Bulgaria was required to give reparation amounting to 450,000,000 dollars payable in thirty seven years with effect from January 1, 1921.

(3) Treaty of Trianon with Hungary

On June 4, 1920 the peace treaty was signed with Hungary in the magnificent Trianon palace at Versailles. The following were the terms of the treaty of Trianon.

(i) Hungary was separated from Austria. The maritime Hungarian empire of 125000 square miles with the population of 22 million was reduced to a small land-locked Magyar state of 30000 square miles with a population of eight million.

(ii) All the states round about Hungary were allowed to have a share of Hungarian territory. Rumania got Transylvania. Yugoslavia obtained Croatia — Slavonia. Slovakia became part of the new state of Czechoslovakia. Austria was given West Hungary.

(iii) Hungary's army was reduced to 35000 men and her navy was reduced to a few patrol boats.

On account of territorial arrangements, some six hundred thousand men and women of Magyar race and some four and a half million of former subjects of the Hungarian empire passed under alien domination. The lovely mountain region of Transylvania where Magyar nobles went for pleasure trips was gone. Thus, the sentiments of the Hungarians could be very well-imagined.

(4) Treaty of Sevres with Turkey

The territorial arrangement to be made for Turkish empire presented the most complex and controversial of all the issues faced by the Paris Peace Conference. The areas included in the Turkish empire were the bone of contention between England, France Russia and Italy since long. The complexities had been heightened by the numerous secret treaties which the Allies concluded for the dismemberment of this empire. To make matters worse, Russia after Bolshevik revolution published all the secret treaties. This made the peace-makers move slowly and cautiously and the negotiations continued upto August, 1920. The treaty of Sevres with, Turkey was signed on 20th August, 1920, by the representatives of the Sultan. The terms of the treaty were as follows:

(i) Turkey was required to surrender all her rights and concessions in Egypt, the Sudan, Cyprus, Tripolitania, Tunisia, and

Morocco. She also renounced her rights over Arabia, Palestine, Mesopotamia and Syria.

(ii) Smyrna and South Western Asia Minor were put under temporary control of Greece.

(iii) Italys occupation over Rhodes and the Dodecanese Islands was confirmed though she promised to cede the Dodecanese Islands to Greece.

(iv) The Zone of the Straits was internationalised and demilitarized. Constantinople remained under Turkish control.

(v) Turkey agreed to recognise Armenia as an independent state with boundaries to be drawn by President Wilson.

(vi) Autonomy was to be given to Kurdistan and her boundaries were to be demarcated.

(vii) Spheres of influence were granted to France and Italy in Anatolia as a result of an agreement among Britain, France and Italy.

Thus, nothing was left of the old and vast Turkish empire except mountainous Asia Minor and a corner of Europe. As a matter of fact, the treaty of Sevres resulted in complete subjection of the Turks by the Europeans.

(5) Treaty of Lausanne (July, 1923)

Turkish nationalists led by their dynamic leader Kemal Pasha vehemently criticised the treaty of Sevres and prevented its implementation. Certain international developments were favourable for Turkish nationalists. The exhausted armies of the Allies clamoured for demobilisation. France was jealous of Britain because she knew that the conquest of Turkey had been completed by British troops. Bolshevik revolution was making its own headway and there was fear of a similar uprising in Turkey. On April 24, 1920 the terms of the Treaty of Sevres were published by the Allies. The Sultan submitted but the followers of Kemal Pasha refused to accept them. The Greeks supported by the Allies, advanced from Smyrna into Asia Minor to enforce the terms of the Treaty of Sevres. In this armed conflict Turkey was supported by Russia. In the mean while the ex-King Constantine who had been hostile to the Allies during the First World War ascended on the throne of Greece. This resulted in the coolness of the relations between the Allies and Greece. The Allies withdrew their support to Greece. However, an armistice was concluded on 11th October, 1922. The Greeks were ordered to evacuate and restore Thrace to Turkey. Invitations were issued to the United

States, France, Italy, Rumania, Yugoslavia, Greece, Turkey and Japan to meet at Lausanne to reconsider the Treaty of Sevres. However, on 20th November 1922 negotiations for peace were opened at Lausanne between Nationalist Turkey on the one hand and the Allied Governments on the other. The negotiations proved to be fruitless in February, 1923 but in April, 1923 the negotiations were again opened and this time Turkey got most of what she demanded. The Treaty of Lausanne was signed by the Allied governments and Turkey in July, 1923.

It contained the following provisions:

(i) Turkey secured eastern Thrace including the city of Adrianople.

(ii) Constantinopole was restored to Turkey.

(iii) The Zone of the straits was demilitarized and opened to the ships of all nations in time of peace and when Turkey was neutral in the event of war. In the event of Turkeys belligerency, enemy vessels must be kept out of the straits.

(iv) The boundary of Syria as agreed with France in 1921 was confirmed.

(v) All allied claims for reparations arising out of Turkish involvement in the First World War were renounced. In return for this concession, Turkey agreed to introduce judicial reforms and give adequate protection to the minorities.

(vi) No restrictions were to be imposed on Turkeys military, naval and air forces.

(vii) Turkey renounced all her claims over Egypt, Libya, the Sudan, Palestine, Iraq and Syria and recognized British occupation of Cyprus.

(viii) There was to be compulsory exchange of Turkish subjects in Greece for Greek subjects in Turkey.

The Treaty of Lausanne was negotiated by a long process of bargaining between the Allies and Turkey. It was not a dictated peace.

5

THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

OUTLINES:

(A) Establishment of the League of Nations.
(B) Aims and Objectives of the League of Nations.
(C) The Functions of the Organs of the League of Nations.
(D) Successes and Failures of the League of Nations.
(E) Causes of the failure of the League of Nations.
(F) The Mandate System under the Auspices of the League.
(G) General Appraisal of the League.

(A) Establishment Of The League Of Nations

The Paris Peace Conference aimed at the maintenance of world peace through international cooperation on the lines laid down in the covenant of the League of Nations. The maintenance of collective security against wars of aggression was henceforth entrusted to the League. The establishment of the League of Nations at the Paris Peace Conference of 1919 represented the most ambitious effort ever made to regulate international relations for the promotion of world peace.

(1) Origin of the Idea of the League

The idea of international organisation for the peace and security of the world was not a new one. It was old as the idea of the universal Church and the universal Empire. The dissolution of the Roman Empire created a vacuum which the Holy Roman Empire tried to fill in by creating a universal empire. In the middle Ages the Church claimed allegiance of all Christians and it was a natural rival of the Empire. The idea of submitting, the dispute of the European nations before a Council of Nations was proposed for the first time by Pierre Duboise through his treatise entitled "Restoration of the

Holy Land" published in 1306. He was a celebrated disciple of Thomas Acquinas. Dante in his book entitled" de Monarchia (1310)" preached the restoration of the Roman Empire for peace and unity.

In 17th century the legal aspects of international relations were highlighted in Hugo Grotiuss treatises on the subject. In 1623 Emerie Cruce, in his book entitled New Society advocated a world-wide organisation for resolving international disputes. Yet another advocate of pacific settlement of international disputes was William Penn who proposed to establish the Parliament of Europe for maintaining peace and harmony among the countries.

In the 19th century the Industrial revolution and the advancement made in the field of science and technology had brought the problem of international cooperation to the forefront. The invention of telegraph (1844), telephone (1876) wireless (1896) and swift means of transport due to the invention of steam power removed the barrier of distance. The various states of the world became interdependent. The result was the growth of a number of organisations to facilitate functional cooperation. The need for international organisations to tackle the problem of transport and communication led to the establishment of the Universal Postal Union (1878) and International Telegraph Union, the Danube Commission and the Rhine River Commission. The International office of Public Health was established in 1909 and certain allied organisations were the outcome of international cooperation for health and sanitation. Other international organisations such as International Council for the Exploration of the Sea and International Institute for Agriculture provided scope for mutual understanding among many nations. The 19th century also saw the growth of peace movements. In 1816 a peace society was founded in London and another was formed in the USA in 1828. In the middle of 19th century six congresses for the promotion of world peace, disarmament and codification of international law were held. A plan to establish two international organisations such as a Congress and a Court was advocated by William Ladd and promoted by the London Peace Society.

The International Peace Congress strongly influenced the agitation for the renunciation of war and for securing permanent peace. These pacifist movements were the fore-runners of the League of Nations. In the political field the 19th century saw the cooperation of the Great Powers to maintain status quo through periodic congresses held by victorious countries after the downfall of Napoleon. The Holy Alliance made a loose arrangement for such cooperation. But the Quadruple Alliance was the real basis of cooperation

between Prussia, Russia, Britain and Austria in the Concert of Europe. France too joined the Concert of Europe in 1818. The Concert of Europe worked well as long as the Great Powers agreed on the important issues.

(2) Genesis of the League of Nations

The last of the Fourteen Points of the US President Wilson and the one which, in the midst of the wreck of nearly all his idealistic plans at the Paris Peace Conference, he clung to with single-minded interest and to which he did succeed in giving a concrete shape was the scheme of the League of Nations. The adoption by the Paris Conference of the idea of establishing a League of Nations may be counted a triumph of Wilson although the actual shape the League received as it emerged out of the discussions at the conference bears the impress of more than one mind. The plan of the League of Nations was embodied in a covenant which was prefixed to the Treaty of Versailles and the other peace treaties drafted by the Conference. Running through the whole document there is President Wilsons master mind assisted by Lord Robert Cecil. President Wilson and Lord Cecil were forced to compromise with the imperialist minds of General Smuts of South Africa and Leon Bourgeois of France. Lord Robert Cecil wanted League to provide a forum through which conflicts among nations could be forestalled by compelling them to resort to a peaceful procedure of conference., delay and discussion rather than war. General Smuts suggested that the mandate system should be introduced. According to this system the League entrusted the colonies of the Central Powers and Ottoman empire to the victorious Allied Powers; which would gradually grant independence to these subject nations. Thus the idea of General Smuts is crystallized in the Mandate System. To General Smuts is also attributed the suggestion of an international secretariat which was accepted and provided for in the covenant of the League. The influence of Bourgeois, though slight, made the League membership confined to allied and neutral nations alone. In a sense the League of Nations was, as Prof: Toynbee thinks an institutional replacement, of the idea of a Concert of Europe which had been sought to be set-up by Tsar Alexander I and Metternick after the downfall of Napoleon the Great.

The British perception of the League is evident from the statements of Lloyd George the British Prime Minister. He said "It is not however, enough to draw a just and far-sighted peace with Germany. If we are to offer Europe an alternative to Bolshevism, we must make the League of Nations into something which will be both

a safeguard to those nations who are prepared for a fair dealing with their neighbours and a menace to those who would trespass on the rights of their neighbours, whether they are Imperialist Empires or Imperial Bolshevists. An essential element, therefore, in the peace settlement is the constitution of the League of Nations as the effective guardian of international right and international liberty through out the world. It is essential that the leading members of the League of Nations should present a united front to the forces of reaction and revolution".

The Paris Peace Conference set-up a special commission representing fourteen Allied nations to prepare the draft for the covenant of the League of Nations. On February 14, 1919 the tentative draft of the covenant was presented to the Conference. A few subsequent changes were made in the Covenant and on 28th April, 1919 the revised draft was unanimously accepted at the plenary session of the Peace Conference. The Covenant of the League was embodied in first twenty six articles of the Treaty of Versailles. On 10th January 1920 the League of Nations came officially into existence, the day when the Treaty of Versailles came into force.

(B) Aims, Objectives And Responsibilities Of The League Of Nations

The aims, objectives and certain responsibilities of the League of Nations were stated in the covenant of the League in clear and unambiguous language. These are discussed as follows:

(i) The member states of the League would try to promote international cooperation and to achieve international peace and security.

(ii) The members of the League would try to reduce armaments to the lowest point consistent with national security.

(iii) According to article 10 of the Covenant the members states of the League agreed to respect and preserve as against external aggression the territorial integrity and the political independence of all the members of the League.

(iv) They also agreed to submit either to arbitration or judicial settlement or to enquiry by the League Council any dispute likely to lead to war.

(v) According to article 18 of the Covenant, the member

states undertook to communicate to the League every treaty or international agreement entered into by them for registration and publication by the Secretariat.

(vi) They also agreed to respect the verdict of the League of Nations regarding any dispute.

(vii) The Mandatory States undertook to submit to the Council of the League an annual report in reference to the mandated territories committed to their charge.

(viii) The member states pledged to secure fair and humane conditions of labour for men, women and children.

(ix) The Mandatory States also agreed to secure just treatment of the native inhabitants of the mandated territories under their control.

(x) The League was to supervise the execution of agreements with regard to the traffic in women and children, the traffic in opium and other dangerous drugs and the trade in arms and ammunition.

(xi) Yet another aim of the League was to make provision to secure and maintain the freedom of communication and transit and to take interest in the matters of internatinal concern for the prevention and control of diseases.

(xii) The League was entrusted with certain administrative functions. Among these functions were the protection of national minorities, the supervision of the Free City of Danzig, the administration of the Saar valley, and the operation of Mandate System.

(xiii) All threats to peace were within the competence of the League of Nations and all controversies among its member-states were in theory atleast, to be submitted to the procedure of arbitration, adjudication or conciliation provided for in the covenant.

However, the League was not a super state or a federation of states or a world government. It had neither territory nor sovereignty. It had neither army nor citizens. It was just an international organisation of sovereign states designed to ensure durable peace and prevent wars by means of adjudication, arbitration and conciliation.

(C) The Functions Of The Organs Of The League Of Nations

The number of member states when the League of Nations

started functioning on 10th January 1920 was 24, rising to 41 by the end of the year, to 50 in 1924 to 60 in 1934 and was 43 in 1946, the last year of its life. Germany was not admitted till 1926 nor the Soviet Union till 1934. The USA was never a member of the League. In December 1939 Soviet Union was pronounced as an aggressor for declaring war on Finland and expelled from membership of the League. The organisation of the League of Nations was out-lined in the Covenant by which three bodies such as the Assembly, the Council and the Secretariat were constituted. Associated with the League were two other autonomous organisations: (1) the Permanent Court of International Justice and (2) the International Labour Organisation.

(1) The Composition and Functions of the Assembly

(i) The Assembly which consisted of the representatives of the member states of the League, met annually at Geneva on the first Monday in September. The delegation consisting of not more than three members was to represent each member state. Each delegation had one vote.

(ii) The Assembly elected its own President and eight vice-presidents. There were six standing committees for each of the subjects: (a) Constitutional and legal, (b) Technical organisation, (c) Armaments, (d) Budget, (e) Social and General, (f) Political affairs. Special committees for particular purposes could also be appointed. Each committee elected a chairman. These elected officials of the League constituted the General Committee of the Assembly.(iii) The functions of the Assembly were quite broad, though some what vague. Article 3 of the League covenant declared that "it may deal at its meetings with any matter within the sphere of action of the League or affecting the peace of the world". In practice the Assembly exercised three types of powers - electoral, constituent and deliberative. In exercise of its electoral functions, the Assembly elected new members by two-third majority. It elected three of the nine non-permanent members of the Council every year by a simple majority vote. The Assembly also elected 15 judges of the Permanent Court of International Justice every nine years by majority vote. It also gave its approval to the nomination of the Secretary General by the Council.

(iv) As a constituent body, the Assembly could amend the the covenant in accordance with the provisions of Article 26. Any amendment bill passed by the Assembly was to be approved by the League Council by unanimous vote and it was subject to ratification by the member states.

(v) As a deliberative body the Assembly of the League considered general political social, economic and technical questions of international interest. Under article 19 the Assembly could advise the member-states to reconsider the in applicable treaties. The Assembly had to pass its budget. The expenses incurred by the League never exceeded ten million dollars every year.

(vi) The Secretary-General at each meeting of the assembly presented an annual report reviewing the Leagues activities in the preceding year. The Assembly opened its session with a debate on the state of the world affairs. The Assembly kept itself in close touch with the activities of the Council as well as Secretariat. The debate in the Assembly reflected the world public opinion and in it was heard the voice of the weak nations. As a forum of world opinion the Assembly influenced indirectly the pacific settlement of the disputes. The Assembly formulated the basic political and administrative policy of the League and supervised the organs of the League such as the Mandate Commission.

(2) The Council of the League

(i) The Council was designed to be a small body to serve as the executive committee of the Assembly. Originally it was decided that the Council should have five permanent seats to be assigned to the USA, UK, France, Italy and Japan, and four non-permanent seats to be assigned to Belgium, Brazil, Greece and Spain in 1920. Till 1922 the Council, in fact, contained only eight members because of the failure of the United States to ratify the Treaty of Versailles and her refusal to join the League of Nations. In 1922 the number of non-permanent members rose to six and thus the smaller powers secured a majority in the Council. The number of permanent members increased to five in 1926 when Germany became the member of the League, and she was made a permanent member of the Council. In 1934 the Soviet Union joined the League and was accorded a permanent seat but before 1934 Japan and Germany had renounced the membership of the League. However, the number of non-permanent members was increased to 9 in 1926 and 10 in 1933 and 11 in 1936. The tenure of the non-permanent members was fixed at three years. In 1939 only three permanent members such as UK, the Soviet Union and France retained their seats in the Council. In 1940 after the expulsion of the Soviet Union, the League Council consisted of only two Great Powers Britain and France and these two countries remained the permanent members of the Council till the League continued to function.

(ii) The League Council had met at least four times in each year from 1926 onwards. Besides, it had special sessions. The new President of the Council was made during each session. The presidency rotated each session in alphabetical order.

(iii) The Council could deal with any matter within the sphere of action of the League or affecting the peace of the world. In practice the settlement of international disputes was the most important function of the Council.

(iv) The Council actually acted as an executive organ of the League of Nations. Among its executive functions mention must be made of the administration of city of Danzig and Saar Valley. With the help of the Mandate Commission the Council supervised the administration of the mandates. The Council had the competence of expelling a member-state of the League for violating the League Covenant.

(v) The Council had the special responsibility for bringing about disarmament. It could exercise its authority to impose military sanctions.

(vi) The main function of the Council was to settle international disputes amicably and for this purpose the Council could convene international conferences.

(vii) The Council supervised the work of Secretariat and received the reports from different organs and other specialised agencies.

(viii) All the legal actions of the Council were merely recommendations because the League could not bind any member state without its express consent and all actions of the League were legally subject to ratification by the governments of the member-states before they became binding on them.

(ix) The Council nominated the Secretary-General and accorded its approval to the appointments made by him to subordinate positions in the Secretariat.

(3) The Secretariat of the League

(a) The Secretariat was an international civil service of almost 600 expert officials and subordinates residing at Geneva. The members of the Secretariat were in no way responsible to their respective national governments. They were in the common service of all the member-states of the League of Nations. The head of the Secretariat was Secretary-General appointed by the Council with the approval of the Assembly of the League. He had two assistants

to aid and advise him to carry out his responsibilities. The post of the Secretary General was virtually monopolised by the Great Powers. The first Secretary General was Sir Eric Drummond, who was named in the Annex of the Covenant of the League. It was hoped that the Secretary Generals would maintain their international character. But in certain respects they were more national representatives than international civil servants commissioned with the task of fulfilling the aims of the League. The staff of the secretariat was to be appointed by the Secretary-General with the approval of the Council.

(b) The Secretariat had several sections. Each section dealt with its own subject assigned to it. Various subjects such as mandates, disarmament, health, minorities, financial matters, library and administrative services were to be dealt by different sections within the Secretariat.

(c) The Secretariat was looked upon as a distinctive feature of the League of Nations. It was the responsibility of the Secretariat to implement the resolutions passed by the League Council and Assembly and to supply necessary information. The information centres and the bureaus of the League of Nations at Geneva and the branches of the League in the capitals of Britain, France, Japan and in South America served a very useful purpose. The work of the Secretariat was highly satisfactory.

(d) Article 15 of the Covenant of the League authorised the Secretary General to make arrangement for investigations and consideration of a dispute referred to the Council at the request of one of the parties. The first Secretary-General Sir Eric Drummond earned great reputation as an impartial official. His resignation led to the election of Joseph Avenol in 1932, but he failed to maintain the traditions created by his predecessor. However, Stean Lester, the last Secretary-General elected in 1940 restored the impartial character and prestige of this high office. The Secretary General and his staff co-ordinated the activities of the different organs of the League, furnished information, kept record and directly or indirectly influenced the policy of the League and the pacific settlement of disputes.

(4) The Permanent Court of International Justice

The Permanent Court of International Justice, though technically a part of the League, possessed a large measure of autonomy.

According to Article 14 "The Court shall be competent to hear and determine any dispute of an international character which the parties thereto submit to it. The Court may also give an advisory

opinion upon any dispute or question referred to it by the Council or by the Assembly". In 1920 the Council appointed a Committee of Jurists who submitted to the Council after six weeks a plan which with a few amendments was passed and sent to the Assembly. The Assembly adopted a few more amendments and converted it into the Statute of the Court in December, 1920. By the middle of 1921 the Statute was ratified by the member states and the Court came into existence.

(i) The Court was comprised of fifteen judges representing the principal legal systems in the world and was established permanently at the Hague in the Peace Palace. The judges were to be elected for nine years.

(ii) The jurisdiction of the Court extended to (1) all disputes regarding the interpretation of the treaties, and (2) all disputes regarding the interpretation of international law.

(iii) The cases were decided by majority verdict. Minority opinion was also given in some cases. The decisions of the Court were based on law and not politics. A judge could be removed only by the unanimous decision of all the judges.

(iv) The Court dealt with disputes among the member states of the League of Nations and the countries mentioned in the Annex of the Covenant. Other states were allowed to take advantage of its service on conditions laid down by the League Council.

(v) The Court applied international conventions accepted by contesting states in judging disputes. Secondly, it followed international customs as evidence of general practice accepted by law. Yet another guide accepted by the Court was the general principles of law recognised by civilised nations.

(vi) The jurisdiction of the Court was of two kinds: voluntary and compulsory. When two or more states having a dispute referred it to the Permanent Court of International Justice its voluntary jurisdiction was being invoked.

A certain number of countries accepted the legal jurisdiction of the World Court regarding any international law or breach of an international obligation. In case of the countries accepting the optional clause, the jurisdiction of the Court was compulsory. About fifty countries signed the optional clause, and in case of these countries the jurisdiction of the Court was compulsory and obligatory.

(vii) The article 14 provided thus "The Court may also give an advisory opinion upon any dispute or question referred to it by the

League Council or Assembly. The advisory opinion of the Court was usually delivered in the open Court.

However, the Permanent Court of International Justice did a lot of useful work. As a tribunal of justice it earned high reputation for its impartiality. It passed about 200 orders tried about 65 cases, pronounced 32 judgments and gave 27 advisory opinions. It was due to the efficiency and impartiality of judges that most of the orders and advisory opinions were taken in good faith.

(5) The International Labour Organisation

(i) Nature of ILO : The International Labour Organisation was was more closely connected with the organs of the League than the Permanent Court of International Justice. The members of the League of Nations were automatically the members of the ILO. Technically the ILO was not a part of the League but it was a creation of the Treaty of Versailles. However, the ILO was an autonomous organisation. The non-members of the League could also secure the membership of this organisation. For instance Germany was represented in ILO for some time before she became the member of the League and the United States which never became the member of the League, became the member of ILO as late as 1934.

As the First World War came to a close, the international meetings of national labour associations became increasingly insistent in their demands for action. One Inter-Allied Labour group called upon governments to incorporate in the peace treaties certain provisions which would ensure to the labour class, guarantees of a moral as well as a material kind, concerning the right to form associations and unions, social insurance, hours of work, hygiene and the protection of labour against exploitation at the hands of capitalists.

In order to satisfy these demands of the organised labour class and to fulfil the pledges made to them by various belligerent governments during the First World War, the Paris Peace Conference decided to create a labour organisation. The British delegate at Paris Peace Conference declared "I need scarcely remind you of the urgency of this work of labour amelioration because it is known to all of us that new thoughts are surging up all around and among us and as a result, the world is at present in a ferment". In March, 1919 Communist Russia issued invitations to the workers of the world to meet in a conference to establish the Third International and very soon the Third International formulated its Manifesto for the workers of all countries. Thus influenced, the Peace Conference set-up a commission on International Labour Legislation. On 28th April,

1919 the Paris Conference accepted the proposals submitted by the above commission and incorporated the constitution of the ILO as part XIII of the Treaty of Versailles.

The ILO agreement stated thus, "The central aim of national and international policy should be the implementation of the principle that all human beings, irrespective of race, creed or sex have right to pursue both their material well being and spiritual development in conditions of freedom and dignity, economic security and equal opportunity".

(ii) ILO Principles and Functions : The main object of the ILO was "to gain recognition for workers as human social beings rather than as mere commodities to be bought cheaply and to be exploited in the process of industrial and agricultural production". The main functions of ILO were: (1) improvement in the working conditions, (2) assurance of economic security through adequate terms of labour, wages and pensions, (3) establishment of the status of labour as an active participant in the policies of industry, (4) adequate provision for welfare services for the workers and their families, and (5) assurance of freedom to workers to form their unions.

(iii) Structure of the ILO : The ILO consisted of three principal organs: (1) The general conference, (2) The governing body, and (3) the International Labour Office.

(a) The General Conference : The General Conference which was comprised of all member-states, met annually to formulate the general policies of the organisation and to accord approval to the recommendations and conventions which, made up the International Labour Code". Each member-state sent a delegation consisting of four members. Two of these four members represented the government, whereas of the remaining two one represented the employers and other the workers. All these members were free to vote independently and usually it happened that the members of the delegation of the same country voted differently.

(b) The Governing Body : The governing body of 32 members was chosen by the General Conference. It was to function as the executive committee of the organisation. It used to meet four times each year to prepare for the convening of the General Conference and to supervise the work of the secretariat. The tripartite representation continued in this organ. 16 members represented the government, while eight members represented the employers and remaining eight represented the workers. This three-fold representation had been provided to harmonise the interests of labour with those of the management.

(c) The International Labour Office : It served as the permanent ent secretariat of the organisation and was housed in a separate building overlooking the lake of Geneva. The International Labour Office worked under a Director-General who was assisted by a huge staff of some 350 experts. It gathered and published relevant information on labour legislation and assisted the Governing Body in preparing for the General Conference. The ILO was closely linked with the League. Its budget was voted and approved annually by the League Assembly. It acted as adviser to the League in such matters as forced labour, slavery, industrial problems and the like.

The ILO provided an international forum for the discussion of labour legislation. It prepared the way for the formulation of international standards of labour legislation and it worked as a useful agency for the collection and publication of labour statistics. In 1940 the Labour office shifted its headquarters from Geneva to Montreal and was able during the years that followed, to maintain its regular activities with less interruption during the period of Second World War. It was recognised as a specialised agency of the UNO after the end of the Second World War.

(D) Successes And Failures Of The League Of Nations

On 10th January, 1920 the League of Nations came formally into being. During the post-war period the Allies war-time unity was disappearing and giving place to disagreement over subsequent policy and withdrawal into exaggerated nationalism. In the first few years of Leagues existence, both its scope and prestige were diminished by the existence of rival authorities - in the beginning the Allies Supreme Council and then the Conference of Ambassadors which the Allied Powers had set-up to deal with matters left outstanding by the treaties concluded in Paris Peace Conference. The League was far away from main capitals and main events. It seemed that its role was restricted to humanitarian work or minor events. During the first few years the activities of the League were confined to the performance of some subsidiary humanitarian tasks which though not spectacular, were useful. These humanitarian tasks did not enhance its prestige but had at least the merit of keeping the League a going concern. In 1924 Ramsay Macdonald the British Prime Minister and Foreign Secretary attended the Assembly session at Geneva. Other great luminaries such as M. Herriot the French Premier; and Sir Austin Chamberlain the British Foreign Secretary attended one of the meetings of the League Assembly. Unfortunately none of the major issues of world stabilization such as disarmament,

security and revision of the Treaty of Versailles, found anything like solution during these years but outwardly there was growth of international goodwill and it seemed that in the prevailing atmosphere no problems were insoluble. The financial crisis which occurred in 1929 and Japans well-timed attack on Manchuria in 1931 dispelled the optimism and the seizure of power by Hitler in Germany in 1933 brought back the post-war tension in an alarmingly magnified form. The League of Nations after 1931 played a role that was little better than that of a helpless spectator and committed one blunder after another.

However, the League achieved a certain measure of success in the settlement of minor political issues and it did considerable humanitarian work which was enough to justify its existence.

(1) The Achievements of the League of Nations

In twenty years of its existence during the two World Wars the League of Nations was called upon to decide about forty political disputes. The League achieved success in the pacific settlement of some minor political disputes and its success was more significant in humanitarian work.

(a) Pacific Settlement of Disputes : (i) Eupen and Malmedy (1920 and 1921): Germany addressed to the Council of the League a series of protests against merger of Eupen and Malmedy with Belgium. The League Council discussed the issue and on September 20, 1920 it decided in favour of final transfer of Eupen and Malmedy to Belgium. On 22nd February, 1921, the League Council instructed the Secretary General to inform the German government that its decision was final and irrevocable.

(ii) Dispute Between Finland and Sweden Over Aaland Islands: Finland and Sweden claimed sovereignty over Aaland Islands. The majority of the people in these islands was Swedish and they struggled to have union with Sweden. The government of Sweden supported the people of Aaland Islands and started negotiations with Finland; but the government of Finland held the view that Finlands sovereignty over the islands was indisputable because they were given to her by the Peace Settlement. Finland asserted that the matter lay within her domestic jurisdiction. However, Britain drew the attention of the League Council to the dispute over Aaland Islands between Finland and Sweden. The League Council appointed a Commission of Jurists to investigate into the dispute and give its report. The Commission reported that the matter was not of domestic jurisdiction as Finland claimed. Thereafter a Commission was sent for on the spot investigation. On the receipt of its report the

League Council decided that Finlands claim to sovereignty over Aaland Islands must be recognized and the Swedish people living there should be allowed to retain their identity. The decision was accepted by both the parties.

(iii) Dispute Between Poland and Lithuania Over Vilna (1920-22): Another dispute arose between Poland and Lithuania over Vilna. In 1920 Lithuania had entered into a treaty with Soviet Union by which the latter recognised her claims to Vilna. In 1923 the army of Lithuania occupied Memel which was under the Allied control since the Treaty of Versailles. As a reaction, the Allies recognised Vilna as belonging to Poland. The government of Lithuania, refusing to recognise the action of Allies, declared a state of war with Poland. In 1927 some Lithuanians were expelled from Vilna. At this juncture the government of Lithuania referred the whole issue to the League in October, 1927. The delegates of both the countries held conference under the auspices of the League and although the problem was not fully solved, the tension subsided and that was a success for the League of Nations.

(iv) Dispute Between England and France Over the Nationality Decrees (1921-22): Yet another dispute arose between England and France in November, 1921 over the nationality decrees in Tunis and Morocco. France issued decrees in Tunis and Morocco that any person born in France or in the French colonies would be regarded as a French citizen. These decrees conflicted with British nationality laws under which the children born of British parents were to be regarded as British citizens. There were several Britishers living in Tunis and Morocco and their children were to be regarded as British citizens according to British nationality laws and French citizens according to French nationality decrees. The matter was referred to Permanent Court of International Justice. The French held the view that the matter lay within-their domestic jurisdiction. But the Court decided that the matter was not purely of domestic jurisdiction. The dispute was withdrawn and decided by mutual negotiations between the Foreign Ministers of the two countries.

(v) Dispute Between Greece and Italy : On 27th August, 1923 an Italian general, two officers and one chauffeur were assassinated on Greek soil. So the government of Italy demanded apology and reparation for this heinous crime. Greece accepted some of the conditions, but refused to fulfil certain other conditions. As a result, the authorities of Italian Navy occupied the Island of Corfu as a guarantee of reparation. On 1st September, 1923 the Greek government referred the issue to the League.Council under articles 12 and

15 of the Covenant. The matter was discussed in the 26th session of the League Council. Although war was averted and Corfu was returned to Greece, the credit of the settlement of this dispute did not entirely go to the League but the settlement was brought about by the good offices of the Council of Ambassadors. Greece had to pay the indemnity which the government of Italy demanded.

(vi) Dispute Between Turkey and Britain Over Mosul (1924-26): A dispute arose between Turkey and Britain over the boundary of the district of Mosul which was in possession of Britain since armistice (1918). Mosul was the district of Iraq which was given as a mandate to Britain by the League of Nations. When the matter was referred to the League Council by Great Britain on August 6, 1924, Turkey questioned the jurisdiction of Britain. The Permanent Court of International Justice gave advisory opinion upholding the right of League Council to fix the boundary of Mosul. A committee of investigation was appointed. The conducted on-the-spot enquiry and submitted its report. On the basis of its recommendations the boundary of Mosul was fixed by the League Council but it failed to satisfy Turkey. However, the settlement was finally made through direct negotiations between Britain and Turkey. The boundary traced by the League Council with some slight modifications, was recognised by Turkey according to the Treaty of Angora (June 5, 1926).

(vii) Dispute Between Bulgaria and Greece Over the Murder of Greek Officer (1925-26) : Another dispute of every serious nature arose between Greece and Bulgaria. In October, 1925 a commander of Greek frontier post and his associate were assassinated by the Bulgarians. By way of reprisal the Greek troops marched into Bulgarian territory. Immediately Bulgaria appealed to the League of Nations on 22nd October, 1922. The Council met at Paris and appealed to Greek government to withdraw her troops. The Council also requested the British French and Italian governments to send military officers for on-the-spot investigations. However, the Greek troops vacated the territory of Bulgaria and Greece was made to pay compensation for violating Bulgarias territorial integrity. Greece accepted the verdict of the League and thus the dispute was settled.

The case studies outlined above show that the League of Nations achieved remarkable success in the period between 1924-1930. But most of its successes in settlement of political disputes were achieved at the cost of the smaller countries. The close cooperation established during this period between French Foreign Minister Briand German Foreign Minister Stresemann and British

Foreign Secretary Austin Chamberlain helped to restore confidence in the international organisation. But in 1929 the British Foreign Secretary retired and Stresemann passed away. The economic depression which occurred in 1929 created breach in the field of international cooperation. The rise of Fascism in Italy, Nazism in Germany and militarism in Japan constituted a serious menace to world peace. The League could not prevent these totalitarian states from undertaking their programmes of imperialistic conquests. The League however, did admirable humanitarian work.

(b) Leagues Achievements in Humanitarian Field :In addition on to its two main functions viz prevention of war and reduction of armaments, the League of Nations was entrusted with some humanitarian services which it discharged with conspicuous success. In this context Cordell Hull has aptly remarked thus "The League of Nations has been responsible for more humanitarian and scientific endeavour than any other organisation in history." The performance of the League in hunmanitarian field is discussed as follows:

(i) League's Accomplishments in the Promotion of Public Health: lth: The League set up an organisation to deal with narcotic drugs. The Advisory Committee on dangerous drugs was known as Opium Committee. Several conventions were adopted to limit all narcotic drugs. The health activities of the League of Nations were based on article 23 of the Covenant. According to this article the member-states of the League would try to take steps in matters of international concern for the prevention and control of diseases. Accordingly the Assembly and the Council adopted resolutions in 1923 establishing Permanent Health Organisation. The objective of the Health Organisation was to promote the protection of public health by international cooperation. The Eastern Bureau was established at Singapore to which 113 ports communicated every week by telegraph a report on their public health situation. There were several dreadful diseases like, TB and malaria which took a heavy toll of life every year. In 1923 the Malaria Commission was appointed consisting of the most eminent experts of different countries. Similar efforts were made to eradicate other diseases like tuberculosis, cancer, syphilis, sleeplessness, and diseases of infancy. Several governments like Albania, Bolivia, Siam, China, Greece, Czechoslovakia and Chile requested the Health Organisation to conduct investigations into their specific health problems and give suitable advice. Although the rate of mortality was reduced in the cities, the health situation in the rural areas was far from satisfactory. In 1931 the Health Organisation convened a conference on rural hygiene which

was attended by representatives of 23 countries and it laid down the guidelines for the organisation of medical attendance and health services in rural districts of various countries. Due to the pioneering work of the League in the field of health, the production of such drugs as morphine, heroin and cocaine registered a marked decrease and the number of addicts in many countries diminished.

(ii) Leagues Role in Economic Sphere: The League of Nations ons served well as a significant agency for the economic reconstruction of the war-devastated areas of the world. The League convened several international conferences to consider economic questions having in mind special arrangements with regard to the necessities of the areas devastated during the First World War.

(a) Brussels International Financial Conference (1920) : An international financial conference was held at Brussels in 1920 and was attended by the representatives of 39 countries including the United States and Germany. The conference recommended the balancing of budget, the arrest of inflationary trends, the avoidance of superfluous expenditure, the return to gold standard, removal of hindrances in the way of world trade, the improvement of transport facilities and the conclusion of hostilities which were still going on between some Powers. It was recommended by the conference to establish a Provisional Economic and Financial Committee. This committee however, came into existence in 1920.

(b) The World Economic Conference (1927) : After Brussels Conference the League of Nations convened yet another conference in May 1927. Financial experts, trade union leaders, businessmen, the government delegates from fifty different countries met and surveyed the world economic situation. The conference made the following recommendations:

(i) Labour, capital and goods should be allowed to flow freely in all countries so that their economies may be stabilised.

(ii) Cooperation and not competition must be the objective of the industry.

(iii) Custom duties must be given up or at least made relatively stable.

(iv) The countries should enter into industrial agreements so as to regularise production.

(v) Agricultural and industrial production should go side by side.

(vi) Industries should be rationalised so that the cost of production may be reduced.

However, the results of the Conference were not very encouraging because the tariffs and custom duties instead of decreasing rose up. Nevertheless the Conference was a significant event because it gave birth to the International Relief Union. The governments participating in the Conference agreed to finance a fund to extend first aid to flood-striken or drought-stricken areas where entire population was affected and the local government was unable to provide adequate relief. International Relief Union had its representatives throughout the world who immediately reported whenever a disaster occurred. The Union provided assistance to the people of India affected by the earth-quakes in 1934 and 1935. The International Relief Union also proposed to give help to the Spanish government during her civil war. Similarly, the Union considered to help the Chinese affected by floods of 1938 but could not do so, as the affected areas were under the control of the Japanese government. However, the Union was successful in making the governments recognise the need for collaboration through international agency in the relief of disaster-striken areas.

(c) International Monetary Conference (1933) : When the world orld was in the grip of economic depression, the League Council convened a conference in London in 1933 to devise certain common policies to stabilise the economies of the various countries. But the Conference failed to achieve its objectives because the governments concerned preferred to take independent measures to cope with the situation created by world economic slump. Commenting on the economic activities of the League, Prof. Leonard has aptly remarked thus "within the period of only a couple of decades governments moved from comparative isolation to intensive collaboration through international organisation on their common economic and financial problems. For the first time in history, the agenda of international meetings was crowded with economic questions, tariffs, depressions, access to raw materials, customs facilities and financial reconstruction. This did not mean that programmes were undertaken in all these spheres or that concrete policies resulted. Nevertheless it was of great significance that these subjects were being discussed and studied jointly by governments and by organs established by them. This was a far-reaching step in the direction of greater international economic collaboratio.n"

(iii) The Role of the League in Financial Reconstruction of Various Countries : (a) Financial Help to Austria: The government

of Austria with the help of the Leagues Financial Committee in 1923 was enabled to raise an international loan under international guarantee and to implement a plan for financial reconstruction and stabilisation devised with the help of the Financial Committee. The government of Austria had to execute this plan under the guidance of a Commissioner appointed by the League. This work of financial reconstruction was based on three protocols signed on 4th August 1922 and came to an end on 30th June, 1926 when the Council withdrew the League Commissioner.

(b) Financial Stabilisation in Hungary : The League helped the government of Hungary in the programme of financial stabilisation and appointed the League Commissioner for this purpose. The government of Hungary had the benefit of the services of the League commissioner upto June, 1926.

(c) League and Greece: In case of Greece, League's assistance took the shape of help in setting up the autonomous Greek Refugee Board. The league issued two loans in order to facilitate the rehabilitation of the refugees in Greece.

The Bank of Greece, on the other hand remained in touch with the League Financial Committee for formulating the general financial policy leading to financial stability in the country.

(d) Leagues Role in Bulgaria: In 1926 Bulgaria like Greece was helped by the League in settling its refugees whereas in 1928 she received help for stabilising her currency. In February, 1932 and in April, 1933 the Financial Committee of the League sent its delegations to assess the financial situation in Bulgaria. A League Commissioner and an adviser were attached to the National Bank of Bulgaria.

(iv) Intellectual Cooperation under the Auspices of the League of Nations : In 1922 the League of Nations had an International Committee on intellectual cooperation consisting of seventeen members appointed by the Council. In 1926 the International Institute of Intellectual cooperation was established at Paris. The scope of activities of International Committee on Intellectual Cooperation included: (i) the scientific study of international relations, (ii) coordination of national centres of educational information, (iii) the promotion of adult education, (iv) international action to remove from school text books passages prejudicial to international understanding, (v) international aspects of broad-casting (vi) cooperation among scientific museums and the theatre, music and poetry from international view point, and (vii) preservation of monuments and

works of art and other relevant souvenirs which promote international understanding.

(v) Social and Humanitarian Work under the Auspices of the League: The League of Nations had done great pioneering work in the social and humanitarian fields.

(a) Prevention of Traffic in Women: The League appointed an Advisory Commission for the protection and welfare of children and young people. In 1921 this commission drew up a convention for the prevention of traffic in women for immoral purposes. In October, 1933 this convention was extended by a new convention under which penalties were to be imposed on offenders for international traffic in women even with their consent for immoral purposes in another country. The League was also engaged in the suppression of obscene literature.

(b) The Child Welfare and the League: The Child Welfare Committee of the League conducted an extensive study of all laws relating to the age of marriage and as a result of this study, many countries amended their laws so as to raise the age of marriage. This committee, also studied the questions of cinematograph, illegitimate children, and assistance to foreign minors and destitutes.

(c) Refugee Relief Work: In pursuance of the resolution adopted by League Assembly in 1930, the International Office for Refugees under Dr. Nansen was established. In 1933 this office provided funds for the relief and rehabilitation of the refugees. About 925500 francs were provided for this purpose. Dr. Nansens achievement of restoring to their homes some 427000 helpless prisoners of war scattered in Europe, was a great human service swiftly and economically performed. In 1922 the League of Nations helped to rehabilitate nearly a million and half Greek refugees from Asia Minor on Greek soil by means of floating a huge foreign loan. Between 1926 and 1928 about 30,000 Bulgarian refugees were assisted by the League to start their life anew.

(d) Suppression of Slavery : On 25th September, 1926 the Assembly of the League of Nations approved the International Convention for the suppression of slavery with the main object of preventing slave trade and bringing about the complete abolition of slavery in all its forms. The governments which accepted this convention, undertook to take all necessary steps to prevent forced labour.

(vi) Other Achievements of the League : The League of Nations had some achievements of a miscellaneous type to its credit.

(a) The League tried to collect valuable data on the amelioration of labour class.

(b) It worked for the codification of international law. An attempt was made to codify the law regarding nationality, territorial waters and state responsibility.

(c) Administrative formalities were simplified by many governments on the recommendations of the League for the issue of passport, visa and booking of goods. This facilitated the flow of passenger and goods traffic in various parts of the world. Conventions were adopted regarding traffic in international rivers, the lighting of coasts, maritime signals and road traffic.

(2) The Failures of the League of Nations

(i) League's Failure to Bring About Disarmament: A function of of the League which was second only to its primary purpose the maintenance of world peace, was disarmament or to put it in the exact words of the League covenant "the reduction of national armaments to the lowest point consistent with national safety". The Leagues inability to bring this about was deplorable. One of the major causes of the First World War was the mad race for armaments. So the minds of the statesmen at the Paris Peace Conference turned to the question of sensible reduction of armaments as one of the important ways of preventing another global conflagration. Under the peace treaties the defeated Powers such as Germany Austria, Hungary and Bulgaria accepted an immense reduction and rigid limitation of the armed forces which they respectively maintained.The reduction of armaments of Germany also implied the obligation on the part of Allied Powers to work for general disarmament. The preamble to part V of the Treaty of Versailles contained an express obligation: "In order to render possible the initiation of a general limitation of the armaments of all nations, Germany undertakes strictly to observe the military naval and air clauses which follow". Apart from the obligations of the Allied Powers to work for general disarmament, personal pledges of the statesmen regarding disarmament were also given. In Great Britain distinguished politicians including Mr. Ramsay Mac-donald Mr. Baldwin, Sir Austin Chamberlain and Lord Grey declared more than once in emphatic language their devotion to the cause of disarmament. Lord Grey had once remarked "If civilisation cannot destroy armaments, armaments will destroy civilisation".

The hopes thus aroused proved to be illusory and no general disarmament was even achieved. During the period between the two World Wars, there was continuing preparedness of the national

forces of various countries of Europe. Russia had built up a Red Army which was not only larger and more efficient but had a stronger morale than the Czarist forces. Inspite of reductions British navy was quite strong. This preparedness of armies of the leading countries of Europe kept up the rivalries and chronic sense of danger.

(a) Appointment of Temporary Mixed Commission by the League for Disarmament. (1920-24): Under article 8 of the League Covenant, it was the special responsibility of the League Council to prepare plans for bringing about disarmament. At the first session of the League Assembly in 1920 a resolution was adopted for the appointment of the Temporary Mixed Commission which existed upto 1924. This Commission first met in 1921 and in its discussions Lord Esher the British delegate put forward his plan for the reduction of land forces; but his plan was rejected. During the discussions the French delegate tried to link disarmament with security and for next three years instead of framing plans for disarmament the League Assembly got busy with such proposals for enhancing security as the Draft Treaty of Mutual Assistance and the Geneva Protocol.

(b) Appointment of Preparatory Commission by the League: The League appointed the Preparatory Commission for a Disarmament Conference. This commission first met in May, 1926 and included among its members the delegates of the non-members of the League such as the USA and the USSR. From the very beginning the commission encountered serious difficulties. There was controversy over certain expressions and questions. What is meant by the expression armaments? How is a limit to be fixed and how may they be compared as between one country and another? Are some armaments offensive and other defensive? Can civil aviation be distinguished from military aviation? There was fundamental divergence of opinion regarding these questions. The Commission took six years to frame a draft treaty providing for a limitation of the number of men in active service in land, naval and air forces. The draft treaty also provided for reduction of expenditure on defence, ban on the use of poisonous gases and all bacteriological methods of warfare. This document of draft treaty was mere outline, a frame without contents and was of little practical value. It contained a special clause under which any signatory to the draft treaty could suspend disarmament in the interest of national security.

(c) World Disarmament Conference under the Auspices of the League: The World Disarmament Conference met at Geneva on 2nd February 1932 and was attended by the delegations of sixty one

states. It was presided over by Mr. Arthur Henderson the British Foreign Secretary. The Conference was expected to take up the Draft Treaty prepared by the Preparatory Commission after nearly six years of toil, as its basis for its work. Instead the leading members of the league proceeded to make their own proposals which only prompted others to make counter-proposals and provoked long and futile discussions with the result that these proposals were all rejected. Before the Conference met, it was widely known that Germany would seize the opportunity to press for equality in armaments and that France would oppose it tooth and nail. During the discussions at the Conference the French delegate with a view to seize initiative, put forward its proposal for international police force to be placed at the disposal of the league. The proposal included the placing of all war planes and other aggressive weapons at the Leagues disposal. The French proposal was sharply criticised by all other delegations. In July 1932, the German delegation which had been consistently demanding the recognition of Germanys right to rearm, gave notice that they would not participate in the deliberations of the conference in absence of a clear and definite recognition of equality of rights between nations. When the Conference reassembled after the recess in October, 1932, the place of German delegation was vacant. However, Germany sent her delegation in December, 1932 and it, as was expected, insisted on German rearmament. The World Disarmament Conference became a cockpit for wordy duel between the German and the French delegations. On 30th January, 1933 Hitler became German Chancellor and this development intensified French opposition to the concession of equality to Germany. On 17th May, 1933 Hitler addressing the Reichstag referred to the negotiations going on at Geneva and demanding true equality among nations declared that if a decision was to be imposed on Germany on the pretext of its being a majority decision, Germany would prefer to resign from the World Disarmament Conference and the League of Nations. Due to vehement opposition by French delegation to the German demand for rearmament and equality, Germany withdrew from the Conference and also resigned as a member of the League of Nations. The withdrawal of Germany sounded the death-knell of the World Disarmament Conference and of the military clauses of the Treaty of Versailles. In 1934 Great Britain acknowledged that disarmament was not practicable and that she would enlarge her own armaments. The Conference was neither formally brought to an end nor did it adjourn. It just ceased have further meetings.

(ii) Failures of the League to Solve Major Political Problems Affecting World Peace: The League failed in its main object of world peace and it also failed to enforce the Treaty of Versailles. Though League succeeded in solving the political problems affecting smaller Powers, yet it failed to do justice to the weak nations which became the victims of aggression by major Powers. Rightly Albjerg has remarked thus "The League began as a post-war organisation for consolidating the victors gains while continuing to restrain the vanquished. It failed to evolve into an impartial parliament of all nations to which any state might come and seek protection against injustice a role which President Wilson General Smuts and others had anticipated for it". Obviously the League failed to provide guarantee against an unprovoked aggression and thus failed in its main mission of maintenance of world peace.

The following instances serve to show the complete collapse of the system of collective security under the auspices of the League.

(a) Japan's Attack on Manchuria (1931-33): Japan occupied Central Manchuria on 18th September, 1931, alleging that China had destroyed her railway property. China the victim of Japanese armed aggression appealed to the League under article 11 of the Covenant. On 21st September, 1931 the League Council passed a resolution calling upon China and Japan to withdraw their forces, but the order was ignored by Japan. On December 10, 1931 the Council appointed a five men commission headed by Lord Lytton to study the situation. The Lytton Commission issued a report of 100,000 words on 3rd October, 1932 recommending a compromise. The Commission dubbed Japan as aggressor. On February 24, 1933, the Assembly adopted a resolution condemning Japan and accepted the recommendations of the Lytton Commission. But Japan rejected them and left Geneva. The other leading member states of the League did nothing apart from refusing to recognise Manchukuo.

(b) Italy's Aggression Against Ethiopia: Japan's successful military adventure administered a serious blow to the collective security system of the League. Now Mussolini of Fascist Italy was convinced that Great Powers which dominated the Council were swayed by political motives and did not make the proper use of the League machinery. Mussolini believed that England and France, the leading members of the League were sceptical of the idea of collective security system under the auspices of the League. So being encouraged by Leagues apathy and inaction in case of Japans attack on Manchuria, Mussolini of Fascist Italy decided to establish Italys supremacy over Ethiopia a landlocked Negro state wedged in the

mountainous region between Somaliland and Anglo-Egyptian Sudan. In accordance with established imperialistic technique, Mussolini precipitated a number of border clashes between Italian and Ethiopian (Abyssinian) troops, to serve as excuses as well as a prelude to an invasion of Abyssinia. On 5th December, 1934 clash occurred between the troops of Abyssinia and Italy. In this armed conflict 30 troops of Italy were killed. Mussolini demanded compensation. Abyssinia appealed to the League Council under article 11 of the covenant on 3rd January 1935. But England and France adopted delaying tactics. On 17th March 1935 Abyssinia again appealed to League Council and England and France laid an embargo on arms for both parties which meant an unfair discrimination against Abyssinia. On 3rd July 1935 Emperor Haile Sellasie of Abyssinia made a desperate appeal to President Roosevelt and requested him to persuade Italy to observe her obligations under the Kellogg Pact by which she had renounced war as an instrument of national policy. The appeal was rejected by the U. S. President at a press Conference on 5th July, 1935. However, the issue lingered on due to the inaction of the League. On 3rd October, 1935 without a formal declaration of war Mussolini invaded Abyssinia. On 7th October 1935 the League declared Italy to be an aggressor and decided to impose sanctions, but Britain betrayed Abyssinia and did not like to participate in the Leagues programme for imposition of sanctions upon Italy. Left to her fate Abyssinia succumbed to the brutal might of Italy. On 2nd May, 1936 the Emperor Haile Sellasie left his capital. On 8th May, 1936 the King of Italy was proclaimed Emperor and Abyssinia was officially annexed to Italy.

(c) League's Failure to Prevent the Acts of Aggression by Nazi Germany under Hitler: In 1933 Hitler seized power in Germany. Commenting on the rise of Hitler, Schuman remarked "Hitler had only one programme: first his own power in Germany and then the expansion of German power in Europe. The rest was window-dressing". Hitlers real problem was one of building up an overwhelming military force. He implemented his following programme to strengthen the position of Germany.

(i) Repudiation of the Treaty of Versailles: On March 16, 1935 Germany repudiated the military clauses of the Treaty of Versailles. Hitler introduced military conscription. This led to the Anglo-French-Italian "Stressa Front" of April, 1935 and to condemnation of Germany by the League Council on 17th April. There were only warnings and protests but no action. Whatever unity was left among the member states of the League was further shattered when Britain entered into a pact with Germany on June 18, 1935 where by she was

allowed to build a navy equal to 35 percent of the British strength. This pact meant the British connivance at Hitlers repudiation of the Treaty of Versailles and gave further encouragement to Hitler. On 7th March, 1936 Hitler again violated the Treaty of Versailles by announcing the remilitarization of Rhineland. Again protests and warnings and Leagues condemnation followed but no action. German troops remained in the Rhineland.

(ii) Annexation of Austria: On 12th February, 1938, Hitler sent for the Austrian Chancellor Schuschnigg to meet him at his personal residence at Berchtesgaden. Under the open threat of invasion Hitler forced the Chancellor to grant amnesty and full freedom of action to the Austrian Nazis and to admit into his Council of Ministers several leaders of Nazi Fifth Column in Vienna. However, under duress Schuschnigg appointed the Austrian Nazi leader Arthur Seyss-Inquart as Minister of Interior. Other Nazi leaders were also inducted in Austrian Cabinet.

The Austrian Chancellor announced that a plebiscite would be held on 13th March, 1938 on the issue of independence versus union with Germany. On 11th March, 1938 Seyss Inquart presented Schuschnigg the Chancellor an ultimatum of Hitler demanding his resignation and the postponement of plebiscite. Under the threat of German invasion, the Chancellor resigned and postponed the plebiscite. Seyss Inquart the Nazi leader in Austria became the Chancellor. He invited Hitler to come and save Austria from chaos. Soon German army and air force poured into Austria and on 14th March, 1938 Hitler himself visited Vienna. Thus, Austria was annexed to Germany. "Like sincere widows" as one commentator has remarked "the Western democracies moaned and shouted.", but no country except Soviet Union supported Austrias sovereignty.

(iii) Annexation of Czechoslovakia: In March, 1938 Hitler annexed the entire territory of Czechoslovakia and thus revealed in an incontestable fashion his ulterior motive of dominating Europe. Mr. Chamberlain the then British Prime Minister in his statement before the House of Commons said "The possible aim of German Government is the domination of the whole of Europe". The League of Nations was just a pacifist spectator and could do nothing to protect the sovereignty and territorial integrity of smaller nations.

(iv) Murder of Spanish Democracy: On 25th October, 1936 Germany and Italy entered into a secret pact about Spain and decided to give armed assistance to General Franco who had raised the banner of revolt against the democratic government of Spain. The military garrisons in Spain also revolted and Spain was thrust

into the throes of a civil war which atonce assumed the form of Axis invasion of Spain. German and Italian war planes were placed at the disposal of General Franco. On 18th November, 1936 Italy and Germany recognised Franco as the ruler of Spain. Britain and France in the name of non-intervention and the United States in the name of neurtrality forbade their businessmen to sell arms to Spain and thus indirectly cooperated with Germany and Italy. On October 2, 1937 the Assembly of the League passed a resolution declaring that there were foreign troops on Spanish soil. On 26th January, 1939 Barcelona fell to the rebels headed by General Franco and on 28th March Franco occupied it. On 27th February, 1939 Francos regime was recognised by Britain and France and on 1st April. 1939 the United States recognised the new regime under Franco. The Spanish episode further weakened the collective security system of the league and strengthened the position of Germany and Italy in Europe. The dictators of Germany and Italy were convinced that the Western democracies were paralysed by the fear of communism and of war and they took great advantage of their policy of appeasement.

(v) League's Role in Case of Soviet Union's Aggression Against Finland: The League of Nations did nothing when in 1939 Soviet Union attacked Finland. The League expelled Soviet Union due to this aggression on Finland but this action did not deter Soviet Union from pursuing the path of conquest. The League failed to take stern action against the Soviet Union.

Commeting on the failure of the League Pitman B. Potter has observed thus "The League of Nations failed in so far as it failed because the people of Germany, Japan and Italy preferred to support their governments in careers of imperialistic conquest and because the people of England France and the United States discouraged their governments from taking effective action early enough to stem the tide of Axis aggression. The peoples and governments of totalitarian states were more responsible for the destruction of international collaboration under League auspices than the liberal states but the latter must bear a large share of negative blame".

(E) Causes Of Failure Of The League Of Nations

The grandiloquent structure of the League of Nations with all its laudable ideals, ambitions, aims and elaborate machinery failed to deliver goods to mankind; "to save the succeeding generations from the scourge of war to make the world safe for democracy and to establish durable peace on essential justice". The League failed to

avoid the recurrence of armed conflicts and after a short period of twenty years the world was plunged into great conflagration. A variety of factors contributed to the failure of League in its main task of maintenance of world peace. These factors are discussed as under:

(1) Incorporated in the Ill-fated Treaty of Versailles

Unfortunately the Covenant of the League was incorporated in the ill-fated treaty of Versailles. The Treaty was an ill-balanced document combining within it contempt, vengeance, idealism of Wilson, imperialism of Lloyd George and materialism of Clemenceau. It was the responsibility of the League to enforce the provisions of this treaty which were repugnant to the national honour of defeated Powers which were seeking an opportunity to wreak vengeance upon the victorious Powers. The League was intended to perform a miracle by doing the impossible task of maintaining the status quo as established by the Treaty of Versailles. That would have been possible if the Peace Settlement of 1919-20 had been based on justice and fair play. Germany was bound to defy the provions of the Treaty of Versailles which was imposed on her at the point of bayonet. Rightly Norman Bentwich has observed thus "The League of Nations was a dishonourable daughter of disreputed mothor".

(2) Constitutional Defects in the League Covenant

The League of Nations also failed because of certain constitutional defects which are discussed as follows:

(i) In case of disputes brought before the League Council under article 11 the decisions of the Council were required to be unanimous in order to adjudge a nation guilty of having violated the covenant by resort to aggression. If the decision was not to be unanimous, the disputing nations would be free to resume their hostilities after a period of three months.

(ii) The covenant of the League did not abolish all rights to declare war. There was no procedure to indentify whether a particular war was defensive or offensive in character. By thus allowing exceptions to the prohibition of war, the Covenant seemed to assume that war remained the normal solution of international disputes.

(iii) The League Covenant also suffered from several other weaknesses. Under article 16 the League Council could only advise the member-states what military action might be taken against the aggressor. There was no guarantee that the advice of the Council would be accepted by the member states.

(iv) Moreover, the League of Nations could not take initiative in matters affecting the peace of the world and could not discuss a given situation unless it was referred to it by a member state.

(v) Military sanctions were an indispensable element in any system of collective security; but not all the member states of the League were prepared to discharge the obligations which the Covenant imposed.

(vi) Yet another defect in the Covenant of the League was that it did not make any provision for immediate action. The League did not intervene until a crucial stage had been reached when the belligerent states had already committed themselves and could not relent without fatal loss of prestige.

(3) Lack of Universal Character

The League of Nations was not universal in character. Since the Treaty of Versailles was not ratified by American Senate the United States could not become the member of the League. The absence of the USA whose presence would have exerted a sobering and cooling influence over the prejudiced counsels of the League, was a great blow to its prestige. Apart from the USA, Germany and USSR were not original members of the League. Germany became its member in 1926, but in 1933 Hitler the dictator of Germany who was determined to wreck the League system of collective security decided to leave the League membership. Japan following her invasion of Manchuria in 1931 severed her connection with the League. Italy did the same in 1937. Soviet Union became its member in 1934; but after her aggression against Finland she was expelled from League in 1939. Thus, the League lacked universality which was very essential for its success.

(4) Absence of Permanent International Force

The League of Nations had no permanent international force at its disposal to enforce its decisions. The League could impose economic and military sanctions against the aggressor nation. But it was left to the free will of the member states to cooperate with the League in the imposition of economic and military sanctions. The principle of unanimity diluted the deterrent value of the economic and military sanctions.

(5) Effect of World Depression

The depression of the thirties disrupted world economy. It was through the breach created by the economic blizzard of the thirties that the Nazis under Hitler stormed into power and Japan started her military adventure to annex Manchuria. The tension and diffi-

culties created by the World Depression gave rise to serious international problems to which the League of Nations found no solution.

(6) Lack of Spirit for International Cooperation

The League of Nations was an organisation of sovereign states and the members were not at all willing to sacrifice their sovereignty to strengthen the cause of peace. Naturally when different nations tried to guard zealously their sovereign rights, it was difficult for the League to arbitrate successfully in their disputes. It remained quite questionable whether a world organised on national basis, could possibly attain a sufficient unselfish spirit of collaboration to implement the provisions of collective security under the auspices of the League. Apart from the League of Nations there was the Supreme Council of the Allies which held international conferences outside the purview of the League for seeking solution of certain international problems. The same method of independent conferences was inevitable in any dispute with which a country outside the League was concerned. So the League sank into insignificance as diplomacy by independent conference was resorted resulting in the restricted role of the League in the world affairs.

(7) Conflicting Interests of Member-States

The failure of the League was due to the conflicting interests of the member states. In this context Pitman B. Potter has aptly remarked thus "It was not the League of Nations but the Nations of the League which failed in so far as there was failure. The legal obligations or the legal theory of the organisation was defective on this side perhaps, but this did not preclude action by the members for effective promotion of security and welfare beyond what was required of them. It is probably true that they lived up to their obligations in the main, but they certainly failed to live up to the ideals or the principles or the clear implications of the Covenant". The countries were motivated by expediency and national interests and not by the lofty ideals of international cooperation and world peace. For a Japanese delegation at Geneva to agree to abandon Manchuria, for a French delegation to consent to sacrifice national security, for a German delegation to renounce the revision of the Treaty of Versailles, for a British or American delegation to accept responsibilities for European frontiers, had been difficult options. In short the great countries were interested to pursue their national interests. There is no doubt that Western democracies such as the USA, Britain and France desired peace but they did not realise that the price of peace must be the sacrifice of national policy and the subordination of national interests to international accord and

peace. Different countries viewed the league from various angles. Germany regarded the League as an organisation of victors while France regarded it as weapon, for enforcement of statusquo as established by the Treaty of Versailles. Britain regarded the League as a means for promoting her colonial and national interests. Soviet Union viewed it as an association of capitalists. Initially the countries welcomed the creation of League as an instrument of world peace but later on they tried to apply it as an instrument of national policy and the inevitable result was the decline in the influence of the League as viable world organisation.

(8) Based on Pillars of UnequalStrength

As a world organisation for the maintenance of peace, the League of Nations rested on four pillars: (i) the provision for the reduction of national armaments, (ii) guarantees against aggression, (iii) the settlement of disputes, and (iv) provisions for peaceful change. The makers of the League Covenant made guarantees against aggression very strong whereas the provisions for the reduction of national armaments and for peaceful change were made relatively weak. Thus, the League suffered from imbalance as the pillars were not of equal strength.

(9) Rise of Totalitarianism

Yet another significant factor which contributed to the failure of the League of Nations was the rise of totalitarianism. The rise of dictatorship in Italy, Japan and Germany was responsible for the collapse of collective security system under the League auspices. These states threw the principles of international law and morality to winds and embarked on the policy of territorial aggrandizement. Japanese attack on Manchuria in 1931, annexation of Abyssinia by Italy, in 1936, collapse of democratic institutions in Spain and ascendancy of General Franco in Spain with the military support of Italy and Germany, the annexation of Austria and Czechoslovakia by Germany and militarisation of Rhineland and repudiation of the military clauses of the Treaty of Versailles by Hitler, made the mockery of Leagues system of collectie security. The League degenerated into a defunct body. All these totalitarian states renounced the membership of the League and pursed the path of imperialistic conquests with impunity. Commenting on the inaction and apathy of the League, Pitman B. Potter has observed thus: "Certainly the League did not fail because of any major defects in its general structure or even defects in the structure of individual organs. For what it is worth, the conclusion can be adopted almost without qualification that the League failed specially in the maintenance of

peace and security because its leading members France and Great Britain failed to support it with sufficient vigour in the Manchurian and the Ethiopian cases".

(10) Failure of Disarmament Talks

Another cause of the failure of the League of Nations was the failure of disarmament talks. Hitler boycotted the World Disarmament Conference and insisted on Germanys rearmament. He flagrantly violated the military clauses of the Treaty of Versailles and introduced conscription. He also resorted to militarisation of Rhineland. The World Disarmament conference convened under the auspices of the League miserably failed to achieve its objective of reduction in national armaments of the member-states. Efforts for disarmament were also made outside the League. The Washington Conference (1921-22) ensured peace for about a decade but after Japanese attack on Manchuria in 1931 talks about disarmaments ended in fiasco. The First London Conference (1930) and the Second London Conference (1935) were not successful.

Commenting on the failure of disarmament conferences Prof. Schuman has remarked thus "The letters of failure, written large over the portals of successive disarmament conferences during the two decades after Versailles became letters of impending catastrophe for the Western World". The leading countries were armed to the teeth and in 1939 the world was sitting on powder magazine. Only a spark was needed for world conflagration. Hitlers attack on Poland triggered the Second World war on 1 September, 1939.

(F) The Mandate System Under The Auspices Of The League Of Nations:

The disposal of the German colonies and of the non-Turkish provinces of the ottoman Empire was an embarrassing problem for the Paris Peace Conference. The victors did not want to return them to their former possessors, nor was it decent for them to annex these territories to their own-empires. So a middle course in the shape of so-called Mandate System was devised. Article 22 of the Covenant of the League stated that the former German and Turkish possessions "which were inhabited by people not yet able to stand by themselves under the strenuous conditions of the modern world were to be entrusted to advanced nations acting as the mandatories of the League". These advanced nations were expected to promote well-being and development of these people. The allocation of the mandated territories was made by the Allied Supreme Council

during the period between May and August, 1919. Their disposal depended on a number of factors such as the development of the mandated territories, the geographical situation of the territories and their social and economic condition.

(1) Salient Features of the Mandate System

The Mandate System devised by the League of Nations was marked by the following features:

(i) The Mandatory States were those advanced countries which were entrusted the former German colonies and non-Turkish territories of Ottoman empire. These colonies were called mandated territories, which were to be administered according to the terms and conditions laid down in written agreements known as mandates between the League of Nations and each Mandatory state.

(ii) The Mandatory State was expected to carry on the administration of the mandated territories in such a way as to help the political, social and economic development of these territories.

(iii) The Mandatory States were subject to certain restrictions with regard to the recruitment and the training of the people of the territories except for the purpose of internal security, peace and order.

(iv) The cultural identity of the people of the Mandated territories was to be preserved by the Mandatory states. These people were not to be forced or persuaded to acquire the nationality of Mandatory state.

(v) It was obligatory on the part of Mandatory States, to follow the policy of Open Door in case of A and B class mandated territories. In other words, the free trade policy was to be pursued.

(iv) While appointing the Mandatory Powers, due consideration was given to their resources, experience and geographical situation.

(vii) The whole mandate system was subject to the supervision of the League of Nations which was advised by Permanent Mandate Commission. The people of the mandated territories had right of ventilating their grievances by sending petitions to the Permanent Mandate Commission.

(viii) It was obligatory on the part of the Mandatory state to submit annual report regarding the working of Mandate system and the progress made by the people in the mandated territory towards the political, economic and social development.

(2) Three Types of Mandates

The Mandated territories were classified into three different categories in accordance with the stage of the development of the people, the geographical situation of the mandated territory; its economic condition and other similar circumstances. These categories were A, B and C as described below:

(i) Class A Mandated Territories : Class A Mandated territories were those which formerly belonged to the Ottoman Empire. These territories were, (i) Iraq, (ii) Palestine, (iii) Trans-Jordan, (iv) Syria and Lebanon. The independence of these territories could be provisionally recognised subject to rendering of administrative advice and assistance until they were able to stand alone. Great Britain was appointed as Mandatory Power for Iraq. Palestine and Trans-Jordan while France for Syria and Lebanon. In 1932 the mandate with regard to Iraq came to an end and the country attained full independence and became the member of the League of Nations. Immediately after the end of Second World War France recognised the independence of Syria and Lebanon and these countries became the members of the UNO.

(ii) Class B Mandated Territories: Class B mandated territories were those which were formerly German colonies in Central Africa. These territories were entrusted to Mandatory Powers on following terms and conditions:

(i) The Mandatory Power was to be responsible for good government.

(ii) The Mandatory Power had to guarantee the freedom to practise religion.

(iii) It had to prohibit the malpractices such as slave trade, the arms traffic and liquor traffic.

(iv) It was to prevent the establishment of fortifications or military and naval bases and military training of the natives for purpose of war. The Mandatory state had to restrict the scope of military training for legitimate defence needs and for maintenance of law and order.

(v) The Mandatory state was to pursue the policy of free trade allowing equal opportunities for trade and commerce to other members of the League. Under this category Great Britain was entrusted the mandated territories of (i) British Cameroon, (ii) British Togoland and (iii) Tanganyika. France was designated as Mandatory of (i) French Cameroon and French Togoland. Belgium

was given the mandate with regard to (i) the Northern Coast of East Africa and (ii) Ruanda - Urandi.

(iii) Class C Mandated Territories : Class C mandated territories were those which owing to (i) their small size; (ii) thin population; (iii) their remoteness from the centres of civilisation; or (iv) their geographical contiguity to the Mandatory State and (v) other circumstances could best be administered under the laws of the mandatory state as integral portions of its territory. Under this category German South West Africa was placed under the control of Union of South Africa the Mandatory State. German Samoa was given to New Zealand whereas the island of Naura was mandated to Britain. New Guinea, was given to Australia. The mandated territories of Marianas, Carolines and Marshall islands were entrusted to Japan.

(3) League's Supervision Over the Mandatories

The League of Nations exercised its supervision over the Mandatory States by means of the Permanent Mandate Commission, the Council and the Assembly. The Permanent Mandate Commission decided various legal matters concerning the mandates. The League also exercised control over the mandatories by the following methods.

(i) Obligation of Mandatory State to Submit Report : In order to enable the League to keep itself informed about the state of affairs in the mandated territories, certain methods were devised. One of them was annual reports to be submitted by the Mandatory Powers. Each mandatory state was required to submit an annual report which dealt with the main legislative and administrative developments, the general health, economic and social conditions of the native population, and the measures taken to promote their economic and educational progress. The mandatories were to throw light on the issues such as prohibition of liquor, arms and drug traffic. The main political events in the mandated territories were also to be highlighted in these annual reports. These reports were thoroughly examined by the Permanent Mandate Commission which could call the representatives of the Mandatory Powers in order to obtain fuller information on matters which the reports did not make clear. When the commission had finished its scrutiny, it prepared its own report and submitted to the Council. The League Council considered the report and made its own observations. The Mandatory Power was informed regarding the reaction of League Council and Permanent Mandate Commission to its annual report.

(ii) Right of People of Mandated Territories to Send Petitions : The natives of the mandated territories were entitled to submit petitions to permanent mandate commission. This was considered to be a very important method of ventilating the grievances of the people but the mandatory states could attach their own observations and explanations to the petitions and thereby entire weight of the petitions was lost.

(4) The Nature of Mandate System and its Merits and Demerits

The major objectives of the Permanent Mandate Commission were three:

(i) to make a mandate system a palpable reality and not an excuse for out-right annexation.

(ii) to maintain the free trade and commercial equality for all the countries so that the mandated territories might not be an exclusive source of political and economic gain to the Mandatory Power.

(iii) to promote the welfare of native inhabitants.

The mandated territories were merely trusts as the native people were not yet able to stand by themselves under the difficult conditions of modern world.

(a) Demerits of Mandate System : Prof. Schuman in his book entitled International Politics has thrown light on the following demerits of the Mandate System.

(i) The wishes of the native people in Syria and Palestine were ignored.

(ii) In the mandated territories of Togoland and Cameroons France used the native military force for general war purpose outside the national frontiers of these territories.

(iii) The "Open Door" formerly maintained by Germany in the class C Mandates was closed by the mandatories.

(iv) The open door was protected in class A mandates by separate treaties negotiated at the initiative of the USA and not by the Covenant of the League or the Mandate agreements. Only in class B mandates there was a definite obligation laid upon the Mandatory Powers to maintain the "Open Door".

(v) The Mandatory Powers seemed to regard the mandated territories as annexations.

(vi) For all practical purposes, the class C Mandates were regarded as annexations.

(vii) The Mandatories tried to suppress the spirit of resurgent nationalism in an effort to perpetuate their strangle-hold on the mandated territories. The right of national self-determination was not recognised by the mandatories. For instance France ruthlessly suppressed the nationalism of the people of Syria and weakened their country by detaching certain important cities from the territory. On the other hand the people of Lebanon were subjected to truthless exploitation by the French.

The Mandate System was condemned as a "hollow mockery" by the Germans, the Americans, the Arabs the Turks, the Russians and even by the liberal elements in the mandatory states. The cynics and critics everywhere stigmatized the Mandate system as "hypocritical sham designed to disguise old imperialistic wolves in new sheeps clothing".

(b) Merits of Mandate System : The Mandate System was not all bad; and it had certain merits. Commenting on the merits of the system Prof. Schuman has aptly remarked thus "Regardless of these short-comings the Mandate System represented a significant adventure in international supervision over backward areas. The introduction of the system conveying the idea that the rulers of these regions owed some responsibility to the civilised world as a whole for the way in which they used their power, embodied a new and fruitful idea which augured well for the future" In the same vein Prof. Leonard has remarked thus "Despite the acknowledged short-comings of the League Mandate System, it represented a distinct improvement in colonial policy and administration".

The following merits of Mandate System were significant:

(i) Possibility of Attainment of Independence : In Class A Mandates the Mandatories had an obligation to recognise the right of the natives to national self-determination at an appropriate time when they were able to manage their own affairs independently. In 1932 Britain granted independence to Iraq which became a member of the League of Nations. Commenting on this, Arnold Toynbee has stated that the political emancipation of Iraq represented the reversal of Western imperialistic expansion and demonstrated the mistake of cynics who had preached that the Mandate System was merely veiled annexation.

(ii) Mobilisation of World Opinion : Moreover, the Permanent Mandate Commission and the Mandates Section of the League were able to collect requisite information and focus world public opinion on the acts of omission and commission of the Mandatories. The ruling Powers of the mandated territories were responsive to public

opinion within the territories entrusted to them and they could not ignore the advice of the League Council and Permanent Mandate Commission with regard to their responsibility to prepare the native population for self-government. On the other hand the natives of the mandated territories had right of sending petitions to League Council and Permanent Mandate Commission in order to ventilate their grievances. The Mandatories were thus obliged to take measures for the redress of the genuine grievances of the natives.

(iii) Art of Government : The natives of the mandated territories learnt the art of government because of their association with the rulers of the advanced countries which were the mandatories. After the attainment of independence, the same administrative system as established by the mandatory state, continued and the natives could carry on administration smoothly after attainment of national independence.

G. General Appraisal Of The League

The League of Nations failed to maintain peace and provide security but it cannot be denied that the League had done commendable humanitarian work. In this context Pitman B. Potter has aptly remarked thus "If measured by what other international organisations had accomplished in the past, the Leagues performance even in the security field rates very high". The establishment of the League was the first effective move towards the organisation of the world-wide political and social order in which the common interests of humanity could be seen and served across the barriers of national tradition racial difference or geographical separation.

Commenting on the significance of the League, F. P. Walters says "The League as a working institution is dead, but the ideals which it sought to promote, the hopes to which it gave rise, the method it devised, the agencies it created, have become an essential part of the political thinking of the civilised world and their influence will survive until mankind enjoys a unity transcending the divisions of states and nations".

The League achieved considerable success in many instances by settling disputes and adjusting differences peacefully. The League granted loans for economic reconstruction of Austria, Hungary and needy Balkan States in the post-Versailles era. W. C. Langsam says "Highly important, if less spectacular work was accomplished through its agencies in such fields as preventive medicine, epidemiology, the codification of international law, the suppression of traffic in women,

children and opium and struggle against slavery and forced labour". The supervision by the League over the operation of Mandate System helped the promotion of trusteeship of the backward peoples and brought about a change in the traditional outlook of the imperialist countries about colonial expansion.

The intellectual cooperation established by the League of Nations was a unique contribution to the promotion of the cause of world peace. The existence of the League created a spirit of internationalism. If the League failed to ensure collective security, it was due to the failure of its members to accept the principles on which the Covenant of the League was based. In this context Cordell Hull has aptly remarked that the League of Nations was an embryonic international government and it would have developed into true world federation if the Western democracies had integrated their particular national interests into the world-wide international interests.

6

REPARATIONS AND INTER-ALLIED WAR DEBTS AND WORLD ECONOMIC DEPRESSION

OUTLINE:

(A) Issue of Reparations at the Paris Peace Conference (1919).

(B) Germany's Failure to Pay the Reparation Instalments.

(C) Allied Occupation of Ruhr.

(D) Attempts to Improve Germanys Economy Through Dawes Plan and Young Plan.

(E) Inter-Allies War Debts.

(F) Economic Depression of 1929 and its Causes and Spread.

(G) International Consequences of the Great Slump (1929).

(A) Issue Of Reparations At The Paris Peace Conference (1919)

After the end of the First World War, the Allied Powers imposed upon the vanquished their own terms and conditions. The economic clauses of the Peace Treaties demanded from Germany and her allies indemnities which were known as reparations. The wisdom of demanding large sums of money from Germany and her allies was questioned by few at that time.

These demands for payment of indemnities gave expression of the anger of the victors. The war guilt clause of the treaty of Versailles imposed upon Germany the responsibility of all the losses and dangers to which the Allied civilians were subjected as a result

of the war. Germany was, therefore asked to pay reparations to the Allies on a fabulous scale. The judicial basis of reparations was thus laid by linking together war responsibility and reparations.

The Allies through their Note of November 5, 1918 restricted themselves to a claim for "all damage done to the civilian population of the Allies and their property by the aggression of Germany by land, by sea and from the air". It was on the basis of this Note that Germany laid down her arms and declared cease-fire on 11th November, 1918. But during the course of discussions and deliberations at Paris Peace Conference the Allied Powers ignored the above Note and tried to increase their demands for reparations at a very exorbitant scale.

(1) Fixation of the Amount of Reparation

It was difficult for the Paris Peace Conference to set down a sober estimate of total amount of reparation. According to the treaty of Versailles the total amount of the reparation and its mode of payment were to be determined by a special commission known as Reparation Commission by May 1, 1921. Prior to this date Germany was required to pay a sum of 5000,000,000 dollars to the Allies. At a conference held at Spa in July, 1920 the percentage of distribution of reparation amount was decided upon. Under the agreement arrived at, France was to be given 52 per cent of total receipts, Britain 22 per cent, Italy 10 per cent, Belgium 8 per cent Greece Rumania and Yugoslavia 6.5 per cent and Japan and Portugal the remaining portion of 1.5 per cent.

German Chancellor and Foreign Minister participated in the Spa Conference on equal terms with the Allied delegates, but no agreement was reached regarding the settlement of Germanys reparation amount. However, on 28th April, 1921 the Reparation Commission fixed Germanys total liability at 6600 million pounds. It was three times the amount fixed by the expert committee at the Paris Peace Conference. It was next to impossible for Germany to pay this amount.

On May 2, 1921 the Supreme Council asked the Reparation Commission to forward to German authorities a schedule prescribing the time and manner for payment of the reparation amount. This was accordingly forwarded on 5th May, 1921 accompanied by Allied ultimatum. The schedule demanded an immediate payment of 50 million pounds by the end of May, 1921. In case of default the Allied troops would occupy the Ruhr valley. German Chancellor Joseph Wirth accepted the schedule.

(B) Germany's Failure To Pay The Reparation Instalments

Germany was required to pay to the Allies the preliminary amount of 5000,000,000 dollars by May 1, 1921 according to economic clauses of the Treaty of Versailles. But she could not pay this amount in time and due to this default the Allied troops occupied their German towns of Ruhrort, Duisburg and Dusseldorf. As stated above Germany was required to pay 50 million pounds by the end of May, 1921 according to schedule forwarded to her by the Reparation Commission. Through a loan provided by a number of London financial houses this first instalment of 50 million pounds was paid to Allies by Germany by August, 1921, but this was the first and last instalment for more than three years. A number of factors were responsible for Germanys default. In the first place, post-war Germany had no international credit. She could not manage to get foreign loans to discharge her obligations.

In the second place due to the Allied blockade, which had so long cut her off from source of raw materials and at the same time destroyed her pre-war commercial system, Germany was compelled to import goods from foreign countries and was unable to export goods in equal ratio. Thus, adverse balance of her international trade was responsible for her default.

In the third place Germany was handicapped by a tremendous flight of capital from the country. The capitalists were apprehensive of the possibility of their money being used for making reparation payments. So they hastened to put as much money as possible out of the clutches of the German government. About one billion dollars were thus placed beyond the reach of the German government. All these factors created tremendous inflation of German currency. A severe currency crisis ensued in Germany and the value of the German mark suffered a steep fall. In November, 1921, one pound sterling was equivalent to 1000 German marks.

In the summer of 1922 the fall of German mark was catastrophic — 3500 marks to a pound. Financial experts in foreign countries began to realise the incapacity of Germany to pay even if she desired to pay. The British government proposed that due to Germanys financial exigencies cash payments by her should be postponed for two years. But the proposal was not welcomed by France which rivetted her eyes on the Ruhr valley partly because its occupation by the Allied troops would strengthen her security and partly because the profits of the German industry could be forcibly transferred to the Allied countries. Britain bearing in mind that Germany had been one of her best customers in pre-war-days, had

gradually come to realise that economic ruination of Germany could inevitably lead to increased British economic distress. Hence the Prime Minister Lloyd George of Britain was anxious to implement the moratorium. But France was adamant and agreed to a conditional moratorium.

France insisted that Germany should transfer to French control the mines and dyestuff factories in the Rhineland if the moratorium on the cash payment of reparation instalment was to be applied. But Lloyd George did not like to disrupt the economic life of Germany and the remaining months of 1922 were spent in exchange of notes between London, Paris and Berlin.

(C) Allied Occupation Of Ruhr

The French politicians including Raymond Poincare were obsessed by the idea of French security and they were of opinion that the Allied occupation of Ruhr valley would suit their purpose of gaining a productive guarantee. The reparation question now became an issue not only between the Allies and Germany but also between France and Britain. In December, 1922 German delivery in timber fell short of the agreed schedule. The Reparation Commission in spite of British protest declared Germany in voluntary default. The Treaty of Versailles had provided that in case of voluntary default on the part of Germany, the Allies had an option to take any step they felt necessary. The way was now open to materialise the measures which France had long cherished. On 11th January the French and Belgium troops occupied the Ruhr district. The British regarded the occupation as illegal and declined to participate in the venture.

(1) Consequences of Occupation of the Ruhr

In Ruhr district an international commission was set-up to carry on the administration. The occupation of Ruhr displayed the intensity of French hostility towards Germany and the short-sightedness of the French politicians. This military adventure was also replete with certain far-reaching consequences which are discussed as follows:

(a) Discord Between Britain and France: The occupation of the Ruhr proved to be a blunder for France and a disaster for Germany. France forfeited the goodwill of her important ally Great Britain. The unwillingless of Britain to allow the French to ruin Germany a potential buyer of British goods was natural. The French attempts to encourage a separatist movement in the Rhineland was opposed

by the natives as well as by Britain. In the international commission setup for administration of Ruhr the British delegation was isolated and voted down on almost all issues. This created bitterness between France and Britain.

(b) Passive Resistance by Germans: Raymond Poincare the the French Premier desired to force Germany to pay by his rough and ready measures. It produced exactly the opposite effect on the Germans. Germany under Chancellor Rathenau was pursuing the policy of fulfilment, but after his assassination in 1922 new German government formulated the policy of passive resistance. The natives of the Ruhr refused to take orders from the foreigners. All reparation payments were stopped. Nearly a million of mine workers went on strike. The officials and industrialists were expelled or imprisoned by the French for their refusal to obey orders. Nearly all communication services and railway service came to a stand-still.

(c) Serious Damage to Germany's Economy: The occupation of Ruhr resulted in disastrous effects on Germanys economy. Her prewar commercial system collapsed under the strain of financial difficulties. German currency collapsed completely under the strain. Any one could travel throughout Germany with a few shillings. The German mark fell in value. In March 1922 a dollar was equal to 670 marks and in August it was north 4500 marks. By 1923 the mark had lost its value altogether. The savings of German middle class were exhausted due to inflation. The uprooted middle class youths were easily recruited in the Nazi party for regaining their original monetary position. The rich managed to tide over the difficulties due to their wealth and the working class carried on movements successfully to increase their wages.

(d) International Concern for Pathetic Plight of German Economy: The Ruhr occupation was a turning point in the post-Versailles era. Stresemann the new Chancellor of Germany adopted Rathenaus policy of fulfilment and eagerly sought and obtained foreign economic help for economic recovery of Germany. The United States, Britain, Belgium, Italy and France now joined hands to rescue Germany from economic ruin. A committee of experts was appointed by Reparation Commission to study the financial and economic problems of Germany and to make recommendations for the upliftment of Germany. The representative of the USA. General Charles G. Dawes was appointed as the chairman of the committee and therefore it is known as the Dawes committee. It began its work in Paris in January, 1924.

(e) Verdict of French Electorate Against French Premier Poincare in the General Elections of 1924: The policy of Poincare was not supported by the French people who voted against him and his party in the general elections of 1924. There was massive mandate of the people in favour of Herriot who formed the radical ministry in France after the elections. Thus, after the fall of Poincares ministry, an atmosphere was created for withdrawal of the French troops from Ruhr and the introduction of the Dawes Plan.

(D) Attempts To Improve Germany's Economy Through Dawes Plan And Young Plan

(1) Dawes Plan

The new government of Germany headed by Stresemann announced on 26th September, 1923 the abandonment of the policy of passive resistance. On 24th October, 1923 in a note to the Reparation Commission Germany expressed her willingness in principle to resume payments under the Treaty of Versailles and requested an examination of her ability to pay. Mr. Baldwin the British Prime Minister appealed to the US government to collaborate in an investigation into Germanys finances. The reply was favourable and by the end of 1923 a committee presided over by the American General Charles. G. Dawes was appointed. It also included the representatives of Britain, Italy, Belgium and France. The Committee started its work in Paris in January, 1924 and presented its report on 9th April, 1924. Dawes Plan consisted of the following recommendations.

(i) A new currency known as the Reichmark was to be created and it was to be controlled by a Bank of Issue independent of the government of Germany.

(ii) After the stabilisation of Germanys currency, she would pay the annual instalment of 50,000,000 pounds for first five years. Later on, this amount would be raised to a maximum of 125,000,000 pounds. Future payments were to be increased or decreased according to index of prosperity of Germany.

(iii) It was proposed that payments should be made in German marks and the Allied governments would be responsible to exchange them into foreign currencies.

(iv) For the successful implementation of Dawes Plan it was deemed to be necessary that Germany should be in full possession of her entire territory and therefore French occupation of the Ruhr was to be ended.

(v) In order to provide to Germany a currency reserve and to enable her to pay her first annual instalment, she was to be provided a loan of 40,000,000 pounds from the Allied governments.

(vi) A special Agent-General was made responsible for the payment of reparations. The Reparation Commission would have nothing to do with payment of reparations by Germany.

No change was made in the total amount of reparations as fixed by the Reparation Commission in 1921. Germany accepted this report and on 1st September 1924 the Dawes Plan began to operate. On 31st July, 1925 the last French and Belgian soldiers left the Ruhr district.

(I) General Appraisal of Dawes Plan:

Seymour Parker Gilbert, a young American expert, was appointed as Agent-General. The Dawes Plan gained universal support and promised bright future.

(a) Merits of the Dawes Plan: (i) The Plan limited the Allied demands to the sums of money which Germany was required to pay while in stable conditions.

(ii) The question of payment was separated from that of transfer and the creditor nations were made responsible to deal with it.

(iii) The Dawes plan removed reparation from the sphere of political controversy and treated it like an ordinary commercial debt.

(iv) Agent-General was responsible for facilitating payment of reparations. The Reparation Commission had nothing to do with the issue of payments.

(v) The plan contained a provision against the use of military sanctions except in the event of flagrant default by Germany. In such an eventuality there should be unanimity with regard to the imposition of military sanctions among all the Allied governments.

(vi) Germany could now be declared in default only by unanimous vote with USA participating. Thus, the United States and Britain could work as counterpoise to the anti-German policy of France.

(vii) As a result of the implementation of the Dawes Plan, the diplomatic tension which existed in Europe since the signing of the Peace Treaties, was removed.

(viii) The plan created confidence in Germanys future. German trade and commerce flourished due to the implementation of the Dawes Plan.

(b) Drawbacks of the Dawes Plan: Inspite of the merits of the Plan, it had some serious drawbacks.

(i) The Dawes plan provided for annual payment of reparation but failed to fix the time limit. It was not mentioned how long Germany would make reparation payments.

(ii) The sum fixed by the Reparation Commission in 1921 was not reduced under the Dawes Plan. It was not possible for Germany to continue annual payments for an indefinite period and shoulder the huge burden of 6600 million pounds originally fixed by the Reparation Commission.

(iii) The fixation of such a huge sum as the liability of Germany destroyed all desire to improve financial well-being. Germany had no incentive for savings because she felt that all her savings would be used to pay the reparations which would in effect enrich the foreigners.

(iv) The Dawes Plan enabled Germany to pay the instalments of reparation because she was allowed to borrow from foreign countries specially from the United States. The result was irresponsible borrowing which damaged the economy of Germany. During the period between 1924-28 Germany borrowed from foreign countries specially from the USA more than what she paid in reparations. Germany borrowed about fifteen thousand million Reich marks during this period. The USA received back in the form of debt payments about one fifth of the money which she lent to Germany. Thus, the process went on without anybody seriously realising that the Germanys prosperity was a borrowed one. Germany was clearing off one debt and incurring the other.

(2) Young Plan

The introduction of the Dawes Plan had improved the foreign relations of Germany. The conclusion of the Locarno Pact in 1925 created an atmosphere of cordiality. It was now agreed by the Allies that Germany should seek admission in the League of Nations. In 1926 she became the member state of the League.

Germany was desirous of securing liberation of Rhineland at an early date. Moreover, she wanted to gain control over her finances which under the Dawes plan suffered restrictions. Great Britain shared German opinion of ending Rhineland occupation by the Allies at an early date. In the League Assembly session of 1928 representatives of the five principal reparation Powers and Germany decided that arrangements should be made for an early evacuation of the Rhineland and that a committee should soon be appointed to

prepare a complete and definite settlement of the reparation problem.

The United States when invited to join this committee agreed to do so. Two representatives from the five principal reparation Powers viz. Britain, France, Italy, Belgium and Japan and two from the United States formed the Young Committee. The committee derived its name from its American chairman Owen D. Young. It met at Paris in February, 1929 and submitted its report popularly known as Young Plan in June, 1929. The plan contained the following recommendations.

(i) Germany was to pay annual instalment of 100,000,000 pounds for thirty seven years, as well as twenty two small annual payments sufficient to cover the war debt of the Allies to the USA.

(ii) The control of the foreign governments over Germanys economy was to be removed and she herself was made responsible for transferring the sums paid.

(iii) The payment was to last from September 1, 1929 to March 1, 1988. In other words the annuities were to continue upto 1988.

(iv) The responsibility of collecting, distributing and receiving the reparation payments was handed over to a Bank of International Settlement. The Bank was empowered to carry on the entire administration and implementation of the Young Plan.

(v) One safeguard against exchange difficulties was also provided. About one-third of each annuity that is 33,000,000 pounds Germany was obliged to pay, but the balance of pounds 67,000,000 could be postponed for a maximum period of two years.

(vi) The Bank of International Settlement was entrusted with wide powers including the power of postponement of reparation payment. Its board of directors was composed of representatives of creditor countries and Germany. The board of directors of the Bank was composed of two representatives of the seven countries that formed the Young Committee as well as the representatives of other countries interested in the reparation settlement. The Bank of International Settlement was established in Germany. The law necessary for its establishment was promulgated in Germany. The political committee of the Hague Conference carried on talks for the evacuation of the Rhineland. It was decided that all Allied troops should be withdrawn from the Rhineland by June 30, 1930.

(3) Financial Troubles in Germany and the Hoover Moratorium

It seemed that the Young Plan would finally settle the problem

of reparations. But all was in vain. In 1929 the economic boom in the USA restricted the American long-term loans. Germany had to look elsewhere to Great Britain, Holland, Switzerland and other countries which could advance only short-term loans. There was a definite fall in the standard of living and Germany was compelled to cut-down imports and intensify her attempts to boost her exports for balancing her trade. But economic situation became worse when the boom suddenly gave way to slump. The economic blizzard of the thirties now struck Germany in full force. Germany was confronted with economic ruin. Unemployment situation was menancing the economic stability. Government emergency measures could not improve the economic situation. The flight of capital from the country, the depression of the home market and the fall in the standard of living produced such a great fissure in the economy of Germany that the President Hindenburg appealed to the American President Hoover for moratorium on reparation payments. The Hoover moratorium saved Germany from complete collapse for a short period. But the fissure created by the economic crisis resulted in a wide breach in Germanys economy through which Hitler stormed into power. Hoover moratorium postponed all payments of reparations for one year from July, 1931 to June, 1932. But the French raised their objection to Hoover moratorium. Ultimately it was agreed that Germany should pay annual instalment of reparation through Bank of International settlement and then at once the same amount should be credited by the bank to the German railway department so that money might not go out of the country. The Hoover moratorium also provided for loans through Bank of International Settlement to small European countries.

(4) The End of Reparations

The breathing space allowed by the Hoover moratorium should have been utilised for solving the outstanding problems of war debts and reparations. But no concrete step was taken in this direction. Britain was in favour of cancellation of war debts and reparations. France insisted that the German government should first arrange for the transfer of unconditional annuities under the Young Plan. The French were opposed to British proposal for cancellation of reparations. When the Hoover moratorium was nearing its end German Chancellor Heinrich Bruning declared that Germany neither could nor would make any further reparation payment. The question of reparations was taken up by the Lausanne Conference of June, 1932. The Lausanne Conference cancelled all German reparation and substituted in its place a payment by Germany of 150,000,000 pounds in the form of 5 per cent redeemable bonds. This agreement

was not the result of any desire of Allied Powers to give relief to Germany but was dictated by the economic need for a revival of world trade and removal of all hindrances in its path. With the rise of Hitler to power in Germany, the curtain was finally dropped on the complicated drama of reparation tangle. Commenting on this issue of reparations Sir Winston Churchill has remarked, "Thus, Germany gained about fifteen hundred million pounds sterling in loans as against one thousand million of indemnities which she paid in one form or another by surrender of capital assets and value in foreign countries or by juggling with the enormous American loans. All this is a sad story of complicated idiocy in the making of which much toil and virtue was consumed".

(E) Inter-Allied War Debts

Closely related to the problem of reparation was that of the Inter-Allied War debts which were also the legacy of the First World War. Prior to the entry of the USA in the First World War Britain had advanced loans to Allied Powers including France and Russia. Britain had advanced six hundred million pounds to France, seven hundred and eighty three million pounds to Russia, five hundred and eighty three million pounds to Italy and some million pounds to other Allied Powers. The total amount of loans advanced by Britain to Allied governments amounted to two thousand one hundred and eighty three million pounds.

(1) Emergence of the United States as Principal Creditor Country

During the First World War and in the post armistice period the United States had turned into a principal creditor country and had advanced a total of about ten thousand three hundred and thirty eight million dollars as war loan to Great Britain France and other Allied governments. Out of the total loan advanced by the USA, Britain had borrowed four thousand, two hundred and seventy seven million dollars. France received three thousand four hundred and five million dollars, Italy borrowed one thousand six hundred and forty eight million dollars and rest of the balance was advanced as loan to other Allied Powers. Thus, the USA was the only creditor country whereas France and England were debtor-cum-creditor countries.

(2) Various Shades of Opinion About Inter-Allied War debts

(a) The debtor countries to Europe argued that the creditor countries in general and the United States in particular had only

contributed in cash which was a form of support to the Allied cause whereas the less wealthy countries in debt had contributed their flesh and blood to promote the Allied cause. This school of thought favoured all round cancellation a being "morally sound and economically expedient".

(b) France tried to link the reparation payments of Germany with the Inter-Allied debt payments. The government of France favoured cancellation of debts provided the reparations were left untouched because the amount which she was to pay as her debt obligation was much less than the amount of reparation which she expected to get from Germany. The French government maintained that if Germany did not carry out her obligations to pay reparations there was no reason for the victors to suffer for the payment of debts incurred during the First World War.

(c) However, Great Britain took a different position with regard to inter-allied debts. Being a major debtor as well as creditor country, Britain was in favour of cancellation of all war debts. The British point of view was set forth in the Balfour note of August 1, 1922. In this note Britain informed her debtor countries that she would receive from them only such amount as she was expected to pay to the United States in the settlement of war debts. In 1922 Britain signed an agreement with the United States whereby she agreed to repay the war-debts during the period of 62 years.

After the implementation of Dawes Plan Britain signed agreements with her debtor countries such as France, Italy, Yugoslavia, Greece and Portugal about annual payment of war debts.

(d) The attitude of average American was not in favour of the cancellation of the inter-allied war debts. They began to think why they should suffer for the war started and conducted by quarrelsome Europeans. This was an attitude of an average tax payer in the United States. The United States officially requested in 1922 all her debtor countries to take the necessary steps to pay their war debts to her. On February 9, 1922 the US Congress set-up the "World War Foreign Debt Commission" to arrange the recovery of the war debts from the debtor countries. Allied debtor countries entered into agreements with the USA. These agreements provided for payment of annual instalments amounting to 22,000,000,000 dollars over a period of sixty two years.

(3) US Exchequer as the Centre for Payment of Reparations and Inter-allied Debts

As long as Germany paid her reparation instalments to the Allies, the latter were making their war debt payments to the United

States. During the period between September, 1924 and September, 1928, Germany paid to the Allied governments about 1350,000,000 dollars. These instalments Germany was able to pay out of the huge sums which were advanced to her as loans by foreign bankers chiefly Americans. Thus, American exchequer became the centre for the payment of the reparation and the inter-allied war debts. As Gathorne Hardy has observed "The American money has been making a kind of circular tour to Germany, from Germany to the claimants of reparation and from these back again to the US in the form of war debt payment".

(4) End of War Debts

The Young Plan which was designed to set Germanys financial house in order, was based on the assumption that world trade would expand both in volume and in value. But unfortunately after the drafting of the Young Plan, there occurred the "Wall-Street Crash of 1929 and the beginning of an economic depression which brought in its train a drastic shrinking in the volume of world trade and inflation. Now it became clear that the Allied Powers would not be in a position to pay war debts because there was no longer any hope of receiving reparation payments and the world economic depression made it difficult nay well-nigh impossible for the continuation of such transactions. In December 1932 among all debtor countries Britain made the last full payment of instalment. In June and December, 1933 Great Britain made nominal payments to the United States to avoid default. Due to World depression, several debtor countries failed to make war debt payments. Thus, a general de facto repudiation of Inter-Allied Payments took place. The rise of Hitler in Germany in 1933 finally sealed the fate of all reparation payments in future. Commenting on the position of payment of reparation and inter-allied war debts, E. H. Carr says "In effect the year 1932 saw the last act in that confused drama of reparation and inter-allied debts which had tormented the world for more than ten years. The Lausanne Conference buried them both in the same unhonoured grave".

The Lausanne Conference drastically reduced the reparation amount to be paid by Germany. In this context F Lee Benns in his book entitled "European History since 1870" has remarked thus. "the Lausanne Conference constituted one more recession in the series of ever-diminishing demands upon Germany for reparations. An Allied demand in 1921 that Germany should assume an obligation to pay 565,000,000,000 dollars was followed in the same year by the Reparation Commissions decision that the total figure should be

33,000,000,000 dollars. This stood legally as Germanys obligation until the Young Plan reduced it to an amount which was equivalent to a cash payment of approximately 9000,000,000 dollars. Two years later came the Hoover moratorium and then in July, 1932 the Lausanne Agreement which drastically revised Germanys obligations to a total cash payment of only 750,000,000 dollars with the possibility that even this amount might never be paid". It was agreed in Lausanne Conference that the debtor countries would pay the war debts to the United States in case their financial position was satisfactory. As the year 1932 saw the end of all reparation payment, so the year 1934 witnessed the end of war debt payments to the USA by the Allied countries. In June, 1934 the US Congress enacted legislation ruling out token payments as a means of avoiding default and cancelling out all payments of war debts.

(F) Economic Depression Of 1929
Its Causes And Its Spread

The economic crisis of 1929 was one of the most important events in the history of international relations between the two world wars. A variety of factors had contributed to the world slump of 1929. These factors are discussed as follows:

(1) Grant of Loans to European Countries Suspended by the USA

The world economic crisis resulted from the fact that in 1929 the capitalists of the United States stopped all loans to the countries of Europe with the consequence that the industrial production there based as it was on the US capital, came to a stand-still. It also resulted in the low purchasing power all over the world resulting in a general and steep fall in prices. Moreover, the withdrawal of the US financial help adversely affected the debtor countries of Europe. These debtor countries could no longer obtain loans from the United States and therefore they were not in a position to pay the war debts and reparations. However, in 1930 some debtor countries made reparation and debt payments by transfer of gold. This created scarcity of gold which caused catastrophic fall in prices of commodities. In order to keep their industries and agriculture alive, these debtor countries resorted to impose restrictions, and high tariffs. This resulted in the complete breakdown of the world trade. In these circumstances European people as well as the European governments became bankrupt.

(2) Surplus Agricultural Products

The agricultural products were in surplus which inevitably

resulted in a decline in the price of these commodities with the consequent diminishing of the farmers ability to purchase manufactured goods. On the other hand the invention of labour saving machines in the post-war period led to unemployment which further resulted in the decline of purchasing power of the workers and farmers.

(3) Dislocation of Trade and Commerce

The post-war dislocation of trade and commerce resulted in a rush for acquiring raw materials which resulted in the production of more goods than could be profitably sold by the industrialists. The heightened competition of the post-Versailles era together with labour-saving devices led to the rise in the unemployment figure among workers and the consequent loss of their purchasing power. The world produced more than it needed. The crisis occurred when the people who needed the manufactured goods lost their means of purchasing them and the world stood aghast at its own productive power. There was certainly something wrong in the economic system which released such a self-contradictory situation and produced alternatively boom and slump. Moreover, Japanese competition with European industries, the difficulties of overseas investment, emergence of new small states in Europe and irrational distribution of colonies among the Allied Powers, disturbed the trade and commerce. The elimination of capitalism in Russia after the Bolshevik revolution of 1917 and the consequent loss of Russian market adversely affected the world trade and commerce.

(4) Spread of Economic Crisis

(i) Slump in the USA: The loan payments received by the USA in 1928 totalled 1620 million dollars. The overflow of gold resulted in unbounded speculation. The increase of gold reserve in the USA reduced the purchasing power of other countries. The boom in America resulted in the withdrawal of the US capital from other countries because the scope of investment in America was far greater than in any other country. Foreign capital also flowed in the United States to secure share of the financial boom and thus American gold reserve increased to a great extent. Even in the USA the purchasing power of the farming community which formed a large element in the population fell considerably. With each advance in the industrial product in the USA, had developed a farm problem and agrarian discontent. It was not surprising therefore that the economic boom was followed by slump. The industrialists in the USA found it difficult to market their goods and stock of food stuffs. For the rapid rise in production, there was no corresponding expansion

USA

of demand. Thus, in September 1929 there was a substantial and steep fall in the price of industrial goods in the USA.

(ii) Crisis in Germany : Germany was the worst affected of all the nations. Germany paid her reparation instalments out of the money borrowed chiefly from the USA. The American business magnates also provided Germany with long-term loans. But the flight of American capital from Germany as a result of the Wall Street crash left Germany in a vulnerable condition. In 1928 American investment in Germany reached the fairly high figure of one thousand million dollars but in 1929 due to slump in the USA it was reduced to five hundred fifty million dollars. Germany, the heaviest debtor became bankrupt and could not make reparation payments. She faced a budgetary deficit of sixty million pounds. The introduction of rationalisation in the industries increased unemployment. A state of financial emergency existed in the country. German Chancellor Brunning advised President Hindenburg to dismiss the Reichstag the German Parliament and rule the country through emergency decrees. The Chancellor believed that the Allied Powers would be convinced of Germanys need for relief. At the root of all this was the depression and the heavy burden of reparation payment. In order to retrieve the economic position Brunning attempted to effect a custom union with Austria prohibited by the Treaty of Versailles. This step was opposed by France. The matter was referred to the League Council which by unanimous resolution placed the issue before the World Court. The Court declared the Austro-German Custom union contrary to the Treaty of Versailles. The failure to effect this custom union intensified the depression in Germany.

(a) The Impact of the Failure of Austro-German Custom Union: Hitler derived the political advantage from the governments failure to effect custom union with Austria. His denunciation of reparation payments increased his popularity. In the election of September, 1930 Hitler's Nazi party increased its strength in the Reichstag from 12 to 107. Indeed Hitler stormed his way to power through the fissure created by the depression and the economic crisis. The failure of the custom union with Austria sealed the fate of the German Weimar republic. It also precipitated the financial crisis in Austria. In May, 1931 the Credit Anstalt the greatest bank of Austria was closed. On July 13, 1931 the great Darmstadter bank of Germany failed and the government was constrained to declare compulsory holiday for the banks on 14th July, 1931 in Germany. The situation in Germany was constantly deteriorating. In July, 1931 the Reichsbank lost gold to the value of fifty million pounds. The German business magnates and financiers also precipitated the financial

crisis by constantly withdrawing money to hoard or transfer abroad. Germany seemed to face national bankruptcy.

(b) The Hoover Moratorium : Since Germany was on the verge erge of economic collapse, Hindenburg the President of German Republic made ferment appeal to US President Hoover to take steps to alleviate the economic crisis in Germany. President Hoover responded to the appeal favourably. On 20th June 1931 Mr. Hoover came forward with a proposal to postpone the payments of all reparations and inter-allied war debts for one year beginning from 1st July, 1931. This proposal came to be known as "Hoover Moratorium" and was welcomed by all except France which was interested in the continued bankruptcy of Germany. Hoover Moratorium was designed to provide relief to Germany but it proved to be a temporary palliative and even after the expiry of the moratorium Germany was not in a position to pay the reparation. The Lausanne Conference merely accepted the fait accompli when it cancelled all reparation payments in exchange of a token payment of 150 million pounds in the form of 5 per cent redeemable bonds payable by Germany. On the other hand the drastic measures taken by the German government to restrict the import of foreign goods and paucity of funds further reduced the standard of living of the people of Germany.

(3) Slump in Great Britain

The world economic crisis also affected Great Britain. The Hoover moratorium had averted a collapse of the German economy but had adverse effect on the financial concerns of Britain. The Hoover moratorium deprived Britain of 11 million pounds in reparation payments. London money market had occupied a pre-eminent position as a centre of world finance and prior to the slump of 1929 the London banks had come to the rescue of Germany and advanced loans all over the world. As the economic crisis grew worse, it became difficult to call back the money lent abroad. Britain had lent money to several countries including Germany, Australia, Argentina and Brazil. At the end of 1929 Australia and Argentina were compelled to suspend the payment of gold due to fall in agricultural prices. On the other hand Brazil was bankrupted by the collapse of the coffee market. Germany also was not in a position to make reparation payments. These unfortunate developments adversely affected the financial stability of Britain. As long as the gold standard was maintained, money deposited in Britain was as good as gold to which it could be converted at any time. The world slump imposed the serious financial strain on British exchequer. In September, 1931 Great Britain went off the gold standard. This was necessitated by

the heavy withdrawal of foreign deposits in London. The British deficit budget and adverse balance of world trade caused nervousness among the creditors and there occurred a spree of withdrawals of foreign deposits at a massive scale. During the last week of July, 1931 Britain lost gold to the value of 21 million pounds due to these withdrawals of foreign holdings. The coalition government headed by Ramsay Mac Donald now suspended export of gold. The abandonment of gold standard by the British Government in September, 1931 had registered great impact on other countries which had deposits in London. They also followed suit. Thus India, Norway, Sweden Denmark, Finland, Rhodesia, Austria, Japan, Portugal, Chile Greece and Persia also went off the gold standard. The abandonment of gold standard was just a palliative for immediate financial strain but it was not a permanent solution of financial crisis which assumed serious dimensions by the end of 1931. Consequently there was maximum dislocation in trade and commerce in England.

(G) International Consequences Of The Great Slump (1929)

The Great Slump of 1929 had its repercussions far and wide and its consequences were of a far-reaching nature. The slump produced the following effects.

(1) Economic Nationalism

The first result of the slump was a serious dislocation of international trade and the inauguration of what came to be termed as economic nationalism. Despite the partial breakdown of the capitalism during the slump, the vested interests of capitalism in order to earn profits insisted on quotas, subsidies, tariffs and other restrictions on international trade in order to give protection to indigenous goods. They succeeded so well that at the height of the economic depression the international trade had been cut down by 66%. But in doing so, they ultimately found that they were losing the foreign markets for their own exports and the home markets protected by high tariffs were found glutted. This deteriorated the economic situation still further.

In 1932 Britain and her dominions now arranged for preferential treatment and excluded other countries from its privileges. This policy was adopted at the Ottawa Conference of 1932. In these circumstances all international attempts for economic co-operation were fruitless. France discussed plans for lowering trade barriers and suggested the formation of European Union for economic co-

operation. But under the influence of depression, high tariffs and preferential treatment, the French suggestion was not adopted.

In 1933 the World Economic Conference was held in London. The United States also participated in its deliberations. During this period the economic blizzard was blowing in full swing in the United States. US President Franklin D. Roosevelt had to take certain emergency measures to alleviate the serious economic situation in 1933. The USA finally abandoned the gold standard and the government of USA was forced to place the domestic question above international economic co-operation. The US President devised a new economic deal which laid emphasis on considerable state control over trade and industry. The narrow attitude of the United States and Great Powers contributed to the failure of the World Economic Conference. In reply to a demand for currency stabilization as a precondition for reduction of tariffs, the United States refused to cooperate until such time when sufficient rise in prices was achieved at home. The failure of the World Economic Conference signified that a policy of economic nationalism had triumphed over all attempts at international co-operation in the economic field. Bilateral economic agreements took the place of international co-operation. Indeed every nation struggled for its own economic recovery.

(2) Race for Armaments

The World economic crisis also resulted in mad race for armaments. High tariffs, protection, subsidies and quotas were deemed to be necessary not only to keep the foreigners out of the home market but also to be self-sufficient and strong in case of war. However, war preparations became an integral part of the process of recovery from the slump. The official publications of the ILO and the League of Nations recorded how rearmament was increasingly becoming the backbone of economic recovery in all the advanced countries. Director Harold Butler of ILO has observed thus "It is notorious that a great expansion of armament manufacture is taking place in all the principal industrial countries either for their own account or for that of foreign customers. The manufacture of arms adds nothing to national wealth".

(3) Political Consequences of World Slump

The World Slump had far-reaching political consequences.

(a) Spread of Communism: Economic depression exerted considerable political influence in favour of the ideology of communism. Various socialist and communist parties with leanings towards Soviet Union emerged in many European countries. In France and

certain East European countries communism made headway unknown since the early post-war years. The Communist International revived its activities and guided the Communist parties in various European countries to form the so-called Popular Front coalitions with other left wing political parties. Though the communist parties could not gain predominant position during the elections in various European countries, yet the popular front experiment proved very successful and communism as a way of life and system of government became very popular. The economic crisis of these years and rapid strides of Soviet economic progress increased the fear of the capitalist countries. To check the progress of international communism Britain and France adopted the policy of appeasement towards the acts of aggression committed by Nazi Germany and Fascist Italy.

(b) Rise of Nazism in Germany : The World Slump played an important part in the political situation in Germany. In 1928 Hitler polled only 8 lakhs votes, while after two years in 1930 he polled more than 6 million votes. This was not due to any international injustice upon Germany in these two years but this rise in the popularity of Hitler can be ascribed to the serious impact of the economic crisis. The only explanation of the rise of Nazism in Germany could be given by the world slump which struck her so hard that there were seven million unemployed persons and a ruined and desperate middle class. The world economic crisis caused a fissure in German economy and this fissure developed into a wide breach through which Hitler stormed into power in 1933.

(4) Japan's Aggression Against Manchuria and Collapse of the League System of Collective Security

In the Far East the economic crisis between 1929 and 1931 reduced the Japanese foreign trade to half and contributed to great unrest in Japan. Japans imperialistic designs were checked by the USA at Washington Conference in 1921-22. In this conference Japan had signed the Four Power Pact, the Five Power Naval Treaty and the Nine Power Treaty which were designed to check Japans rise in the Far East. But Japan had not reconciled to these checks on her ambitious imperialistic designs. She was seeking an opportunity for a military adventure. The world slump, really, provided this opportunity. Japanese government knew that the statesmen of Western countries were busy in tackling the problems created by economic blizzard in 1931, and as such there was no any expectation of military retaliation in case an aggression was launched on China in 1931. Japan seized the opportunity and in 1931 she launched

military offensive on Manchuria and established her control over it. Thus, Japan administered a serious blow to the system of collective security under the auspices of the League. England, France and the USA were pacifist spectators of the Manchurian crisis.

Commenting on Japan's military action in Manchuria Professor Arnold J. Toynbee in his book entitled "Survey of International Affairs", has remarked thus "Rocked by remorseless turning of economic screw in the long-drawn course of the world depression, the Japanese people at last followed the lead of the Japanese army in reverting from the policy of commercial expansion to the policy of military conquest".

The economic depression had adversely affected big industrial houses of Japan such as Mitsui, Mitsubishi and Sumitomo which now had the out-let for economic enterprise in newly acquired territory of Manchuria where settlement of a large number of Japanese became possible.

7

FRENCH SEARCH FOR SECURITY (1919-39)

OUTLINE:

(A) French Need for Security.

(B) French Efforts for Security at the Paris Peace Conference (1919).

(C) French Quest for Security Through Network of Alliances.

(D) The Draft Treaty of Mutual Assistance,
The Geneva Protocol, and
The Locarno Agreements.

(E) Pact of Paris (1928).

(F) Treaty of Mutual Assistance Between France and the Soviet Union (1935).

(A) French Need For Security

It was a terribly battered and in many ways substantially transformed France that emerged sullen yet confident out of the ordeal of the World War I. The post-war period was marked by the French search for security against possible resurgence of German militarism. Twice within a span of less than fifty years Germany had endangered French security. Germany had inflicted defeat on the French in 1870-71 and again in 1914 hostilities began between the two countries. During the 17th and 18th centuries France was like a planet round which a satellite of other states revolved. The year 1815 witnessed the end of an era of French hegemony over Europe. After 1815 France had to face the years of apprehensions and frustrations. Hence, forward Germany was a vital factor in the French reckoning. The defeat of France in 1870 was most humiliat-

ing as she had to surrender to Germany her two territories viz. Alsace and Lorraine. From 1871 to 1914 the constant burden of French foreign policy was the recovery of these two territories. During the First World War Germany was defeated and the French succeeded in getting back these lost territories in 1918. "But the jubilation of 1918" as E. H. Carr put it, "was short-lived. Beneath the rejoicing of victory a deep note of anxiety made itself heard". There was a constant fear and inferiority complex lest Germany should regain military superiority in the course of a few years after her defeat in 1918. Fear of German resurgence was the nightmare of France. As Dr. Langsam has put it "Twice within the living memory of man had the pounding of German military boots been heard on the French soil and the citizens of the Third Republic were fearful of still another incursion". The fear of the French people made the French statesmen nervous. The security considerations weighed heavily with French statesmen during the post-war period. The geographical position had made France vulnerable. France has Germany as close neighbour with whom she had the most numerous and bitterest of fights in the past. The French were troubled by the thought that while they had more or less stagnant population, the Germans had much larger population that was multiplying rapidly. In these circumstances security consideration was of paramount significance to France.

(B) French Efforts For Security At The Paris Peace Conference (1919)

At the close of the First World War, when Germany lay prostrate before the Allied Powers, the French were determined to deal with the Germans in such a manner that they never again might have another chance to cross the French borders. The peace makers at the Paris Peace Conference had to bow to the French demand for security powerfully voiced by the French Premier Clemenceau. He once exclaimed "There are twenty million Germans too many". The issue of the French security eclipsed every other consideration.

(1) French Demand for Control Over the Bridge Heads of the Rhine on Permanent Basis

Military experts in France expressed the view that as long as Germany possessed both banks of the river Rhine, she would be in a position to launch military offensive against France. So at the Paris Peace Conference Clemenceau demanded indefinite control of the Rhine bridge-heads as a physical guarantee of French security. US President Wilson and British Prime Minister Lloyd George

refused to agree to an indefinite separation of the Rhineland from Germany on the ground that it would involve the separation from Germany of more than five million Germans living there and this would mean the violation of the principle of self-determination. France instead got the demilitarization of the left bank of the Rhine and of a considerable part on the right bank. On the other hand there was to be Allied occupation of the Rhineland for fifteen years.

(2) French Demand for Imposition of Difficult Economic Terms on Germany:

France insisted on the imposition of heavy reparation amount on Germany so as to cripple the economy of Germany. In the treaty of Versailles various economic provisions designed to destroy Germanys economic power were made. The ulterior motive of France was to cripple Germany economically so that her war potential might be destroyed and she might never wage a war against the French.

(3) Anglo-American Pledge to Support France in Case of German Attack

After protracted negotiations France received the pledge that England and the United States would immediately come to her assistance in case Germany made an unprovoked attack upon her. This diplomatic guarantee which France reluctantly accepted as a second-best substitute for the permanent French occupation of the Rhine-land, demanded by her, however was diluted because the USA rejected the Treaty of Versailles which was not ratified by US Senate. Since US Government rejected the treaty, Britain maintained that she would have no obligation to come to the rescue of France in case of German attack in future. France felt that she had been tricked into surrendering a vital element in her material security.

(C) French Quest For Security Through Network Of Alliances

(1) Negotiations with Britain for Anglo-French Pact

In the years immediately following the Peace Conference, France continued to press Great Britain for some additional guarantee of assistance against Germany. But the possibility of Anglo-French pact was remote on account of the widening divergence of opinion between them as to the attitude they should have towards Germany. England feeling anxious about the declining economic position of Germany her chief customer, was disposed to be conciliatory to her whereas France looking at the economic problems of

Germany from sole view point of her own security was quite unconcerned about or opposed to German economic recovery. At the conference at Cannes in January, 1922, Lloyed George stated that he had enlisted the support of French premier M. Aristide Briand for the British view point. When Briand reached Paris after the Cannes Conference, he was vehemently criticised by French parliament members for having yielded to England. He was soon replaced by M.Poincare as Premier. The new premier considerably augmented the demands of his country in his negotiations with Britain for guarantee pact. These demands were not to be met by the British government and negotiations proved to be abortive and fruitless. The British reply was sent to Paris in a memorandum despatched by Lord Curzon in February, 1922.

An extract of the memorandum stated. "On the other hand it is probably intended by the French to mean that the settlement of future European disputes is a matter primarily for Great Britain and France and that the rest of the World is to look on until our two governments have made up their minds what they will do. A military alliance of this description between Great Britain and France could only result in rival and might be hostile combinations between other Powers and it is inconsistent with the theory upon which it has hitherto been assumed that the post-war policy of Europe is to be based". Thus, France was dissatisfied with British cold attitude towards an Anglo-French pact. She was exploring other avenues of security and was trying to build up her security system through the network of alliances.

(2) Military Pact with Belgium

On 7th September 1920 France concluded a military pact with Belgium. The pact provided that the two countries would come to each others aid in case either of them was attacked by Germany.

(3) Franco-PolishTreaty (February, 1921)

On 19 February 1921 France and Poland concluded a treaty by which the two countries undertook to consult each other on all international issues of mutual interest and to act unitedly for the maintenance of all the treaties to which they were or might become parties.

In September, 1922 France and Poland concluded a military convention which was renewed in 1932 for a period of ten years. France began to pour money in Poland in order to arm the people of Poland and also provided them with military instructors and war materials. The Franco-Polish alliance was based upon a solid ground of common interest. It was directed not merely against the possibil-

ity of a German attack but aimed also to seal off the Bolshevik danger. Temporarily this alliance worked well till Russia was torn by civil war and Germany lay prostrate on account of economic crisis.

(4) French Alliance with Little Entente States (Czechoslovakia, Rumania and Yugoslavia)

Among other countries in Europe, the states which profited most on account of the break up of Hapsburg empire were the states of little Entente which were interested like France in maintaining the status quo established by the Treaty of Versailles. These states of the Little Entente consisted of Czechoslovakia, Rumania and Yugoslavia. E. H. Carr is of opinion that the Little Entente was the unofficial name for the alliance between three states which profited most by the breakup of the Austro-Hungarian empire. On 25th January, 1924 a treaty was concluded between France and Czechoslovakia by which the two countries agreed to consult each other if Germany and Austria attempted to unite or if Germany or Austria tried to restore monarchy and to take common measures whenever their security was at stake. On 10th June 1926 France made an agreement with Rumania by which the two countries undertook never to attack each other and to act together to maintain the statusquo established by the Paris Peace Conference. A similar treaty was also concluded between France and Yugoslavia on 11 November, 1927.

All these treaties with Little Entente Powers, were accompanied by French military and economic assistance. Germany was enclosed in a veritable ring of steel.

Yet there were certain drawbacks of these alliances of France. They were expensive because they had to be buttressed by fairly frequent loans to all the allies. They were not so reliable because all of them were minor powers whose fighting abilities were unproved. On the other hand these alliances involved France in all the controversies of Eastern as well as Western Europe.

However, it cannot be denied that the new French hegemony stretched a broad cordon around Germanys frontier. But the task of championing the cause of statusquo and of patronising of East European Powers caused as much anxiety and uneasiness" as that of the proverbial head that wears a crown". (Schuman)

(D) (i) The Draft Treaty Of Mutual Assistance

(ii) The Geneva Protocol (iii) The Locarno Agreements

France was mortally afraid of German resurgence and her quest for security continued without any respite.

(1) French Efforts to Seek Security Through League Machinery

When the United States and Britain did not conclude their promised Guarantee Pact (1920), France was left with only one extraneous guarantee of security provided by the covenant of the League of Nations. The collective security system of the League was weak. In the second Assembly session which started in 1921, a wholly new interpretation was given to the article 16 of the covenant of the League. The article 16 was interpreted to mean that each member would be free to decide for itself whether or not an actual breach of the League covenant had occurred in a given situation and was only then under an obligation to apply sanctions. Secondly, the Council of the League should decide that there was a breach and convey its opinion to the members on whom the opinion should not be binding. Each member state would decide for itself the form which sanctions would take diplomatic, economic or military and these sanctions would be applied gradually. On the other hand resort to war would not automatically create a state of war with all the member states of the League. Thus the very essence of the collective security system was seriously undermined by these interpretations. The League covenant failed to provide a viable guarantee for security and therefore efforts were directed to strengthen the League system of collective security through pacts which are described as follows:

(I) Draft Treaty of Mutual Assistance:

In 1921 the League of Nations had set up the Temporary Mixed Commission to study the disarmament question. In view of the fact that the League was about to frame plans for disarmament, the French government for the first time in 1922 put forward, its view that France could reduce her armaments only if her security was ensured. In September, 1922 the League of Nations flew its first kite of security by passing a celebrated resolution known as Resolution XIV. It was stated in the resolution that states could not disarm in the prevailing circumstances and that the member states must undertake to help a disarmed state in case of attack by another state. After discussions and deliberations a Draft Treaty of Mutual Assistance was formulated in September, 1923. The treaty contained the following provisions (a) It provided security by a pledge of signatories to aid any one of them in the event of an unprovoked attack, (b) Within the cadre of a general treaty, groups of the countries would enter into detailed arrangements to support each other if attacked and as a condition of this support they would accept proportional

disarmament, (c) Regarding disarmament it was stipulated that the League Council would devise a scale of reductions to a point consistent with national safety. Thus, not only the whittling away process which article 16 of the League Covenant had undergone in League Assembly was sought to be checked but by making military and economic sanctions automatic and obligatory, the Draft Treaty strengthened the security provisions of the above article. Commenting on the Draft Treaty, Gathorne Hardy says "The Draft Treaty was a highly ingenious attempt to combine the respective advantages of a general guarantee and a local system of alliances while obviating their defects. While a joint obligation was to rest upon all signatories to assist any of their members against a war of aggression which was stigmatized as an international crime, the duty to engage in military naval or aerial action was restricted to states situated in the continent in which such operation took place".

(2) Merits of Draft Treaty of Mutual Assistance

(i) Improvement upon the League Covenant: The Draft Treaty was a definite improvement upon the League Covenant. The treaty provided that if the Council believed that a menace of aggression had arisen, it could apply economic sanctions against the aggressor State, call upon any of the contracting parties whose military assistance was required, determine the military forces which each state furnishing assistance would place at its disposal, prescribe measures for the communications and transport connected with the operations, prepare a plan for financial co-operation so as to provide for the country attacked, appoint the high command and establish the object and nature of its duties. Thus, the provision was of great significance. Under the League covenant the action could only be taken after the out-break of war but under the Draft Treaty action could be taken against the potential aggressor state in order to prevent war.

(ii) Method of Determining the Aggressor Devised: The Draft Treaty made more precise the method of determining the aggressor by suggesting that the League Council should fix "neutral-zones which the parties might be forbidden to cross".

If the armed forces of any state crossed the neutral zone, that state would be dubbed as aggressor. After the commencement of hostilities the League Council would propose an armistice and invite the belligerent states to refer their disputes to the League or the World Court and failure to accept this invitation would provide additional evidence of aggression.

(iii) Prospects of Heavy War Indemnity: The Draft Treaty provided that the aggressor State would bear the whole cost of the operations undertaken by the states to prevent aggression and all reparation for damages caused by its unprovoked aggression. It was hoped that this provision would act as a deterrent to the prospective aggressors.

(iv) Incentive for Disarmament: The signatories to the Draft Treaty were to co-operate in the general disarmament scheme which the League Council might propose and mutual assistance was to be given only to the states which had reduced their armaments.

(3) Draft Treaty of Mutual Assistance a Failure

Inspite of these merits the Draft Treaty failed. The British delegate in the League Council Lord Robert Cecil was the chief sponsor of the Draft Treaty but unfortunately in the autumn of 1923 the Labour government under Prime Minister Ramsay Macdonald rejected it. The British Government stated" the apportionment of liability on continental lines cut fatally across the structure of British Common-wealth with its world-wide responsibilities. Either some parts of the Empire might be at war while others remained at peace or Great Britain and her Dominions would be subjected to a wholly disproportionate share of burden of resisting aggression in all parts of the world". The British reaction sounded the doom of the Draft Treaty. On the other hand the Soviet Union and the United States also objected to the treaty. Some governments criticised it because it went too far and entailed too many obligations. However, the first attempt to strengthen the security system of the League failed.

II. The Geneva Protocol

The proposed Draft Treaty was abandoned but a new scheme which came to be called the Geneva Protocol was drafted and unanimously recommended to the ember states by the Assembly. As there could be no arbitration and provision of security without reduction of armaments an international conference for the reduction of armaments was convened at Geneva on 25th June, 1925. Ramsay Macdonald a pacifist by nature desired to end the war-mindedness which lingered in Europe. Fortunately his advent to power coincided with the change of government in France which brought in power the liberal elements headed by M. Herriot. In the League Assembly of 1924, both the British Prime Minister and the French premier appeared at Geneva and prepared a protocol known as "The Protocol for the Pacific Settlement of International Disputes".

(1) Provisions of Geneva Protocol

(a) Compulsory Arbitration: The Geneva Protocol provided for compulsory arbitration which was to be regarded as the only legal means of settling international disputes. If a country refused to accept this procedure of pacific settlement or accept the decision of a recognised third party including the Council of the League or violated the provisional measures laid down by the Council, it would be deemed the aggressor. If the Council was not unanimous regarding compulsory arbitration or any measure, it could require an armistice of belligerents by a two-third majority vote and the country which rejected the armistice or violated it, was to be regarded as aggressor.

(b) Imposition of Economic and Military Sanctions: After the League Council had designated the aggressor it might invite the signatory states to apply immediate economic and military sanctions. However, the Protocol provided that each signatory state would remain in control of its own forces. The signatory states were thus to remain sole judges of the manner in which they were to carry out their obligations under the Protocol.

(c) Participation in an International Conference in June, 1925: It was obligatory for the signatory states to participate in the international conference to be held on June 15, 1925 for the reduction of armaments and the protocol was to come into force only after the conclusion of a disarmament convention.

(d) Disputes Regarding Domestic Jurisdiction: According to the Geneva Protocol even disputes about matters of domestic jurisdiction were to the submitted to the procedure of conciliation under article 11 of the League Covenant. The protocol sought to improve upon the covenant by closing the gaps through which war might come. For instance if the Council failed to come to a unanimous decision as to the disputes referred to it, it could not advise any course of action. Now by 2/3 majority vote the Council could order the belligerent states to observe cease-fire. Formerly the belligerent states were fighting under the pretext of the issues being within their domestic jurisdiction; but now the protocol made the procedure of conciliation compulsory for issues of domestic jurisdiction.

(2) Critical Appraisal of Geneva Protocol

Despite certain merits discussed above the Geneva protocol was not without certain defects which are described as follows:

(i) Failure to Strengthen the Powers of the League Council: The Geneva Protocol did nothing to strengthen the powers of the League

Council under article 16 of the covenant or to make military sanctions obligatory.

(ii) Protocol Based on the Interest of Status-quo Powers: The Geneva Protocol was based on the interest of the statusquo Powers such as France and her allies and it went out of its way to meet the French demand for security. The protocol linked the French demand of security with inviolability of the Paris Peace Settlement of 1919. Commenting on the protocol E. H. Carr has observed thus "The protocol accentuated what was afterwards attacked as one of the weaknesses of the Covenant; its tendency to identify security with the maintenance of the 1919 settlement and its failure to provide adequate machinery for revision of that settlement".

(iii) Protocol Unacceptable to Great Powers: The Geneva Protocol however failed to secure general acceptance because of the opposition of the Great Powers and it never came into force. The provision of compulsory arbitration was not liked by the British public opinion. It was bound to lead to the increase in the number of disputes and would necessitate the imposition of sanctions in many of them. On the other hand the provision empowering the League under article 11 of the covenant to bring the issue of domestic jurisdiction under its purview caused a storm of opposition in British Dominions. This clause was inserted in the protocol at the suggestion of Japanese delegation. In some of the British Dominions laws were enforced to restrict immigration of the Japanese. Japan desired to take advantage of this provision in order to evade restriction on Japanese immigration into British Dominions. Naturally it created alarm in the Dominions which rejected the protocol. On the other hand the Protocol was designed to drag Great Britain and her Dominions in Europeam disputes and to increase the responsibility of Britain under the League covenant. Therefore, there was remote possibility of its acceptance by the British parliament. Due to British opposition, the Geneva protocol was not translated into practice. To quote Sharp and Kirk "With the lapse of the protocol, five years of hard and conscientious efforts to devise an international security system on a world-wide scale came to naught".

III. The Locarno Agreements

The following factors were responsible for the conclusion of Locarno agreements.

(i) Need for Strengthening the Collective Security System: In Europe the necessity of guaranteeing against the dangers threatening peace was being increasingly felt indispensable and more so

due to the fact that the guarantee against aggression provided by the League covenant was illusory.

(ii) Stiff Attitude of France Towards Germany: French fear of German aggression was the basis of all security problems. The economic and political conditions in Germany were far from satisfactory and the Allied Powers differed as to the policy to be adopted towards her. France could not rely on Britain to perpetuate the weakness of German nation which was the principal customer of Britain. Germany further aggrandized France by signing the Treaty of Rapallo in 1922 with the Soviet Union; by which provision was made for the rapid expansion of trade between Germany and Soviet Union. The old fear of a Russo-German alliance once again made the French foreign office unhappy because no one could tell what these non-league states might do.

So France adopted towards Germany a stiffer attitude. France declared Germany in voluntary default on reparation and in the teeth of Anglo-American opposition occupied the German territory of the Ruhr in January, 1923. France also made an unsuccessful attempt to establish small separatist German states along the Rhine. All these developments generated mounting tension between France and Germany and an acute need to defuse this tension was felt.

(iii) German Overtures for Rapprochement with France: The German government under Chancellor Dr. Cuno offered to France a guarantee of their mutual frontier, but the French premier M. Poincare rejected the offer as a manoeuvre. The same offer was repeated by Stresemann the German Foreign Minister in a speech on 22nd December, 1923 but it evoked no response from the French who thought that it was inspired by German anxiety to secure the evacuation of the Ruhr. The French occupation of the Ruhr had served as a lesson both for France and for Germany. Germanys cup of humiliation and misery was filled to the brim and France on the other hand gained nothing from the occupation of the Ruhr. Under Stresemann, Germany was adopting a new policy of fulfilment in place of passive resistance.

Failing to collect reparations by force from Germany, France had already agreed to general overhauling of the reparation settlement under Dawes plan which was designed to keep financial house in order in Germany. On 18th November, 1924 the French troops had evacuated the Ruhr. Germany also realised that her economic recovery was impossible without political appeasement. What

Germany needed most was settled life behind permanent frontiers within which the nation could enjoy full sovereignty and freedom.

Inspired by these considerations Stresemann on January 20, 1925 put forward his famous suggestion for a Rhineland pact where by France, Germany Great Britain and Italy should jointly guarantee the inviolable character of the Franco-German frontier. That Germany should of her own free will, reaffirm the acceptance, not only of the loss of Alsace and Lorraine and also of the demilitarization of the Rhineland was welcomed by the French ruling circles. France however insisted that Poland Belgium and Czechoslovakia should be invited to attend the parleys. Great Britain also welcomed the German offer as a friendly gesture.

IV. Historic Conference at Locarno in Switzerland (5th October, 1925)

The above developments culminated in the inauguration of historic conference at Locarno in Switzerland on 5th October, 1925. The negotiations for an agreement progressed satisfactorily in a friendly atmosphere and from 5th October, 1925 to 16th October, 1925 at the charming town of Locarno delegates from Britain, France, Germany, Italy, Belgium, Poland and Czechoslovakia participated in the discussions and deliberations of the conference. The cordiality of the delegates and their spirit of cooperation became proverbial in later years. The Locarno spirit as the phrase goes gave birth to seven treaties which were subsequently signed and ratified by all the signatory states.

V. Locarno Agreements

(i) The most important of Locarno agreements was the Treaty eaty of Mutual Guarantee between Great Britain, France, Italy, Germany and Belgium. According to this treaty Germany, Belgium and France undertook to regard the existing frontiers and the demilitarized zone of Rhineland as inviolable. Germany Belgium and France also agreed that in no case they would resort to war against one another. For all possible disputes between them, they accepted the complete system of peaceful settlement on the lines of the Geneva protocol which provided for arbitration, conciliation and adjudication. Thus, this agreement guaranteed Franco-German and Belgo-German frontiers as fixed by the Treaty of Versailles. The above obligations of Germany, France and Belgium were placed under the guarantee of Britain and Italy. However, Germany, France and Belgium guaranteed the fulfilment of their obligations under the above treaty. If the violation of the treaty took the form of flagrant aggression, the guarantors would refer the dispute to the League

Council and accept its decision. The aggressor in such case would be that signatory which refused to submit to arbitration or to carry out the arbitral award.

(ii) The second group of Locarno agreements included a Franco-Polish and Franco-Czechoslovak treaty of mutual assistance in the event of German aggression.

(iii) The third group of Locarno treaties included four separate Arbitration conventions; between Germany on one side and France Belgium, Poland and Czechoslovakia on the other. These treaties provided for compulsory arbitration and conciliation and required the signatories to refer their disputes to a permanent conciliation commission for arbitration and adjudication. The disputes could also be referred to the League Council for settlement.

(iv) As the British Dominions were unwilling to shoulder the responsibilities for the preservation of peace in Europe their objection was met by the insertion of a clause which provided that the obligations of Locarno treaties were not binding on the Indian as well as other British Dominions.

VI. Critical Estimate of the Locarno Pact

The Locarno Agreements were signed on 17th October, 1925 and they evoked various comments throughout the world.

As Dr. Langsam says "The Locarno achievements were widely hailed as precursor of a new era in the world history". On 17th October, 1925 The Times published a leading article saying "The worst of the long travail is over at last. The light of a new dawn is at last breaking upon the world"

(a) Merits of the Locarno Agreements

(i) Relaxation of Tension Between France and Germany: The immediate effect of the Locarno agreements on international relations in Europe was decidedly favourable. Sir Austin Chamberlain the foreign minister of Britain claimed that it marked" the real dividing line between the years of war and years of peace". It became henceforth the custom to speak of the Locarno spirit. Mr. Ramsay Macdonald who was at first critical of the agreement and denounced it as a pigeon-holed agreement, later on appreciated the inauguration of peaceful era in European continent. It gave France some security and consequently some halt in her ever active quest for security which had registered a disturbing effect on European politics. Thus, the agreement led to relaxation of mounting tension between France and Germany and spirit of reconciliation marked

the relations among different European countries including France and Germany.

(ii) Respectable Place for Germany in the Family of Great Powers: The Locarno agreements restored Germany a respectable place among the Great Powers and paved the way for her place in the League of Nations. In this context E.H. Carr has aptly remarked thus "It struck for the first time since the war a fair and impartial balance between French and German needs. It completed the work which the Dawes plan had begun by bringing Germany back into the family of Great Powers".

(iii) Locarno Pact Responsible for Solidarity of Western Europe: Locarno Pact provided simultaneously for the German need for treaty revision and the French need for status quo. Britain was eager not only to strike a balance between France and Germany but also to maintain Englands pre-eminent position in Western Europe as the deciding factor in the balance. This solidarity of the countries of Western Europe was cemented by the fear of spread of communism.

(iv) All-round Improvement of International Situation: The Locarno Pact resulted in an all-round improvement of the international situation. There was no longer any talk of the victor and the vanquished. Briand the French Foreign Minister exultantly asserted "Away with rifles, machine guns, cannon, clear the way for conciliation, arbitration, peace". The sense of security generated by the Locarno Pact was re-assuring particularly due to British guarantee given to France and Germany. To quote Gathorne Hardy "So long however as British intervention was feared by the potential aggressors of both sides it seemed unlikely that the reality of the Pact would be put to the test". Thus, Locarno Pact looked like a formidable scarecrow to drive away war mongers. The pact introduced a new spirit of cooperation and optimism in the international relations. If some calamities such as the world slump of 1929 and Nazi seizure of power in Germany had not occurred, it would have introduced a new era of peace in Europe.

(b) Drawbacks of the Locarno Pact

The Locarno Pact nor the spirit of Locarno was actual guarantee of peace. Hailed as the beginning of a new era of understanding and peace between Germany and France, Locarno Pact proved to be a mirage that dissolved almost as soon as it was glimpsed. Some critics are of opinion that the Locarno Pact was hoax that Briand the French Foreign Minister and his German counterpart Stresemann sprang on the world in their understandable longing to give a

respite to hate. The implications of Locarno Agreements were sinister as well as reassuring. Realism had been set aside and an atmosphere of illusion began to descend on international politics. It cannot be denied that the pact certainly contained some defects which are discussed as follows:

(i) False Sense of Security: The sense of security created by the Locarno Pact was based on illusory hopes. Though Germany and her co-signatories agreed to resolve their disputes through peaceful means yet this agreement excluded from its jurisdiction the disputes arising out of events before the present convention and belonging to the past. The Locarno Treaty did not oblige its signatories to refrain from resort to war on questions like Polish corridor which arose out of the Paris Peace Settlement (1919).

The reassuring features of Locarno Pact disappeared with the disappearance of good times but its sinister features implied the perpetuation of status quo maintained by the Treaty of Versailles which could not be regarded by the Germans as sacrosanct and inviolable.

Briand the French Foreign Minister has rightly remarked "The Treaty of Versailles will always be a source of irritation. It was the fruit of war of victory. It can be called and is called a treaty imposed by force under duress, and that the defeated party is morally justified in repudiating when it can do so". This was a prophetic utterance of the French statesman who was instrumental in the formation of the Locarno Pact. Thus, the Locarno Pact by seeking to strengthen the Paris Peace Settlement of 1919 weakened its foundation because as has been rightly observed by E. H. Carr, "this implied that the obligations imposed by the Versailles Treaty were morally, if not legally less binding then obligations voluntarily accepted." Thus, the seeds of discord between Germany and France lay in the Treaty of Versailles. The Locarno Pact instead of removing these basic causes of conflict, tried to sanctify the Treaty of Versailles. Thus the Locarno Pact was based on the foundation of discord and apparent Locarno concord between Germany and France was due to former's helpless financial and political condition.

(ii) Evasion of Obligation to Protect Eastern Frontier of Germany by Britain: The Locarno Pact implied that Britain was eager to strengthen the Western frontier of Germany but was not ready to take the same responsibility with regard to the eastern frontier. In this distinction between the western and eastern frontier the general obligation of the member states of the League to the covenant was inevitably undermined. It increased the burden of France and

imposed upon her the special responsibility of affording protection to the countries situated on the eastern frontier of Germany. Thus, the problem of the eastern frontier was not solved in a satisfactory manner. It increased the apprehension of countries of the Eastern Europe of a possible German attack in future.

Later events proved that their apprehensions were not altogether unfounded. In 1938 England instead of preventing the dismemberment of Czechoslovakia situated on eastern border of Germany aided and abetted the process of its dismemberment by following the policy of appeasement towards Germany.

It was a misplaced judgment of British statesmen that a strong Germany would be a fitting bulwark against Bolshevism.

(iii) Locarno Pact not a Far Sighted Settlement: The causes of friction such as Germany's demand for arms, equality for colonies, and for the removal of war-guilt clause from the Treaty of Versailles, were not removed. At Locarno the German government had agreed to the loss of Alsace-Lorraine and of Eupen and Malmedy but the loss of Danzig, the Polish corridor and upper Silesia remained as Prof. Schuman has put it "a festering wound in the hearts of all patriots and none could abandon the hope of recovering these territories in future". So war was inevitable. All these factors served as a fuel for the Nazi Party which under the leadership of Hitler was vigorously fanning the flames of national sentiment in the hope of seizing power in Germany.

Indirectly Locarno Pact was responsible for rise of totalitarianism in Germany because it symbolised a temporary truce between France and Germany but not a just settlement based on justice and rights of German nation.

(iv) Locarno Pact an Affront to the Soviet Union: Absence of British guarantee of Germanys eastern frontier was intriguing and mischievous as the states of Eastern Europe such as Czechoslovakia and Poland began to feel nervous about the possible German aggression

The Soviet diplomats clearly understood the implications of British unwillingness to guarantee the eastern frontiers. Four days before the signing of the Locarno Pact new trade agreement was signed between Germany and the Soviet Government and was hailed by the latters press as the Anti-Locarno Pact. This was also followed by a Russo-German non-aggression treaty in April, 1926, in which the signatories undertook to remain neutral in case either of them was attacked by a third party.

Russo-German non-aggression treaty thus dampened the spirit of Locarno and created doubts and fears in the minds of the statesmen of the Western countries. The spirit of Locarno immediately subsided and the fear of communist expansion and impact of Russo-German alignment on Western Europe began to haunt the statesmen of Great Britain, France and the United States.

(E) Pact Of Paris(1928)

(1) Circumstances Leading to the Conclusion of the Kellogg –Briand Pact (Pact of Paris)

(a) The Locarno Pact allayed German fears about a possible invasion of the type of the occupation of the Ruhr a few years ago or about such French efforts as the attempt to setup an independent state of the Rhineland. But Germany was not relieved of any of the disabilities imposed on her by the Treaty of Versailles and the reparation issue even after its revision under the Dawes plan hang like a black cloud over her head. France did nothing by way of adopting any positive steps which might stimulate the spirit of optimism released by the Locarno agreement. If France had withdrawn her army of occupation from Germany, the spirit of Locarno would have grown up further. France rather chilled enthusiasm by clinging to her continental alliances and she insisted that security must precede disarmament. If the nations inside the League of Nations failed to sustain the spirit of Locarno, they succeeded well enough to maintain it outside.

The Draft Treaty of Mutual Assistance and the Geneva Protocol had failed to still the fear of war and guarantee the much-needed security to France. The Locarno Pact guaranteed security but only a measure of it and the allies of France viz. the Powers of the Little Entente were still in precarious position of being attacked by Germany. So the French quest for security continued.

(b) In the United States the public opinion was in favour of outlawing the war as an instrument of national policy. As Prof.John Dewey observed "At present the lover of peace becomes the criminal. Outlaw war and the law is on the side of peace and moral conviction". The idea caught the imagination of many Americans but it remained for the US Government officially to take up a suitable plan for implementing it in the form of multilateral treaty.

(c) The ball was set rolling by the French Foreign Minister Aristide Briand when in a public speech on the 6th April, 1927 as marking the tenth anniversary of the US entry into the First World War, he declared that France was ready to sign an agreement with

the United States outlawing war as an instrument of national policy between the two countries. He also sent the draft of a pact of perpetual peace between the two countries on 20th June, 1927. In advocating to outlaw war; Briand might have been influenced by an American Prof. Shotwell with whom he had a conversation some time ago. but a war between France and the USA not being even a remote possibility, Briands motive did not seem to be very clear. In any case US Secretary of State Frank B. Kellogg took about six months to reply to a seemingly innocuous French-proposal and on 28th December, 1927 he sent two notes to Briand the French Foreign Minister. In one of the notes it was suggested that the proposed treaty should be multilateral. Briand considered the suggestion carefully and to his credit he agreed to Kelloggs proposal. The US Secretary of State Kellogg sent a draft treaty to Germany, Italy, Great Britain and Japan. Public opinion in these countries rallied to its support. The governments of these countries accepted the American proposal remarking that it would strengthen the covenant of the League of Nations and Rhineland Pact recently concluded at Locarno. France reserved her previous treaty obligations and emphasised her right to self-defence, which Mr. Kellogg had conceded.

(2) Conclusion of Pact of Paris

On 27th August, 1928 delegates from fifteen nations including US, UK, Japan, Germany, France, Italy, Belgium, Czechoslovakia, Poland, India and Five Dominions of the British Commonwealth - Canada, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa and Irish Free State assembled at the Quaid Orsay in Paris and signed the general treaty for the renunciation of war. It came to be called the Pact of Paris or Kellogg-Briand Pact. It was left open for membership to other countries and invitations were immediately sent to other forty nine countries including the Soviet Union to accede to the treaty. This agreement of fifteen original contracting parties was ultimately signed by 65 states including Soviet Union. The provisions of the Kellogg-Briand Pact which the US President Hoover proclaimed to be in force on July 29, 1929 may be summarized as follows.

Article 1: "The high contracting parties solemnly declare in the names of their respective people that they condemn the recourse to war for the solution of international controversies and renounce it as an instrument of national policy in their relations with one another".

Article II: "The high contracting parties agree that the settlement or solution of all disputes or conflicts of whatever nature or of whatever origin they may be, which may arise among them shall never be sought except by pacific means".

The third and the last article only mentioned the terms of ratification and adherence. The preamble of the Pact of Paris stated: "Any signatory Power which shall hereafter seek to promote its national interest by resort to war should be denied the benefits of this Treaty". Thus, according to the preamble if any country violated the terms of the treaty, other signatories regained their freedom of action with regard to that country.

(3) Critical Appraisal of the Pact of Paris

(i) Defects of the Pact: The Pact of Paris was the first Pact of universal application and the first attempt to maintain peace by mobilising world public opinion. But unfortunately soon after its coming into force it was subjected to scathing criticism.

Norman Bentwich called it "an international kiss purely platonic promising nothing for the future". The critics have pointed out certain defects which are discussed as follows:

(i) No Machinery for the Implementation of the Pact: The Pact of Paris provided no machinery by which renunciation of war as an instrument of national policy could be enforced against a prospective aggressor state. The Pact did not spell out any method of identifying any act of violation of the treaty.

(ii) Diverse Interpretations of the Text of the Pact of Paris: According to some critics the Pact of Paris was a pious declaration of renunciation of war. The Pact did not seem to prohibit all the wars such as war in self-defence and undeclared wars. The US Secretary of State declared "Every nation alone is competent to decide whether circumstances require recourse to war in self-defence". In 1931 Japan invaded and conquered Manchuria without declaring war. Thus, the Pact of Paris did not specifically prohibit these types of wars.

(iii) Pact of Paris Hedged by Reservations: The efficacy of the Pact was diluted by the various reservations made by certain countries such as France, Japan, Britain and the United States. These reservations defeated the very purpose for which the Pact was concluded. Due to these reservations Pact of Paris degenerated as high sounding nothing.

(a) French Reservations: France had made the following reservations before she accepted the Pact.

(i) The agreement should not become effective until universal adherence was given.

(ii) Each signatory state should retain its right of legitimate self-defence.

(iii) If one signatory state violated its pledge not to engage in war, all other states adhering to the pact would be automatically released from their obligations under the pact.

(iv) The treaty should not interfere with the previous obligations of France under the League of Nations and the Locarno Agreements.

(b) British Reservations to the Pact: The British government officially announced: "There are certain regions of the world the welfare and integrity of which constitute a special and vital interest for our peace and security. Their protection against attack is to the British Empire a measure of self-defence. It must be clearly understood that His majestys Government in Great Britain accept the new Treaty upon the distinct understanding that it does not prejudice their freedom of action in this respect".

(c) The US Reservations: The United States was the sponsor of the Pact of Paris and yet she also had certain reservations. Senator Borah of the United States declared "We would have a perfect right to send an expedition anywhere into Mexico or China if it was necessary in order to protect the lives and property of our citizens against actual threatened attack".

(d) Reservations Made by Japan: A similar statement was made by the Japanese Foreign Minister in the Diet the parliament of Japan in 1929. He declared "Manchuria and Mongolia are of course within the sphere where our right of self-defence can be exercised. In case the peace of Manchuria was disturbed, Japan should be justified in taking necessary measures as a matter of self-defence. In such cases Japan should not be bound by the anti-war Pact". Indeed when Japan invaded Manchuria in 1931, she claimed the benefit of the right of self-defence thus recognised. She declared that Manchuria was no less vital to her self-defence than the Suez canal to Britain or the Panama Canal to the United States. Thus, the efficacy of the out-lawing of war was lessened by these reservations placed on the text of the pact by a number of signatories. The Great Powers banned the wars of aggression but reserved to themselves the right to determine whether actions were offensive or defensive. Commenting on these reservation Black and Helmreich have remarked thus "Considering these reservations it would be

difficult to conceive of any wars that nations have fought within the past century or likely to fight in future that cannot be accommodated under these exceptions. Far from constituting an outlawry of war, they constitute the most solemn sanction of specific wars that have ever been given to the world".

(4) Mixed Reactions to the Pact of Paris

Critics point out that the Pact of Paris was a "tiger without teeth". It stated principles but provided no machinery to implement them. Others condemned the pact as "high sounding nothing", while the cynics called it an "Instrument of International Confusion". Some looked upon it as "the American attempt at alternative world system under American leadership to the League of Nations which had fallen under Anglo-French leadership".

(5) Pact of Paris Incompatible with the Covenant of the League of Nations

The Pact of Paris had the effect of a moral declaration. The Pact was expected to be an improvement on the covenant of the League of Nations but in actual practice the Pact did not go even as far as the covenant in creating international security. The covenant of the League did not ban all wars but merely allowed some and prohibited others. The covenant also made provision for punishing those wars which it had banned but the Pact of Paris on the other hand outlawed war but punished none. In 1929 efforts were made to amend the covenant of the League and apply sanctions under article 16 of the covenant to all wars prohibited by the Pact of Paris. This would have resulted in the integration of the Pact and the League covenant. But these efforts proved to be fruitless. The failure was due to certain obvious reasons. In this context E. H. Carr has aptly remarked thus If you merely pitchforked the articles of the Pact into the Covenant, you produced a document of which one part prohibited war altogether and another part allowed it in certain conditions - a flagrant contradiction". Thus, there was no possibility of a thorough fusion of the pact and the covenant as both were incompatible.

(6) Merits of the Pact of Paris

Commenting on the bright side of the Pact E. H. Carr has aptly remarked thus "Inspite of all its imperfections and shortcomings the Pact of Paris was a considerable landmark. It was the first political agreement in history, of almost universal scope and no less than sixty five states accepted the Pact. It at least displayed the willingness of states to pronounce a ban on war as a legitimate means of settling their disputes. It did provide a certain measure

of security to France at least for the time being. Moreover, it seemed to restore American willingness to co-operate in international affairs".

It cannot be denied that the Pact of Paris had certain merits. These merits are discussed as follows:

(1) American Co-operation in Strengthening the Collective Security System of the League

The Pact of Paris symbolised the new willingness on the part of the United States to undertake responsibilities for the preservation of the world peace. There is no doubt that the Pact of Paris added to the effectiveness of the collective system of security, under the auspices of the League as the member states of the League of Nations could henceforth rely on the American co-operation to prevent the out-break of war.

(2) Commitment to Out-law Wars by the Soviet Union and the United States the Non-members of the League

It was heartening to note that two Super-Powers the Soviet-Union and the United States which had not acquired the membership of the League, were signatories to the anti-war Pact. Besides strengthening the League's collective security system the commitment to peace by these Great Powers created the climate of peace and international understanding among the nations. In this context G. M. Gathorne Hardy has aptly remarked thus "As a gesture indictive of a new ethical attitude to war, the Pact of Paris was undeniably impressive. It was particularly important in that it created a basis upon which the great nations outside the League, the United States and Russia could take a direct interest in the collective organisation of peace. It served at the moment as a magnificent advertisement of the pacific disposition of the world and might have been thought to constitute a great step forward on the road to international security".

The Pact of Paris was however the last attempt of the nations to strengthen the collective security system of the League. But unfortunately the peaceful climate of international understanding and harmony was short-lived. The depression of 1929 created a fissure in the international co-operation; and taking advantage of the pre-occupation of the Western Powers with economic crisis Japan invaded Manchuria in 1931 in flagrant violation of the Pact of Paris and her obligations under the covenant of the League. Japan claimed that her military operations in Manchuria lay within her domestic jurisdiction. Thus, the year 1931 witnessed the collapse of

the collective security system and the first bomb-dropped by the Japanese on Manchuria was a bombshell for this system. Great Powers such as the United States, Britain and France resorted to the policy of appeasement which culminated in the out-break of Second World War and the world was thrust into the juggernaut of destruction.

(F) Treaty of Mutual Assistance between France and the Soviet Union

In May, 1935 France entered into a treaty of mutual assistance with the Soviet Union. According to this treaty both the parties would consult each other in regard to measures to be taken to meet any threat of aggression. In case of unprovoked aggression by a third power both the countries would fight against the aggressor state. The treaty was to last for five years after its ratification. Thus, through the League as well as the network of alliances French quest for security continued unabated.

8

COLLECTIVE SECURITY SYSTEM UNDER THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS AND EFFORTS FOR DISARMAMENT WITHIN AND OUTSIDE THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

OUTLINE:

- **(A) Provisions of collective security in the covenant of the league of nations and attempts to dilute them.**
- **(B) Efforts to strengthen the collective security system under the league auspices.**
- **(C) Collapse of the league's collective security system.**
- **(D) Efforts for disarmament through the league of nations.**
- **(E) Efforts for disarmament outside the league.**

(A) Provisions Of Collective Security In The Covenant Of The League Of Nations And Attempts To Dilute Them

The First World War was the first total war known to history. It was a war fought, to make democracy safe for the world. It was a war to end wars. When the Allied delegates met at Paris after the end of hostilities, they were engaged in their efforts not only to make peace but to perpetuate peace. The destruction caused by the First World War convinced them that something definite must be done to save the succeeding generations from the scourge

of war and to attain the twin purpose of peace and prosperity. Prior to the First World War international law had displayed its importance to check the aggressive designs of the states, as there was no sanction behind it. But a system of sanctions could not exist without a permanent international organisation. Statemen who assembled in the Paris Peace Conference were convinced that the future peace should be established on a well-defined system. But various delegates of different countries differed as to what the system meant, how it was to be applied and what action was required to assure peace. Some delegates insisted that top priority should be given to disarmament while other delegates urged priority for a collective security system because the nations would agree to disarm only when they felt secure. The ideal of disarmament implied the maintenance of the minimum of military and navy consistent with the internal defence. On the other hand the system of collective security in the words of Prof. Schuman meant that "peace in the world can be maintained through the cooperative coercion of peace-breaking states by peace-loving states".

The statemen at the Paris Peace Conference adopted both the ideals and incorporated them in the Covenant of the League of Nations which came into existence on 10th January, 1920.

(1) Article 8 of the League Covenant

The ideal of disarmament was embodied in the article 8 of the League Covenant. This article stated. "The members of the League recognise that the maintenance of peace requires the reduction of national armaments to the lowest point consistent with national safety and the enforcement by common action of international obligation".

(2) Article 10 and 16 Regarding Collective Security

The Ideal of the collective security was incorporated in articles 10 and 16 of the League Covenant. These articles stated, "The members of the League undertake to respect and preserve as against external aggression the territorial integrity and existing political independece of members of the League".

Additional coercive force was to be derived from article 16 of the covenant which stated, "Should any member of the League resort to war in disregard of its covenant under articles 12, 13 or 15, it shall ipso facto be deemed to have committed an act of war against all other members of the League". In essence these articles meant that if any state attacked another state, all other nations acting through and under the League of Nations, would undertake to

protect the victim of aggression. The arrangement was called the system of collective security and the League of Nations was to serve as its first instrument.

(3) Attempt to Dilute the Collective Security System of the League

From the very beginning many countries were sceptical of the ability of the League to maintain peace. This feeling of uncertainty had two aspects. Some countries feared that they might be required to resist aggression when their interests did not seem to be involved while other states feared aggression in spite of the League. Those states which held the former view endeavoured to weaken the provisions pertaining to collective security and those countries which held the latter view, tried to strengthen the collective security of the League by concluding multilateral and bilateral pacts of friendship, of neutrality, of arbitration, of conciliation and of mutual assistance. The very first session of the League Assembly proved crucial for the future work of the world body. Various governments realised that they had assumed obligations which could be invoked any time under the League Covenant; and their uneasiness was further heightened by the unstable situation of international politics.

Although the First World War ended, Turkish soldiers were still busy in Greece in an effort to maintain Turkish rule in the Balkans. In Russia civil war had broken out and the Western countries were deeply concerned with the formidable prospects of communist expansion in Europe. The political situation in the Far East was far from satisfactory because China was constantly resenting the special privileges given to Japan according to the Treaty of Versailles. Similarly, Britain was not satisfied with US President Wilsons insistence of territorial guarantees and she was not willing to undertake obligations to apply sanctions. Britain constantly pressed for relaxation of those obligations. So due to British pressure the second League Assembly which met in 1921, gave a wholly new interpretation to article 16 of the covenant.

(4) Purpose of Article 16 of the League Covenant Defeated

The new interpretation given to article 16 during the second session of the League absolutely diluted the collective security system. Now the article 16 of the League covenant was interpreted to mean that each member state would be free to decide for itself whether or not an actual breach of the Covenant had taken place in a given situation and was only then under an obligation to apply sanction. According to the new interpretation of article 16,

the opinion of the League Council was not binding on the member states. The article 16 as amended stated "If the Council should decide that there was a breach and convey its opinion to members, that opinion should not be binding. Each government would decide for itself the form which sanctions should take-diplomatic, economic, or military and that sanctions would be applied gradually". The article 16 also stated "Resort to war would not automatically create a state of war with all the members of the League". It was further decided that in the event of war complete breach of diplomatic relations need not occur but instead the heads of diplomatic missions might be recalled while consular relations might be maintained with belligerent state. Thus, the very essence of the collective security system was undermined by these interpretations.

(B) Efforts To Strengthen The Collective Security System Under The League Auspices

The period following the end of the First World War was marked by the French quest for security against possible resurgence of German militarism. At the Paris Peace Conference (1919) the French delegates proposed to occupy the ten thousand square miles of the territory between the Rhine on the east and Belgium Holland and France on the West. The entire area was to constitute an autonomous region under French protection. But this proposal was vehemently opposed by Britain. However, in order to provide some degree of security to France it was laid down in the Treaty of Versailles that there would be for fifteen years an allied military occupation of the left bank and the bridge heads of the Rhine. The occupied territory was to be evacuated in three stages. The Allied Powers reserved the right of re-occupation either within or after fifteen years in the event of default of German government to fulfil her obligations under the Treaty of Versailles. Thus, some measure of security was ensured for France, but she was not completely satisfied with this arrangement. France vigorously accelerated the process of achieving security against possible German military retaliation. For a short-while France succeeded in getting British and American guarantee for her security in case of a recurrence of German aggression. But this guarantee proved to be illusory when the US Senate refused to ratify the guarantee treaty. Thus, the French attempt to gain guarantee of security from her principal allies came to naught because the British guarantee too was contingent on the US undertaking. In other words England withdrew her commitment to give guarantee of security to France

because the USA failed to respond favourably to the guarantee treaty. Due to Anglo-American betrayal, France felt isolated. Now she began to pursue the policy of concluding alliances with small states. By 1927 France concluded alliances with the Powers of Little Entente such as Rumania, Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia. These countries were no less determined to maintain status quo than France. But France was still sceptical about the ability of the Powers of Little Entente to maintain status quo established by the Treaty of Versailles. So she began to explore new avenues for ensuring her security against possible German aggression. France was sadly disappointed both by the League of Nations collective security system as well as her principal ally Great Britain. Apprehending that the world was relapsing to the pre-war system, France now tried to strengthen the League of Nations as the last and the only bulwark of future peace. Ultimately she succeeded in concluding the following agreements which were designed to strengthen the Leagues collective security system.

(i) The Draft Treaty of Mutual Assistance (1922-23).

(ii) The Geneva Protocol (1924).

(iii) The Locarno Agreements (1925).

(For detailed study of these agreements Chapter 7 may please be referred).

However the ever-active process of achieving a large measure of security for France, was going on and in addition to above agreements which were mainly designed to promote and ensure security under the auspices of the League, efforts were made to promote collective security system outside the purview of the League. These efforts were made by the governments of the United States and France and culminated in the conclusion of the Kellogg-Briand Pact popularly known as Pact of Paris (1928).

(For detailed study of Pact of Paris Chapter seven may please be referred).

(C) Collapse Of League's Collective Security Sysytem

As regards the performance of the League in the field of collective security it may be said that the League did not prove itself to be an effective security organisation. In some disputes brought before it particularly in the early years it gave a good account of itself and rendered useful service. But unfortunately in every major case which involved the flagrant defiance of the League Covenant by a major Power, the security structure of the League proved itself unequal to the task. The following examples serve to

show how the collective security system of the League collapsed and Leagues inaction and apathy precipitated the out-break of Second World War.

(1) Japanese Attack on Manchuria

In September, 1931 Japan launched military offensive against Manchuria a territory of China bacause she wanted to fulfil her imperialistic designs in China. By the end of September, 1931 all the Chinese towns within a radius of two hundred miles north of Mukden were occupied by the Japanese. By November, 1931 practically the whole of North Manchuria was brought under Japanese domination, and by January, 1932 the whole of Manchuria was completely conquered by Japan. The Chinese government lodged protest against the Japanese action in the League of Nations and appealed to the member states to intervene in the name of collective security; but Chinas appeal evoked no adequate response from the leading members of the League. On 30th September, 1931 a resolution was unanimously passed in the Council. According to the resolution an opportunity was given to Japan to withdraw from Manchuria. But Japan paid no heed to this resolution and persisted in her course of action. So the League appointed the famous Lytton Commission to investigate into the matter. The commision submitted its report in November, 1932. The commission recognised that there was military presence of Japan in Manchuria which lay within the sovereign jurisdiction of China. The report stated that Japans action in Manchuria violated Chinas sovereignty as well as League covenant. When the report of Lytton commission was discussed by the Assembly of the League of Nations the Japanese delegates staged a walk out and later on Japanese government gave a notice of terminating its membership of the League. While Japan took a decisive action with regard to the League, the latter failed to take an effective action against Japan. This was due to the policy of appeasement pursued by France and Britain the leading members of the League. Thus, Japan succeeded in converting Manchuria into independent Manchukuo state under her control. On 23rd February, 1932 Mr. Stimson the American Secretary of State declared that the United States would not recognise Manchukuo which was created by Japan in violation of the Nine-Power Treaty and the Kellogg Briand Pact. Thus, due to Leagues inaction and apathy Japan was able to retain Manchuria under her control. The failure of the League was a great blow to the principle of collective security. Commenting on this Manchurian episode Gathorne Hardy observed thus "The shock therefore which the incident admini-

stered to the whole system of collective security was tremendous and well nigh fatal".

According to Macintosh "Both Italy and Germany concluded that there was little risk in making treaties and carrying out aggressions since the League Powers seemed loth to act in concert".

(2) Japan's Further Incursions into China's Territory

Undeterred by the non-recognition of Manchukuo by the Western Powers, Japan extended her aggression into the North China province of Jehol and incorporated it into Manchukuo. On 31st May, 1933 China was compelled to accept the terms of surrender dictated by Japan. These terms were embodied in Tangku Truce which left Manchukuo and Jehol in Japanese possession and provided for demilitarized zone as far south as Peiping and Tientsin. In December, 1934 as a prelude to further aggression, Japan denounced the Washington Treaty which had imposed limitations on her naval armaments. In 1937 she sent her army into the North China province of Hopei without any declaration of war. On all these occasions the League could not take any firm action against Japan in order to protect the territorial integrity of China.

(3) Germany's Repudiation of International Obligations

The first country in Europe to break away from its treaty obligations and to challenge the collective security system of the League of Nations was Nazi Germany under Hitler. On 14th October 1933 Germany withdrew herself from the World Disarmament Conference and the League of Nations and began to arm herself. On 16th March, 1935 Hitler announced that Germany no longer considered herself bound by the military clauses of the Treaty of Versailles. The strength of the German army during the peace time would be 36 divisions and conscription would also be introduced. Protests against Germanys action were made. The League condemned all her actions but no steps were taken by the member states singly or collectively to compel Germany to observe her obligations according to the Treaty of Versailles. Britain entered into naval agreement with Germany on 18th June 1935. According to this agreement German naval strength in all categories of ships was restricted to 35% of the British strength. As regards submarines there was to be parity between Germany and Britain. Thus, on one hand Britain cooperated with France in the League Council in condemning Germanys repudiation of the military clauses of Treaty of Versailles and on the other hand, Britain was openly recognising Germany's right to ignore up

to 35% of British strength the naval restrictions imposed by the Treaty of Versailles. This attitude of Britain gave Hitler further encouragement towards preparedness for major military offensive.

(4) Repudiation of the Locarno Agreements and Occupation of Rhineland by Germany

On 7th March 1936 Hitler in an address delivered by him in the Reichstag announced Germany's denunciation of the Rhineland demilitarization clauses of the Treaty of Versailles and Locarno Agreements. As Hitler was delivering his speech, the German army was stepping into the Rhineland in the midst of great popular enthusiam. Hitler announced that the Franco-Soviet Pact of May, 1935 was directed against Germany and it had violated the spirit of Locarno. Hence, the German occupation of Rhineland was justified. The British public reaction to the German action was best expressed in Lord Lothians remark "After all they are going into their back garden".

The League Council registered its formal finding that Germany had violated both the Treaty of Locarno and the Treaty of Versailles but no action was recommended.

(5) Annexation of Austria by Germany (1938)

As early as 1934 Hitler had attempted a coup d'etat in Austria through the medium of the Austrian Nazi party. Although Austrian Prime Minister Dollfuss was assassinated, the coup had failed. In February, 1938 Hitler decided to invade Austria in view of the policy of appeasement pursued by Britain under Prime Minister Chamberlain. Hitler compelled Austrian Chancellor Schuschnigg to appoint the Austrian Nazi leader Arthur Seyss-Inquart as Minister of Interior and other Nazi leaders as Minister of Justice and Minister of Foreign affairs. The Austrian Chancellor was compelled to announce that on 13th March, 1938 a plebiscite would be held on the question of independence versus union with Germany. But before the plebiscite could be held, on 11th March, 1938 Seyss Inquart presented Schuschnigg with an ultimatum demanding his resignation and the postponement of the plebiscite. In case these two demands were not met, German troops would be put into action against Austria. Faced with this situation, the Chancellor Schuschnigg cancelled the plebiscite and resigned. Seyss-Inquart the Nazi leader became the Austrian Chancellor and the head of new cabinet.

On 14th March, 1938 Hitler visited Vienna and was accorded enthusiastic reception. The leading members of the League were pacifist spectators and no state except Soviet Union raised a hand in defence of Austria's sovereignty.

(6) Annexation of Czechoslovakia (March, 1939)

In March, 1939 Germany annexed Czechoslovakia in flagrant violation of the Covenant of the League of Nations. Commenting on the inaction and apathy of western countries, Soviet Premier Stalin remarked thus "The non-aggressive states primarily England, France and the United States have rejected the policy of collective security, the policy of collective resistance to the aggressors and have taken up a position of non-intervention a position of neutrality".

The Soviet Premier was of opinion that the policy of non-intervention meant conniving at aggression giving free rein to war which could expand into a world war. The member states of the League could do nothing to prevent the annexation of Czechoslovakia by Germany.

(7) Conquest of Abyssinia by Italy

The war between Italy and Abyssinia (1935-36) became a test case of the effectiveness of the collective security system of the League of Nations and the willingness of the member states to give proof of their devotion to the principle of collective security. It is well-known that the League of Nations failed in the crucial test. The member states of the League applied sanctions against Italy the aggressor state half-heartedly. They did not apply sanctions automatically, simultaneously and comprehensively but haltingly, gradually and piece meal. Oil sanctions against Italy were never applied. The Suez Canal was kept accessible to Italian ships. The result was that Mussolini the dictator of Italy was able to annex Abyssinia to the empire of Italy.

(8) Certain Difficulties in the Way of the Enforcement of the Collective Security System of the League

(a) Some states such as France, Rumania, Czechoslovakia, and Yugoslavia were in favour of the maintenance of status quo established by the Treaty of Versailles whereas other states such as Germany, Italy and Japan were revisionists and they wanted to promote their national interests by repudiating the Treaty of Versailles. So the war was inevitable as the seeds of war were sown in the unjust Peace Treaties specially the Treaty of Versailles. Commenting on these treaties American writer Mr. Raymond Leslie Buell remarks thus "Treaties which violate fundamental considerations of justice or prove economically unbearable, cannot be indefinitely maintained".

(b) Yet another difficulty was created by what was meant by the term aggression. There was no definition of the term aggression

in the League Covenant. It was left to each member state to decide for itself whether a particular act was one of aggression or not.

(c) Another difficulty in the way of the enforcement of collective security system was that the armed forces which could be used against the aggressor were under the countrol of the different member states and not under the League of Nations. There was no definite possibility of help coming from any member state of the League in the event of war. Military action by an international authority might lead to a major war in which the outcome might be doubtful but heavy losses were certain. The leading member states of the League were unwilling to shoulder the responsibilities of resisting aggressions in all parts of the world, where their interests were not involved. Commenting on the collective security system Walter Lippmann has remarked thus "When the issue is less than the survival of the great nations, the method of collective security will not be used because it is just as terrifying to the policeman as it is to the law breakers. It punishes the law enforcing states at least, until they have paid the awful price of victory as much as the law breaking states. There would be little surgery if the surgeon had to amputate his own arm when he was called upon to amputate his patients leg. The method of collective security is too crude too expensive and too unreliable for general and regular use".

(D) Efforts For Disarmament Through The League Of Nations

A function of the League of Nations which was only second to its primary purpose the preservation of world peace was disarmament or to put it in the exact words of the Covenant "the reduction of national armaments to the lowest point consistent with national safety". The Leagues failure to bring about disarmament was a grievous one because it supplied Hitler of Nazi Germany with the excuse for unilaterally violating the restrictions imposed upon German armaments by the Treaty of Versailles. The First World War which set the whole world aflame registered a tremendous impact on the statesmen at the Paris Peace Conference. It was realised that major cause of this war was the mad race for armaments. Under the peace treaties concluded after the end of the First World War, Germany Austria, Hungary and Bulgaria accepted immense reduction and a rigid limitation of the armed forces. But the general disarmament was obligatory for the victors also. The preamble to Part V of the Treaty of Versailles contained an express obligation. The preamble stated "In order

to render possible the initiation of a general limitation of the armaments of all nations, Germany undertakes strictly to observe the military, naval and air clauses which follow". According to the article 8 of the League Covenant, the member states "recognise that the maintenance of peace requires the reduction of national armaments to the lowest point consistent with national safety and the enforcement by common action of international obligations".

Paragraph 2 of article 8 of the Covenant of the League stated "the Council taking into account the geographical situation and circumstances of each state shall formulate plans for such reduction for the consideration and action of the several governments".

Paragraph 4 of article 8 mentioned that "after these plans shall have been adopted by the several governments the limits of armaments therein fixed, shall not be exceeded without the concurrence of the Council".

Paragraph 5 of the article 8 stated that "the members of the league agree that the manufacture by private enterprise of munitions and implements of war is open to grave objections. The Council shall advise how the evil effects attendant upon such manufacture can be prevented".

Paragraph 6 of this article obliged the member states "to interchange full and frank information as to scale of their armaments their naval and air programmes, and the condition of such of their industries as are adaptable to war-like purposes".

Moreover, the article 23 of the Covenant provided that "the Members of the League will entrust the League with the general supervision of the trade in arms and ammunition with the countries in which the control of this traffic is necessary in the common interest". Thus, in theory the League of Nations would make general disarmament one of its first duties since this was one of the most fruitful preventives of war. But in actual practice the leading members of the League were reluctant to reduce their armaments. The French government linked the issue of armament with her security. The French held the view that limitation of armaments and security are the two sides of one and the same problem. General disarmament was a remote possibility because Red Army of Soviet Union was quite large and very efficient. It posed a serious challenge to Western democracies. Inspite of reductions British navy was quite strong. On the other hand American and Japanese navies were also stronger than they had been. Britain, France, and USA were reluctant to reduce armaments due to communist menace. However, certain efforts

were made towards the goal of general disarmament by the League of Nations.

(1) Establishment of the Permanent Advisory Commission (1920)

In order to implement the provisions of article 8 of the League Covenant, a Permanent Advisory Commission was established. The commission consisting of the military naval and air experts of each member state of the Leagues Council, was to furnish the Council with advice regarding the execution of article 8 of the covenant.

In December, 1920, the commission formally advised the Leagues Council that reduction of armaments at that time would be pre-mature.

(2) Establishment of the Temporary Mixed Commission (1920-24)

According to the resolution passed in the first assembly session in 1920, the Temporary Mixed Commission was appointed. It existed up to the 1924 session of the League Assembly. It first met in 1921 and discussed Lord Eshers plan for the reduction of land forces.

The third Assembly in 1922 accepted the following general principles reached by Temporary Mixed Commission: (1) No plan for disarmament could be successful unless it was general. (2) Several countries could not reduce their existing armaments unless the security was guaranteed. (3) Such guarantee could be provided by a defensive treaty of mutual assistance open to all. According to this defensive treaty the signatory state which happened to be a victim of unprovoked aggression would receive armed assistance from other signatory states. (4) The guarantee of assistance in case of war would apply only after the reduction of armaments had been carried out according to a general plan.

(3) World Disarmament Conference (1932)

(a) The Temporary Mixed Comission ceased to function after 1924. In 1925 the League Assembly requested the Council to make a preparatory study with a view to holding a World Disarmament Conference. Accordingly the Council abolished the Temporary Mixed Commission and replaced it by a Preparatory Commission for the World Disarmament Conference. It took six years to frame a draft treaty providing for a limitation of number of men in active service in land, naval and air forces and of governmental expenditure on army material. The Draft Treaty also provided for reduction of the number of military aircrafts and

insisted on condemnation of the use of poisonous gases and all bacteriological methods of warfare.

(b) However, the World Disarmament Conference met at Geneva on 2nd February, 1932. It was attended by the delegates of sixty one states. The Conference was expected to take up the Draft Treaty prepared by the Preparatory Commission after nearly six years of toil as its basis for its work. Instead the leading member states proceeded to make their own proposals which only prompted other delegates to make counter proposals. Such an atmosphere provoked long and futile discussions. The British Foreign Secretary Sir John Simon suggested qualitative limitation of armaments i.e., not by numbers but by their being considered offensive or aggressive. M. Tardieu the French representative maintained that it was not possible to draw the line between the offensive and defensive weapons. The Conference discussed several matters such as: (i) prohibition of certain methods of war, (ii) bombing from the air, use of chemical and bacterial weapons, (iii) principle of qualitative and quantitative limitation of armaments, (iv) publicity of national defence expenditure, and (v) supervision of the execution of the disarmament convention. But unfortunately no agreement could be reached as to the methods of applying the above principles. In the mean time the international situation had deteriorated to a great extent due to the unprovoked aggression of Japan upon Manchuria in 1931. On the other hand the economic depression and internal political movements in certain countries added to the general disquietude.

(c) Even before the World Conference met, it was widely known that Germany would seize the opportunity to press for complete equality in the matter of armaments and that France would oppose it tooth and nail. France did not want to concede equality to Germany in armaments unless her security was assured. The guarantee of French security was an unalterable condition of France for conceding equality to the Germans. In July, 1932, the Germans who had been consistently demanding the recognition of Germany's right to rearm, gave notice that they would not take further part in the conference in the absence of a clear and definite recognition of equality of rights between nations. On 30th January, 1933, Hitler became German Chancellor and this development intensified French opposition to concession of equality to Germany. In March, 1933 Ramsay Macdonald the British Prime Minister tried to end the deadlock by putting forward a plan which represented the mean between the opposing positions of the French and the Germans. The Macdonald Plan was

accepted as the basis for further discussions and the conference adjourned for the Easter holidays. On 17th May, 1933 Hitler in an address to the Reichstag the German parliament referred to the negotiations going on in Geneva and insisted on strict parallelism and a true equality among nations. He declared that if a decision was to be imposed on Germany on the pretext of its being a majority decision Germany would like to resign from the Disarmament conference and the League of Nations.

However, the negotiations regarding the acceptable solution to the issue of conceding equality to Germany in armaments proved to be fruitless. On 14th October, 1933 a telegram reached Geneva announcing that Germany had with-drawn from the conference and the League of Nations. The withdrawal of Germany sounded the death-knell of the World Disarmament Conference and of the military clauses of the Treaty of Versailles.

Thus, all the efforts of the member states of the League to give practical shape to any programme of disarmament under the auspices of the League were an exercise in futility. Now the resurgent German nation under the dynamic leadership of Hitler embarked on the programme of rearmament in order to repudiate the unjust treaty of Versailles.

(E) Efforts For Disarmament Outside The League

Americans had a sort of bad conscience with respect to the League of Nations and they were eager to demonstrate that certain noble ideas, which their President Wilson had written into its covenant e.g., disarmament still claimed their allegiance. This was one of the reasons why the United States convened a Naval Conference at Washington soon after the Senate had rejected the treaty of Versailles and the League.

(1) The Washington Conference (1921)

(For detailed study Chapter 2 (G) may please be referred).

Outside the purview of the League some international conferences were held in order to bring about disarmament. The Washington Conference was the first major attempt by the Powers to impose limitations on naval armaments. This conference was a prelude to other international conferences for disarmament.

(2) Geneva Conference (1927)

If the Washington Conference had reduced the number of capital ships and terminated competition in their construction, it left the states quite free to continue the construction of other types of vessels they desired. This failure was due to the fact that they

had divergent interests which could not possibly be measured by a common yard stick. However, by not limiting all types of vessels the Washington Conference left the way open for an Anglo American cruiser race which began to strain relations between the two countries. So President Coolidge of the United States decided to call yet another conference to limit the construction of the types of vessels not covered by the Washington agreement. Invitations were sent to four major powers. Great Britain and Japan accepted the invitation but France and Italy refused to participate in the proposed conference. France declined to accept the invitation on the ground that the outside conferences would hinder the disarmament efforts of the League and France wanted to discuss the problem of her security along with disarmament proposals whereas the United States and Britain were not ready to link the problem of the French security with the disarmament. Italy on the other hand declared that her geographical position made further limitation on her armaments unwise and inconsistent with her national security. The result was that only the United States, Britain and Japan participated in the deliberations of the conference which was held in Geneva from June, 20 to August 4, 1927. Most of the delegates were admirals and naval experts and they displayed little enthusiasm for disarmament which in ultimate analysis meant retrenchment of naval staff. However, certain differences arose between the United States and Britain. The USA needed cruisers with long range because she had a few bases whereas the British government needed a large number of small cruisers because it had naval bases scattered over the world and was unwilling to concede cruiser parity to the United States. So no compromise could be reached and on August 4, 1924 the Geneva Conference ended in failure. Throughout the conference the Japanese delegation played a minor role.

3. London Conference (1930)

The failure of the Geneva Conference caused considerable ill-will between Washington and London. On 13th February, 1929 the US Congress authorised the President to construct fifteen 10,000 ton cruisers and one air craft carrier and for this programme 274 million dollars were provided in the American budget. This caused great uneasiness in the political circles of Great Britain. However, the international situation favoured a rapprochement between the USA and Britain. The world-wide acceptance of the Pact of Paris in 1928 provided a more hopeful atmosphere and encouraged a new movement for reduction of armaments. In 1929 changes in government occurred in both the USA and Great

Britain. Ramsay Macdonald the leader of Labour party became the Prime Minister of England. He paid a state visit to the United States on 4th October, 1929. During his talks with the US President Hoover, the British Prime Minister offered to reduce Englands cruisers from 70 to 50 units. The President responded favourably to the friendly gesture of British Prime Minister. On 8th October, 1929 British government sent formal invitations to the United States, Japan, France and Italy to attend a new naval conference to be held in London. The Naval Conference opened in London on 21st January, 1930. During the discussions at the Conference France asked Britain whether she would be ready to use her fleet against an aggressor named by the League. France also wanted to know the clear position of Britain with regard to the article 16 of the Covenant. Britain was not able to guarantee French security and she could not make any commitment for military help to France unless the United States was willing to cooperate in case of a crisis. The US Secretary of State Mr. Stimson was not prepared to bind his country to give military aid to France in case of aggression. This stand of Britain and the United States precluded any possibility of a political agreement which would induce France to join in any disarmament plan. On the other hand Italy demanded parity with France in all the categories of war ships. The French delegation opposed Italy's demand for parity in naval armaments. So this deadlock occurred in the Conference and ultimately France and Italy withdrew from the Conference leaving the three major naval Powers viz. the United States Britain and Japan to deal with the problem of cruisers destroyers and submarines. These three countries signed a Naval Treaty on April 22nd 1930 where by the signatories agreed to extend their "Capital ship holiday" for another six years. In other words they agreed not to build capital ships for six years with effect from 22nd April, 1930. By scrapping certain battleships the navies of the United States, Britain and Japan were brought to the ratio of 5:5:3. This radio of naval strength was already provided for in the Washington Conference.

The United States received a larger tonnage in large gun cruisers while Britain got adequate tonnage in small gun cruisers. Japan was given equality in sub-marines. Japan in turn accepted an unequal position in cruisers and destroyers. Unfortunately, the naval treaty contained the socalled escape clause by which a signatory state could give notice of increase in manufacture of naval armaments in case its security was threatened by the naval construction of a non-signatory power.

4. Second London Disarmament Conference 1935

After 1930 the international scene had withessed some very important and unhappy events one after the other. The Great Slump of 1930-31 thrust the finances of many countries into turmoil. The Japanese invasion of Manchuria in 1931 exposed the bankruptcy of the Leagues collective security system. Rise of Hitler to power in 1933 posed a threat to sovereignty and territorial integrity of weaker European countries. Security was now no longer a matter of discussion round the table but became a need of the hour. The Disarmament Conference of the League at Geneva had failed where as the World Economic Conference had also met its doom. On the other hand Italys unprovoked aggression against Ethiopia had vitiated the political climate. Hitler had started the rearmament of Germany and Britain had given him open encouragement by signing with Germany a naval agreement on 18th June, 1935.

Despite these inauspicious developments the delegates of the United States, Britain, France, Italy and Japan met in a conference at London on December 9, 1935. The Soviet Union and Germany were not invited. During the discussions Japan insisted on parity with the US and Britain in all categories of naval ships. But Britain and the USA were not willing to concede this. On 15th January, 1936 Japanese delegation withdraw from the conference. However, after negotiations between Britain, the US France and Italy a naval treaty was framed. It was signed on 25th March, 1936 but Italy refused to be a party to this agreement due to Leagues sanctions and British naval presence in the Mediterranean. The treaty provided for no reduction of naval armaments. No limitation remained on the number of battle ships, aircraft carriers, cruisers, destroyers and sub-marines which the signatory states might build. However, the signatories agreed to exchange information as to the future building programmes. The naval treaty was weakened by an escape clause under which any signatory state on the ground of national security requirements might notify other signatory states that it would no longer observe the restrictions imposed by the treaty.

Such an action was taken by Britain in September, 1939 when she was involved in war with Germany. Britain informed the USA that as a result of war with Germany she was not bound by her obligations of the naval treaty of March, 1936.

The Failure of Disarmament Talks and Impending Disaster

However, the disarmament conferences ended in fiasco. A mad race for accumulation of armaments continued among the powers

and the world seemed to revert to the pre-war position of uneasy peace as the Powers were armed to the teeth. The world was sitting on a powder magazine and a spark was needed for a conflagration. The position of international situation due to the failure of disarmament talks is well explained Prof. Schuman. He has aptly observed thus "By the beginning of 1937 all treaties imposing qualitative restrictions on the three Great Naval Powers were at an end. Britain and Germany had agreed (June 18, 1935) that the German navy should be 35 per cent as large as the British.

Anglo-Soviet negotiations for a naval pact came to nothing. The US proceeded to strengthen the fortifications of its bases in the Western Pacific. By March, 1937 the British Government had announced plans for constructing 238000 tons of new battle ships. The US followed suit and Japan struggled desperately to keep pace with her wealthier rivals in naval race which was far costlier and more dangerous than that which preceded 1914. Germany armed for the day of glory and her neighbours armed desperately in self-defence. Each power sought safety in matching its potential enemies regiment for regiment bombing plane for bombing plane, battleship for battleship. In this, there could no security but only the promise of disaster. The letters of failure written large over the portals of successive disarmament conferences during the two decades after the Versailles became the letters of impending catastrophe for the Western World".

9

THE MENSHEVIK AND THE BOLSHEVIK REVOLUTIONS IN RUSSIA (1917), THE HOME POLICY AND FOREIGN POLICY OF LENIN AND STALIN

OUTLINE:

(A) Prelude to Establishment of Communist Regime in Russia.

(B) Causes of Menshevik Revolution (February 1917).

(C) Course of Menshevik Revolution.

(D) Internal Affairs of Russia between March 1917 and October 1917.

(E) Causes of the Bolshevik Revolution. (October-November 1917).

(F) Course of the Bolshevik Revolution.

(G) The Significance and Consequences of the Bolshevik Revolution.

(H) The Internal Administration and Foreign Policy of Lenin.

(I) Stalin's Home Policy and Emergence of the Soviet Union as a Highly Industrialized State.

(J) Foreign Policy of the Soviet Union under Stalin.

A. Prelude To Establishment Of Communist Regime In Russia

The seizure by the Bolshevists led by Lenin of supreme power in Russia by a coupdetat at Petrograd in Russia on 7 November 1917 not only signified the triumph of the revolutionary movement that

was going on in that country for more than fifty years, but put a violent end to the entire order represented by the Tsarist autocracy. The communist revolution of 1917 was a unique development not only in the history of Russia but also in the history of the World. This revolution had international character. In this context Dr. M. G. Gupta has rightly remarked thus "The Russian revolution of October 1917 is perhaps the most important single event of modern world history, incomparable in its scope, dimensions, its fundamentalism, dynamism and its immediate repercussions with any revolution preceding or following it. It threw out a powerful challenge to the manifold aspects of the Western values, the principles of trade, the theories of government, the framework of institutions, the rules of international conduct and technique of diplomacy". The Communist revolution of October 1917 was caused by the economic social and political order, the roots of which were deeply embedded in the ancient autocratic Tsarist regime in the soil of Russia. This order caused great dissatisfaction almost to a breaking point all over the Russian empire. The people of Russia were suffering from Tsarist autocracy, degenerate nobility, corrupt bureaucracy, economic exploitation and infringement of political and civil liberties. On the other hand the Russian mind was fired by the Marxist ideas that infiltrated into the Russian empire. The communist ideology of Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels played a pivotal role in injecting the revolutionary fervour into the blood of masses against Tsarist autocratic regime.

B. Causes Of Menshevik Revolution (February 1917)

The seething discontent of the people of Russia due to economic exploitation and infringement of political rights saw expression in the armed uprising against Tsarist autocracy in 1905 but the Tsar and his nobles crushed the uprising with iron hand. Unfortunately the Tsar did nothing to redress the grievances of the people who were seeking an opportunity to overthrow the autocratic regime of the Tsar. The people of Russia got this opportunity in February 1917 and monarchy in Russia collapsed like a house of cards. A variety of factors contributed to the out-break of Menshevik revolution of February 1917. These factors are discussed as follows:

(1) Tsar's Callous Indifference to the Grievances of the People

The Tsarist government was nothing but a naked tyranny. The people had serious grievances of various kinds but they had no constitutional avenues of expressing them and seeking redress. The Tsar Nicholas II (1894-1917) was too incompetent and reactionary

to pay heed to genuine grievances of the people. His government did not introduce any reforms for the benefit of the people.

(2) Tsar's Efforts to Reduce the Powers of the Duma

It was an endeavour of the Tsar to reduce the powers of the Duma the Russian parliament. The first Duma was opened on April 27, 1906 with the brief and dignified inaugural address from the throne. The Duma framed its programme which included: (i) a demand for universal franchise, (ii) abolition of indirect vote and introduction of direct vote, (iii) abolition of upper chamber, (iv) establishment of parliamentary system of government on the British or French model, (v) grant of broad amnesty and (vi) expropriation of large estates. However, in compliance with the orders of Tsar, Goremykin the President of the Council of Ministers announced on May 13, 1906 that the demands of the Duma had been rejected in toto. Soon the conflicts between the Duma and the reactionary government of Tsar Nicholas II arose on the issues of the abolition of capital punishment, misconduct of police officials in connection with the treatment of political prisoners and land reforms. Due to these conflicts, the Tsar dissolved the first Duma on 22 July 1906. The session of the second Duma was to be opened on 5th March 1907. The composition of the second Duma reflected the atmosphere in which the elections were held. The complexion of the second Duma was much more radical than the first. The opponents of Tsarist autocracy secured a clear majority in the second Duma which was composed of 520 deputies. The government could get hardly 90 votes in the second Duma and this signalised the impending downfall of the government. The Second Duma was dissolved on June 3, 1907 on the false charge that fifty five social Democratic Deputies had engineered a plot to overthrow the monarchy in Russia. However, elections for the third Duma were conducted in November 1907. The third Duma was allowed to complete its full term from November 1907 to June 1912 but unfortunately, it served merely as a consultative body and not a legislative body. Its voice hardly counted anything. The fourth and the last Duma (November 1912 to February 1917) was rather more reactionary and conservative in its composition than its predecessor. From 1907 to 1917 the Tsars government slipped back into the old grooves. The third and fourth Dumas were as cooperative and docile as the first two Dumas were unduly unmanageable and recalcitrant. Peter Stolypin repressed the revolutionary elements with exemplary ruthlessness. The reactionary elements who supported the Tsar were triumphant. Now the people had no forum for the ventilation of their genuine grievances since the fourth Duma was pro-government. Ultimately the discon-

tent of the people saw expression in the Menshevik revolution of February 1917.

(3) Serfdom and Ruthless Suppression of Anti-government Elements

Serfdom prevailed on a large scale and it had continued upto 1861 when Tsar Alexander II abolished it. But the abject poverty of the vast majority of people continued. Liberal-minded people who insisted on the introduction of reforms were ruthlessly suppressed by all kinds of inhuman and barbaric punishments. Running the gauntlet, slitting nostrils, lashing with a whip large scale arrests, executions through court-martials and exile to Siberia were the stringent methods to terrorise the people and to smother the voice of dissent against Tsarist despotism. The atrocities perpetrated by the government charged the atmosphere with electricity. On 22 January 1905 peaceful and unarmed workers led by Father George Gapon entered the winter palace at St.Petersburg for making an appeal to Tsar Nicholas II to summon a constituent assembly. Instantly Tsar turned down the appeal and ordered to open fire at the workers who were caught like rats in a trap. Hundreds of workers were killed and many were injured. This wholesale massacre occurred on Sunday which was notoriously known as "Bloody Sunday".

(4) Terrorist Activities, Strikes and General Unrest Among the People

The government of Tsar Nicholas II stood discredited because it could not maintain the peace and tranquility within the country. There was a spree of acts of terrorism. On 4th February 1905 the Tsars uncle Grand Duke Serge Alexandrovick was killed in a bomb explosion in Moscow. This crime was committed by Kalliaev a social revolutionary. Several political murders occurred during the regime of Tsar Nicholas II. On June 14, 1905 there was a mutiny in the Potemkin a Russian warship of the Black Sea fleet but it was crushed with iron hand. On June 18, 1905 Count Shuvalov the Governor of Moscow was assassinated. The deteriorating law and order situation was further complicated by strikes. In September and October 1905 there was a wave of strikes which paralysed the normal life. On 7th October 1905 there was a railway strike followed by a strike of employees of telegraph and telephone departments. All these developments discredited the Tsars government and exposed its weakness. The common people were the worst sufferers and they were seeking an opportunity to dislodge the Tsar from the position

of power, because the overthrow of monarchy was the only solution of their economic and political problems.

(5) National Disgrace Due to the Humiliating Defeat in War with Japan (1905)

The Russo-Japanese war (1904-1905) added fuel to the fire. It was a war between Russia a giant European country and Japan a dwarf oriental state. In this war Japan inflicted a crushing defeat on Russia which was forced to sign the most humiliating treaty of Portsmouth (September 5, 1905). Ths people of Russia were stunned and appalled to learn the news of the defeat of Russian army. They ascribed Russia's debacle and defeat to inefficient military administration of the Tsar. The people, therefore, intensified their effort to overthrow the corrupt and autocratic Tsarist regime.

(6) Impact of the Revolution of 1905

In 1905 a revolution broke out against the rotten, corrupt and incorrigible Tsarist regime. This revolt was crushed with iron hand but the redeeming feature of this revolution was the experience of the people in organising a confrontation with the Tsarist government. During this process of confrontation the people identified their own weakness and also the weaknesses and vulnerable position of the government. So they were well equipped to form the future strategy in order to have a decisive show-down with the Tsarist regime.

(7) Demoralisation of the Russian Army due to Military Reverses in the First World War

The First World War (1914-1918) set the ball of revolution rolling. Although Russia was wholly ill-prepared for war, Tsar Nicholas II entered the war on the side of the allies. The Tsar could not give able leadership to the armed forces as he was under the villainous influence of his queen Tsarina Alexandra Feodorovia Nicholas who in turn was under the complete sway of notorious priest Rasputin. The dismal performance of the Russian army during the course of hostilities tarnished the image of Russia. Now the people lost faith in the credibility of the Russian army under the Tsarist regime and they ascribed the defeats suffered by the army to the inefficient military administration of Tsar. The people also doubted the bonafides of Rasputin who was charged with extra-territorial loyalties. The involvement of Russia in the First World War had devastating effect on her economy. Prices of all kinds of commodities shot up. Foreign loans, taxes and inflation provided further impetus to price spiral. As early as 1915 Russia had to

import 100 per cent of her cars and lorries, 70 per cent of guns and shells and 60 per cent of the rifles. The shortage of rifles was so great that a considerable percentage of soldiers had to wait unarmed until they could pick up the rifles of their fallen comrades.

(8) Persecution of National Minorities

Great disaffection had developed among the national minorities in Russia. In September 1904 various national minorities entered into an alliance to over-throw the Tsar. In the first Duma about seventy members represented the national minorities. Poles, Finns, Ukrainians and Latvians were the people of national minorities and they were determined to retain their distinct identity. Unfortunately the electoral law of 3 June 1907 substantially reduced the representation of national minorities both in the Third and Fourth Duma. This naturally caused great resentment among national minorities. On the other hand the government of Tsar pursued the policy of Russification and administrative centralization among the national minorities which were faced with formidable prospects of extinction of their identity. Instructions in Ukrainian schools were imparted in Russian language and not in Ukrainian language. On the other hand in June 1910 the constitution of Finland was amended without the concurrence of the Finnish Diet. These incursions upon the liberties of national minorities antagonized these law abiding and freedom-loving citizens. Thus, the ruthless persecution of national minorites caused great disaffection and bred separatist tendencies among them. Ultimately the people of national minorities indulged in subversive propaganda and let loose the disruptive forces which caused the eventual downfall of monarchy in Russia.

(9) Decadent Economic Life due to Poor Agricultural and Industrial Growth

The seeds of Russian revolution lay in its backward and decadent economic life. The country remained basically poor and highly backward because of the primitive pattern of agriculture and industry. The following factors expose the precarious position of agriculture and industry in Tsarist Russia:

(i) Serfdom: Until 1861 most of the peasants were tied down to to the land as serfs and they could be bought and sold like any property or animals. Their cruel masters flogged them severely and even interfered in their personal and family affairs. However, the Emancipation Decree of 1861 issued by Tsar Alexander II had freed the Russian peasants from serfdom. Since forty million serfs were made free, Tsar Alexander was called Tsar Liberator. But the emancipa-

tion of the serfs was illusory as they were bound to the village which they could not leave without the permission of the police.

(ii) Heavy Land Revenue and Levies: The government imposed heavy land revenue and other direct and indirect levies which made "the Russian village a spectacle of poverty, hunger disease and death."

(iii) Waste of Public Money and Unjust Distribution of Land: Public money raised by heavy taxation was spent on the maintenance of a large army and navy. The money was wasted on the pomp and splendour of the royal court. Russias defeat at the hands of Japan in the Russo-Japanese War (1904-1905) showed that with all the huge funds at their disposal the Tsar and his nobles could not keep the army in good shape. On the other hand the system of land distribution was unjust and imbalanced. The Tsarist family, the nobles and the clergy who constituted less than 10 per cent of the population, owned 60 per cent of the land. Commenting on the unjust distribution of land Isaac Deutscher has remarked thus "About 30,000 landlords were still in possession of 70 million dessyatin (one dessyatin is equal to 2.7 acres of land). On the other hand 10.5 million peasants owned only 75 million dessyatin. One third of the peasantry was completely landless". Thus, low agricultural production and unfair distribution of land generated great discontent in the rural areas.

(iv) Low Rate of Growth of Basic Industries: Before the Emancipation Decree of 1861, Russian industrial progress was hampered by the feudal system of economy. But after 1861 the Russian industry was marked by its "sudden flushes of activity." The progress in industry was made by fits and starts. There was no planning for progress in industry. In 1913 the iron production of Russia was 20 per cent of that of France and 9 per cent of the American production. Her production of coal in comparison to population was 20 per cent of the French, 7 per cent of the German, 4 per cent of the USA and 3 per cent of the British production. In 1914 there was 73000 Kilometres long railway line in Russia. It was 25 per cent of the United States, and 8 per cent of the British and the German railways.

(v) Domination of Foreign Capital: The industrial backwardness of Russia resulted in poor capital formation. This provided a great scope to foreign capitalists to penetrate into major industries and exploit the country. There was massive investment of foreign capital in the key industries of iron, oil and coal. A large part of the capital of the six leading banks of Russia was in the hands of foreign

bankers. About 50 per cent of deposits in all Russian banks came from the foreign countries.

(vi) Ruthless Exploitation of Factory Workers and Suppression of Trade Unions: Due to the construction of railways and installation of industries during the days of Tsar Alexander III (1881-94) there was need of introducing labour legislation in order to prevent the exploitation of the labour class. But Tsarist governments apathy to alleviate the position of the working class was intriguing. During the days of Tsar Nicholas II (1894-1917) the secret police tried to crush the trade unions whichwere clamouring for a favourable legislation for ameliorating the precarious condition of the working class.

(10) Feudal Structure of Russian Society

The people of Russia were suffering from economic stagnation and political subjugation. There was mass illiteracy and the expenditure on education per head was not more than 16% of that of Germany, Britain or France as late as 1913.

The Feudal structure of Russian society spoke volumes of its backwardness. The Tsar, the members of the royal family, the nobles and the clergy enjoyed high social status while a bulk of population consisting of peasants and workers was backward illiterate and under-privileged. At the bottom of society there were serfs who were virtually treated as slaves. The Russian society did not contain an enlightened middle class which might assert its rights and liberties and act as counter-poise to tyranny of the Tsarist regime.

(11) No Coherent Approach to National Problems by Reactionaries, Revolutionaries and Liberals

There were three main schools of thought in Russian society. The members of royal family, the clergy, the courtiers high civil servants, military officers, the nobles and the land-lords were the reactionary elements. These privileged people wanted to maintain the statusquo and resisted any change initiated from any quarter in Russian society. On the other hand a group consisting of scholars, university professors, professionals, and businessmen were in favour of the legislative enactments designed to introduce parliamentary democracy in Russia. This group favoured an introduction of liberal reforms for the benefit of all the sections of society. A third group was of revolutionaries who wanted to overthrow the existing social and political order in Russia. These radical elements wanted violent overthrow of the institution of monarchy in Russia. Their ultimate objective was the establishment of the dictatorship of the

proletariat in Russia. So these three groups were on cross roads and as such there was no coherent approach by the Russian society to the solution of glaring national problems. In the prevailing circumstances the vast majority of farmers and workers were the worst sufferers and eventually these people seized the supreme power.

(12) Corrupt and Inefficient Administration of Justice

The administration of justice was far from satisfactory. The judiciary in Russia was subservient to the government and it was not as independent as its counterpart in the United States. There was flagrant violation of human rights and the laws of the land could not give adequate protection for civil liberties of the Russian citizens. The barbaric punishments were awarded to the culprits. Graft and corruption and delays were the order of the day. There was no rule of law in Tsarist Russia; and judiciary was nothing but a subordinate organ of the government. The privileged class exercised a decisive influence over the law courts and in case of ordinary citizens there was every likelihood of miscarriage of justice.

(13) Infiltration of the Marxist Ideas

The signs and symptoms of an impending revolution were becoming manifest on all sides. The Tsarist governments excesses in the shape of imprisonment exile, censorship infringement of civil liberties, and torture, and also the industrial workers grievances for low wages, long hours of work, and bad working and living conditions generated in the minds of the people an ever-increasing hatred for the Tsars regime. The Russian society failed to produce bourgeois or the capitalist class or the enlightened middle class strong enough to overthrow the Tsarist autocratic regime, The exploited working class and the poor peasants were highly receptive to the Marxist ideas, which were infiltrating into Russia. Foreign troops can be stopped but not ideas. Inspite of the best efforts of the Tsars to prevent the people of Russia from being influenced by the ideas of Marxism, liberalism, constitutionalism, nationalism, democracy, liberty, equality and fraternity, the revolutionary Marxist ideas fired the imagination of the vast majority of the common people. As early as 1898 the Marxist socialists founded the Russian Social Democratic Labour Party. In 1903 this party split into two groups viz. the Bolsheviks and the Mensheviks. Ultimately developments in Russia came to a climax in 1917. The events in Tsars court dominated by Rasputin and his satellites, humiliating military defeats in the First World War, the complete demoralization of the Russian army, mounting economic difficulties, food shortages, the incompetence of the government in dealing with national problems,

and total loss of faith in the Tsarist government made a revolution inevitable in 1917.

C. Course Of Menshevik Revolution

The out-break of First World War and the military reverses suffered by the Russian army at the war front precipitated the break-down of the government machinery. The price spiral touched incredible heights and added fuel to the fire of discontent. The embers of disaffection were already smouldering due to inefficient and discredited Tsarist regime. The First World War provided the necessary spark which put the country ablaze with revolution in February 1917.

(1) Outbreak of Revolution on 23 February 1917

The Menshevik revolution broke out in Petrograd on February 23, 1917. It was the International Womens Day which was marked by the demonstration by housewives against food shortage. A large number of men and women swarmed at various bakers shops to purchase the food stuff. The dissatisfied people created disorder and looted some bakers shops. However, the police brought the situation under control. Petrograd witnessed wide-spread strikes.

(2) Continuation of Strikes on 24th and 25th February 1917

Strikes and acts of arson and loot on 24 February 1917 led to the further deterioration of situation. In anticipation of civil disturbances, the Tsarist government had enhanced the Petrograd garrison to 1,60,000 troops, accompanied with a further special force of 120000 soldiers to meet any emergency. The angry demonstrators in their mad frenzy broke the police cordons and marched into the heart of Petrograd shouting that they were hungry and wanted bread. However, the police dispersed the crowds but an uneasy calm prevailed. On 25th February 1917, there was general strike in all the factories and industrial establishments in Petrograd. Military forces were ordered to disperse the demonstrators but generally the soldiers refrained, from firing on the workers.

(3) Defection by the Army and Seizure of Power by the Soviet

On 26th February 1917 the Tsar instructed General Khabalov the commander of Petrograd garrison to crush the uprising of the workers. There were sporadic incidents of firing due to the clashes between the police and workers but on 27th February 1917 the entire Petrograd garrison joined the workers and the situation thus took an extra-ordinary turn in favour of the workers. The Tsar and his ministers dilemma was critical and their authority could not go beyond the walls of the Winter Palace and the Admiralty offices.

Late in the afternoon on the same day the Council of Workers Deputies (the Soviet) was formed by the delegates of factories elected by the leaders of strike committees. The delegates elected by the army also became the members of the Soviet . Thus, the Soviet representing the workers and the soldiers was in complete command of the situation. The Soviet captured the de facto power and monarchy collapsed in Russia. The ministers of Tsar and other big officials were arrested and brought to the Taurida Palace where the Duma and the Petrograd Soviet were engaged to deal with them.

(4) Abdication of Tsar Nicholas II and Eclipse of Monarchy in Russia

The Tsar made his last bid to retain power. After the arrest of his ministers, he despatched his loyal troops from Mogilyov to Petrograd under General Ivanov to bring the situation under control; but to his great discomfiture the troops could not rise to the occasion and mutinied on 1 March 1917. The Tsar finally in consultation with his generals signed on March 2, 1917 a document of abdication in favour of his son with Grand Duke Michael as his regent. This document of abdication served as a death warrant of monarchy in Russia. On 3 March 1917 the Duma Committee approached the Grand Duke Michael to accept the Crown but he refused saying that he would accept the Crown only from a Constituent Assembly. Thus, ended the Russian monarchical tradition. The members of the royal family were put under house arrest at Tsaskoye Selo and later on they were transferred to Tobolsk from where they were finally taken to Yekaterinburg. On 16th July 1918 they were assassinated.

(5) Nature of the February-March Revolution (1917)

The events of the February-March revolution (1917) took place only in Petrograd and the whole country was not involved. Monarchy in Russia was overthrown by the course of events at the capital. In this context Michael Florinsky observes thus "The monarchy collapsed like a house of cards. There was hardly any organised attempt at defending it, though the number of people killed or injured in Petrograd was officially estimated at 1500. The revolutionary thrust that over-threw the empire was a local development, that is, it was limited to the capital. The provinces and the army had no direct part in the events of February; but they acquiesced in the momentus change, some with enthusiasm, others without audible protest".

Yet another feature of the February Revolution was that it was a revolution of the Mensheviks. The provisional government estab-

lished after this revolution represented the middle class intellectuals and the bourgeoisie; and its ministers entertained moderate and liberal views. They wanted to retain the institution of private property and wished to introduce socialism through peaceful and constitutional means.

D. Internal Affairs Of Russia Between March 1917 And October 1917

(1) Introduction of Democratic Rights by the Provisional Government

The provisional government, the product of the Menshevik revolution of February-March 1917, had no constitutional basis. It was set up by the provisional committee of the Duma and the Executive Committee of the Soviet. Prince George Lvov was the premier where as Miliukov was placed in charge of foreign affairs. Guchkov was given the charge of war ministry and Kerensky became the new minister of justice. The Allied Powers and other foreign governments gave recognition to this provisional government, which lost no time in implementing the following programme of democratic reforms:

(i) Political, military and religious prisoners were granted amnesty.

(ii) Freedom of press was guaranteed.

(iii) The workers secured the right to form their trade unions. They had right to go on strike and stage demonstrations.

(iv) The police force was reorganised.

(v) Barring on the front line, the soldiers enjoyed the same rights as civilians.

(vi) A constituent assembly to be formed on the basis of universal franchise was promised. This was to frame a new constitution for Russia.

(vii) Grain trade was monopolised by the State and the government arranged to procure foodgrains from the farmers at fair prices.

(viii) A process of decentralisation was initiated and as a result of this Finland secured autonomy.

2. Dual Power and Conflict between the Provisional Government and the Soviet

It was believed that the provisional government represented the bourgeoisie while the Soviet consisted of the revolutionary elements. Sooner or later the two bodies were bound to be

antagonistic to each other. Though both were the product of the February/March Revolution 1917, yet the provisional government and the Soviet had no identical views with regard to the affairs of state. The provisional government with its liberal and moderate views could not function unless it was supported by the Executive Committee of the Soviet representing the workers, farmers and the soldiers. The Petrograd Soviet emphasised the principle "All power to the Soviets" and its resolution of 3rd March 1917 stated that it would support the provisional government "in so far they correspond to the interests of the proletariat and of the broad democratic masses of the people." Conflict arose between the provisional government and the Petrograd Soviet over the issue of enforcement of discipline in the army. The former wanted to punish those soldiers who were guilty of insubordination but the latter wished to reward the soldiers of the Petrograd units for their help in overthrowing the monarchy. The Petrograd garrison was to remain in the capital and enjoy all civil rights. The Soviet made the army its tool for pressurising the Provisional Government. Every army unit was to have an elective committee and each unit was to send delegates to the Soviet. The Provisional Government was not ready to tolerate the army going under the control of an external body like the Soviet. It was because of the decisive influence of the Soviet over the army that Guchkov, the Minister of War resigned on 1 May 1917.

Similarly, a conflict arose over isue of participation of Russia in the First World War. The Provisional Government wanted Russian army to continue participation in the First World War (1914-18) but the Soviet raised its voice against Russian involvement in the war. The opposition from the Soviet was so great that Miliukov the Foreign Minister resigned on May 2 1917.

(3) Gross Miscalculation by the Leaders of Provisional Government

Unfortunately the leaders of the Provisional Government such as Lvov, Miliukov, Guchkov and others under-estimated the power and designs of the Bolsheviks and being complacent they did not take any effective measures to curb the power of Bolsheviks. Commenting on the lack of farsightedness of the leaders of the provisional government, Isaac Deutscher has aptly remarked thus "The most influential ministers - Lvov, Miliukov Guchkov - hoped for the restoration of a constitutional monarchy; they looked forward to the ebb of the revolution and were prepared to speed up that ebb, if possible, they were anxious to reimpose industrial discipline upon the workers and to avert agrarian revolution."

Indeed due to the conspiracies of the Bolsheviks in collaboration with the army, an explosive situation was brewing.

(4) Formation of the First Coalition Government

On May 5, 1917 the first coalition government was formed. It put an end to the dual power and in the new cabinet there were 6 socialists representing the Soviet and 9 non-socialists belonging to other parties. Prince Lvov, the premier of the new cabinet could not enlist the support of the ministers who represented conflicting interests.

(5) Clash between the Bolsheviks and the Provisional Government

On April 3, 1917 Lenin along with his followers had reached Petrograd after having travelled in a sealed railway compartment through Germany and Sweden. On 4th April he placed before the All Russian Conference of the Soviet in the Taurida Palace his famous April Theses demanding the non-support of the bourgeois and imperialist Provisional Government, withdrawal from the First World War and transfer of political power to the proletariat and the peasantry. Lenins April Theses did not evoke immediate response from other leaders of the Bolsheviks. In May 1917 the strength of the Bolsheviks in Petrograd increased immensely due to the arrival of Trotsky from New York. In April 1917 the Bolsheviks had demonstrated their strength by staging a successful demonstration against the Provisional Government at Petrograd. On July 3 and 4, 1917 the Bolsheviks again staged a demonstration which took a violent turn. The reaction of the Provisional Government was quite sharp. The offices of the Pravda, the Bolshevik newspaper were raided and the plant was ransacked various Bolshevik leaders such as Trotsky, Kamenev, Kollontai and A. V. Lunacharsky were taken into custody. Lenin, However, escaped arrest and he went underground. By the end of July 1917 General Brussilov was replaced by General L. G. Kornilov as the Commander-in-Chief.

(6) Formation of the Second Coalition Government

The disastrous defeat suffered by the Russian armed forces in Galicia in June 1917 and the armed insurrection of the Bolsheviks in July had an adverse effect on the first coalition cabinet. Due to lack of coherent policy of the government, various ministers had resigned. Now the first coalition government was confronted with the problem of the uprisings of peasants who forcibly seized the estates of big landlords. Ministers of radical views proposed revolutionary land reform legislation. Commenting on the wide spread stir caused by the Soviet, Isaac Deutscher in his book entitled The

New Cambridge Modern History says "The executive Committee of the Soviets confronted Prince Lvov with an ultimatum in which it demanded the immediate and the formal proclamation of the republic, the disbandment of the Duma, and the prohibition of the sale of land until the passing of a land reform by the constituent assembly". Prime Minister Lvov who was himself a great landlord tendered his resignation. On 24 July 1917 the Second Coalition Cabinet headed by Kerensky was formed.

(7) Bolshevik Power a Decisive Factor in Suppression of Kornilov's Mutiny

The conservative elements hoping to regain their lost strength supported General Kornilov the commander-in-chief in his plan to overthrow Kerensky and establish a bourgeois government. Kerensky took prompt action against the rebel commander-in-chief. Kerensky dismissed him on 27 August 1917 but on 8 September Kornilov mutinied. So Kerensky ordered for his arrest and appealed to the Bolsheviks for support to suppress the revolt. When the mutiny was crushed, Kerensky wrongly assumed that a catastrophe had been averted and that he would have easy going in the affairs of the state. He failed to assess the ulterior motives of the Bolsheviks whose sole objective was to seize the supreme power in the country.

(8) The Formation of Third Coalition Government

On 30 August 1917 after the resignation tendered by all the ministers, Kerensky the Premier also became the Commander-in-chief. On September 25, he set up the third and last coalition cabinet consisting of ten socialist and 6 non-socialist ministers. Earlier on 1 September 1917 under the pressure of the Soviets, Russia was proclaimed as a republic. On October 6 due to the pressure mounted by the Soviets, the State Council and the state Duma were dissolved. These were the victories of the Soviets in which the influence of the Bolsheviks was decisive.

Really the Provisional Government headed by Kerensky was too weak to command the support of the people. It assured the people that the land problems would be solved by the Constituent Assembly. But the masses were not prepared to accept a post-dated cheque. Hence the provisional government lost its credibility and the Bolsheviks who had earned the great reputation after crushing the Kornilov's rebellion, became a great force to be reckoned with. Thus the success of the Bolshevik revolution was an inevitability of history.

(E) Causes Of The Bolshevik Revolution (October-November 1917)

The October Revolution of 1917 was an epoch-making event because it laid the beginning for the transition of mankind from capitalism to socialism and showed all nations the road to new social system. The weak provisional government headed by Kerensky failed miserably to inspire the soldiers. They joined hands with the workers and the slogans of "All power to the Soviets, land, bread and peace became their outcry. Red guards were organized and Petrograd throbbed with revolutionary zeal. Ultimately the provisional government headed by Kerensky collapsed and in October 1917 Bolshevik revolution broke out. A variety of factors had contributed to the Bolshevik revolution. These factors are discussed as follows:

(1) Dual Power System and Instability of the Provisional Government

The Provisional Government was weak and unstable. Its ministers lacked the necessary will power and they were amenable to pressure exerted by the Soviets. Resignation of Guchkov the Minister of War on May 1, 1917 on the issue of enforcement of discipline in the armed forces and the resignation of Miliukov the Foreign Minister on the issue of involvement of Russia in the First World War clearly demonstrated the weakness and lack of coherent policy of the Provisional Government. During the period between March 1917 and September 1917, there were three coalition ministries. This instability tarnished the image of the Provisional Government. On the other hand the dual power was the basic cause of the failure of the Provisional Government. The Petrograd Soviet which was dominated by the radical elements like the Bolsheviks was able to exercise real power and acted as a powerful counterpoise to the Provisional Government. The Soviet consisting of the representatives of the workers and the soldiers was not strong enough to overthrow the government but it succeeded in creating much trouble. However, the Soviet made the Provisional Government unworkable. The relentless propaganda and the pressure tactics adopted by the Soviet paralysed the Provisional Government.

(2) Ruthless Exploitation of the Masses

Since the Provisional Government could not introduce radical land reforms the vast masses of the people continued to be exploited. There was also great unrest among the industrial workers who wanted to be free from the clutches of the capitalists. Unfortunately

the Provisional Government could do nothing to alleviate the precarious condition of the workers and the peasants. The Bolsheviks espoused the cause of the vast majority of peasants and workers and enlisted their support for staging a revolution in order to bring about the downfall of reactionary provisional government.

(3) Provisional Government out of the Main Current of National Life

The Provisional Government led by the premier Lvov in the early days and Kerensky in the later days had lost touch with the people. The leaders of the government could not properly gauge the realities of national life; and being complacent they were dreaming about the restoration of constitutional monarchy in Russia. They ignored the fact that the Bolsheviks constituted a power to be reckoned with and failed to introduce progressive legislation for the amelioration of the condition of farmers and workers. If the government had done this, it would have won over the vast majority of farmers and workers and stolen the wind out of the sails of the Bolsheviks who banked on the support of peasants and workers. On the other hand the dynamic personalities like Lenin and Trotsky succeeded in convincing the masses that the only viable alternative to the reactionary and bourgeois government was the dictatorship of the proletariat to be established through bloody revolution.

(4) Mounting Strength of the Bolshevik Party

The Bolshevik party was rapidly gaining strength and from March 1917 to September 1917 it displayed its strength by staging demonstrations and offering tough opposition to the Provisional Government. On 18th March 1917 Pravda the Bolshevik newspaper was restarted. Its editorial was highlighted by the scathing criticism of the Provisional Government which was dubbed as reactionary and pro-capitalists. A systematic campaign of villification was launched through the mass media of communication to discredit the Provisional government. What discredited the government was the fact that the premier Kerensky appealed to the Bolsheviks to give armed assistance to crush the Kornilovs mutiny. The Bolsheviks responded favourably to premier Kerenskys appeal and the mutiny was suppressed. This tarnished the image of the government, but unfortunately Kerensky failed to realise the implications of the armed assistance of the Bolsheviks who won over the people as well as the army. Mr. Kerensky had only de jure status as premier but the de facto sovereign was the Bolshevik party. In the circumstances the collapse of the Provisional Government by bloody revolution seemed to be imminent.

(5) Controversy over the Participation of Russia in the First World War

The Provisional Government led by Prince Lvov and his successor Kerensky followed the foreign policy of the Tsarist regime. Russia's participation in the First World War (1914-18) continued. The Russian army suffered humiliating military reverses and many casualties as the soldiers were neither well-trained nor well-equipped. The war had the devastating effect on the economy of the country and the common men favoured the cessation of hostilities by the provisional government. The Bolshevik party correctly felt the pulse of the people and launched a virulent campaign against the foreign policy of the government. This made the government very unpopular. The Bolsheviks branded the First World War as an imperialist war which was beneficial to imperialists and capitalists only. The people of Russia were more concerned with their daily bread than the war aims of the Provisional Government. In order to generate the revolutionary fervour the Pravda the Bolshevik newspaper stated "Turn the imperialist war into civil war for the liberation of the people from the yoke of the ruling classes".

(6) Allegiance of the Army to the Soviet

Yet another cause of down-fall of the provisional government was the fact that it lost its control over the army which demonstrated its allegiance to the Soviet. The Petrograd Soviet through its order No. 1 gave several rights and concessions to the army which was instrumental in the overthrow of monarchy in Russia in February-March 1917. The army discipline was relaxed. The soldiers now formed committees which were to elect their representatives to the Soviet. Thus, the loyalty of the army was divided between the Provisional government and the Soviet. Ultimately the support of the army tilted the balance in favour of the Soviet. Clause 4 of Order No.1 of the Petrograd Soviet stated "The orders of the War Commission of the Duma should be carried out only in those cases in which they are not contradictory to the orders and decisions of the Council of Workers and Soldiers Deputies." This order No.1 showed the extent to which the army could flout the orders of the government.

On October 2, 1917 after contesting elections, the Bolsheviks got a majority in the Executive Committee of the Moscow Soviet. On the other hand Trotsky an eminent Bolshevik leader became the elected chairman of Petrograd Soviet. It is significant to note that by 24 October 1917 the Bolsheviks got thumping majority in the Soviets and on 25 October 1917 the fateful day the Bolshevik revolution broke out.

(F) Course Of Bolshevik Revolution

Due to the weakness and instability and discredited policies of the Provisional Government, its downfall was imminent. The Bolsheviks were seeking an opportunity to seize power through revolution. The time was ripe for the final and decisive showdown with the provisional government. The leaders of the Bolshevik party were engaged in their efforts to plan a strategy to bring about the downfall of the provisional government.

(1) Formation of Military Revolutionary Committee

On October 20, 1917 the Petrograd Soviet formed the Military Revolutionary Committee with Trotsky as chairman. It provided arms to the Red Guards and carefully planned to capture public buildings. The Provisional Government headed by Kerensky thought in terms of sending Petrograd garrison to war front but a vast majority of the troops was loyal to Petrograd Revolutionary Committee which was not in favour of sending the troops to the war front. Only a microscopic minority of the Petrograd garrison was loyal to the Provisional Government. Thus, impending armed insurrection was an open secret and was freely discussed in the Soviets, in the press and everywhere.

(2) Kerensky's Last Bid for the Survival of the Provisional Government

In order to stem the tide of the insurrection Kerensky issued orders on 23 and 24 October 1917 for the arrest of the Bolshevik leaders and members of Military Revolutionary Committee set up by the Petrograd Soviet. Raids were conducted on the offices of two Bolshevik newspapers and the loyal troops were kept on the alert to crush any uprising.

(3) Defection by Sailors in "Aurora" the Russian Cruiser

The fateful drama of the Bolshevik revolution was enacted on 24 October 1917 when the cruiser "Aurora" anchored in the Neva opposite of the Winter Palace. Kerensky issued orders to the sailors to steer clear of the Winter Palace and to go out into the sea. But they refused to obey the orders of the premier Kerensky. The cruiser "Aurora" remained stationary in the Neva opposite the Winter Palace and the sailors expressed their solidarity with the Military Revolutionary Committee set up by the Petrograd Soviet.

(4) Kerensky's Escape

The premier Kerensky made a fervent appeal to the people to rally round him and he also told the Council of the Republic that it was his primary duty to crush the Bolshevik revolution. But the

Council was sceptical about the success of his mission. He then threatened to resign. On 25th October 1917 in the morning he escaped from the Winter Palace where emergency meeting of the cabinet was being held. He reached Gatchina in the northern front for securing the re-inforcements of loyal troops.

(5) Siege of the Winter Palace and the Revolution in Full Swing

On the night of October 24, under the leadership of Lenin and Trotsky, the Red Guards occupied railway stations, bridges, the State Bank, the telephone exchange, the Central Post Office and various public buildings without any resistance or bloodshed. At about 6 p.m. on 25 October, the troops loyal to Military Revolutionary Committee began to besiege the Winter Palace where the provisional government now headed by Konovalov in absence of Kerensky, was holding its emergency session under military guards. The army threatened to bombard the palace if the ministers did not surrender within half an hour. Although the period of ultimatum expired, the insurgent soldiers waited upto 9 P.M. to carry out the threat. Finally, at 9 P.M. the guns from the cruiser Aurora and later the guns from the fortress of Peter and Paul fired at the Winter Palace. The defenders of the Winter Palace were overpowered and there was massive infiltration of the Red Guards into the palace. On 26 October 1917 all the ministers of the Provisional Government except Kerensky and Prokovich were arrested in the Winter Palace and they were marched to the fortress of Peter and Paul where they joined their predecessors of the imperial regime.

Thus, as Richard Freeborn has put it "the October Revolution a deliberately planned coup d etat by Lenin and the Bolshevik-controlled Petrograd Soviet had been successfully accomplished."

In the same vein Isaac Deutscher has remarked "Within one night almost without bloodshed, the Bolsheviks had become masters of the Capital. The astonished population awakened in the morning to read the posters announcing: The Provisional Government has been overthrown. The governmental authority has passed into the hands of the Revolutionary Military Committee which leads the proletariat and the garrison of Petrograd".

(6) Establishment of the Soviet Government

The second All-Russian Congress of Soviets was convened on 25 October 1917 at 10.45 P.M. It was composed of 650 deputies of whom 390 were the Bolsheviks. In this session one decree regarding the withdrawal of Russia from the First World War was

passed. Another significant decree passed by the Congress of Soviets pertained to the abolition of private ownership of large estates without compensation to their owners. The final act of the Congress in this session was the election of All Russian Central Executive Committee consisting of 101 members. It also formed a cabinet called the Soviet of Peoples Commissars of the Russian Republic under the chairmanship of Lenin. Trotsky became the Commissar for foreign affairs whereas Lenin became the Commissar for Nationalities. Thus, the first Soviet government was established in Russia. But immediately after the establishment of Soviet government, Kerensky who had moved on 25 October 1917 from Petrograd to Gatchina and later to Pskov was in a position collect cavalry corps with the help of General P. N. Krasnov. On 29 October the cadets of Petrograd military schools joined them in order to have confrontation with the Soviet government. However, the Soviet government defeated Kerensky who fled to the United States. Thus, with the escape of Kerensky, the fate of the Provisional government was sealed and the Soviet government was well-entrenched in power.

(G) Significance And Consequences Of The Bolshevik Revolution

The Bolshevik revolution of October 1917 is one of the most remarkable events in the history of mankind. Commenting on the impact of the revolution Dr. J. E. Swain has observed thus "Certainly nothing has let loose such a deluge of condemnation and eulogy and nothing has so completely challenged orthodox theories since the French revolutionists overthrew the Bourbons. The Russians in a few years have set up standards for a new way of living and thinking." The October revolution was essentially proletarian in nature. It virtually liquidated the powers of the nobles, the clergy and the bourgeoisie and on the ruins of the old order the dictatorship of the proletariat was established.

(1) Implacable hatred for the Capitalists as the Basis of the Bolshevik Revolution

The Bolshevik revolution was basically anti-capitalists. It was characterised by fanaticism and regimentation. In this context Prof. Louis L. Synder has aptly remarked thus "The new political structure of the Soviet Union was rigidly oriented around despotism, mass discipline, fanaticism terror and propaganda all distinguished by a bitter, implacable hatred of the capitalist world. Leninist-Stalinist ideology erased the slate of the past and introduced a new idea of man and society denouncing the cultural

humanism of the West as an out-moded expression of a decadent bourgeois world".

(2) The International Character of Bolshevik Revolution

The Bolshevik revolution of October 1917 threw a powerful bait and drew millions of the people of Eastern European countries into the orbit of the Soviet Union. The revolution had international implications. The Bolsheviks believed in world communist movement and elimination of unjust capitalist order throughout the world. China and some countries of South East Asia came under the sway of communist ideology. Vietnam, Campuchia North Korea and China have communist system of government. The communist regime has been established in East European countries like Bulgaria, Yugoslavia, Hungary Czechoslovakia, Poland, Rumania and East Germany. Commenting on the international character of communist revolution of 1917, Dr. M. G. Gupta has remarked thus "other Revolutions (like the American or the French) had come to terms with their environment, the Russian revolution has not, for it is still going on and continues to display the dynamics that have converted a feudal backward and decadent state into a major centre of world power. The motor that drives it may have slowed a little, but the mechanism still churns up the living body of society in a manner unheard of in earlier revolutions".

Indeed the Bolshevik revolution was not confined to the Soviet Union but it became a precursor of communist revolution in the East European countries and the countries of the South-East Asia.

(3) Consequences of the Bolshevik Revolution

The impact of the Bolshevik revolution on the rest of the world has been decisively of immense importance. Among the influences that have helped to mould the Western World, the Bolshevik revolution and its after-math occupy an outstanding place. Commenting on the impact of the revolution on American society D. D. Runes has aptly remarked thus "About no other subject, have been so many shifts of opinion in the United States-so many ideological somersaults and so much intellectual backing and filling as with respect to the character of Soviet Russia and its import for the policy of our country".

The Russians in a few years have set up novel standards for way of living and thinking. Indeed the impact registered by the revolution was tremendous.

(i) Challenge to Western Values : The Bolshevik revolution threw out a great challenge to various values of Western culture, the

fundamental economic principles, the political principles and concepts of Western society and the theory and practice of diplomacy. The abolition of the institution of private property, one party system, infringement of civil liberties and human rights, and exclusive state control over the national economy are diametrically opposed to the Western concepts of individualism, liberalism, bi-party system, capitalism and democracy.

(ii) Emergence of the Soviet Union as Super Power: Due to the dynamic leadership of Lenin and Stalin who consolidated the gains of the Bolshevik revolution, the Soviet Union emerged as a Super Power. Due to regimentation, the Soviet society was galvanized to boost production in industry and agriculture. Russia which was trailing behind almost all the leading Western countries like the United States, Britain, France and Germany, in industrial output prior to the revolution of 1917 began to register lead over these advanced countries in the production of various items of industry. The Soviet Union gave ample evidence of its military strength which was a decisive factor in the victory of the Allied Powers over Nazi Germany, Italy and Japan in the Second World War.

(iii) Replacement of Old Political and Social Order by the Dictatorship of the Proletariat: The Bolshevik revolution resulted in the eclipse of monarchy, the nobility and the clergy. The Duma, the Russian parliament was replaced by All-Russian Congress of the Soviets consisting of the workers and the farmers. The capitalists and rich landlords were eliminated and the Soviet government took over their factories and estates and destroyed every shred of private property. The supreme power came into the hands of the proletarians. Thus old order was replaced by the dictatorship of the proletariat.

(iv) Impact on the Subject Nations of Imperialist Countries: The Bolshevik revolution created a great awakening in the people of the colonies of the imperialist Powers. The revolution was the morale-booster for the workers of the subject nations who now intensified their struggle against economic exploitation and the political subjugation by the imperialist nations. The Soviet Union supported the freedom movements in the backward countries of Asia and Africa and thus accelerated the process of decolonization.

(v) Expansion of Communism in Europe and South-East Asia: The Bolshevik revolution of October 1917 was a precursor of the world communist movement. In March 1917 Lenin founded the Third Communist International a propaganda organisation to spread the Bolshevik message with a missionary zeal throughout

the world. The international membership of the Communist International popularly known as Comintern made it more powerful instrument than the national propaganda organisations of other countries. The subversive activities through this organisation were made in order to overthrow the existing governments in various parts of the world. Communism successfully penetrated in Eastern European countries and the countries of South-East Asia. Communist regimes were established in Poland, East Germany, Bulgaria, Rumania, Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, China, North Korea, Vietnam, Mongolia and Campuchia. The spread of communism has posed a serious challenge to the United States and her allies. The decadent capitalism collapsed in various countries and the communist parties are still active in various non-communist countries in Europe, Latin America and Asia. Thus the way is being paved for communist revolution throughout the world. There is no doubt that the communism is gaining ground in the under-developed countries and opulent western imperialist nations are on the defensive and they are trying to stem the tide of world communist revolution.

(vi) Emergence of two Power Blocs: The world communist movement launched assiduously by the Soviet Union was viewed with apprehension and great concern by the United States which formed a capitalist bloc by concluding various treaties such as NATO, SEATO and CENTO. On the other hand Soviet Union concluded Warsaw Pact with her satellite European countries. Thus, two power blocs have emerged on the international scene resulting in polarization and escalation of the cold war. Each bloc is striving resolutely to draw the non-aligned countries within its fold. This has vitiated the international atmosphere.

(vii) Soviet Economic Impact : The planned economy is the legacy of the Soviet Union which touched incredible heights in economic reconstruction through the implementation of plans. Imitating the Russian model, India after the attainment of independence framed Five Year Plans; which ushered in an era of industrial development on the lines of democratic socialism in the country. In the economic field the concept of planning is gaining currency. Various countries have adopted the economic planning as a viable method for achievement of targets of economic development. To quote E.H.Carr, "If we are all planners now, this is largely the result, conscious or unconscious, of the impact of Soviet practice and Soviet achievement".

(viii) Infringement of Religious Freedom : According to Karl Marx, "Religion is the opium of the people." Immediately after the

outbreak of the Bolshevik revolution atheism was practised with great enthusiasm. Freedom to practise religion was denied to the citizens of the Soviet Union. By 1933 about 70,000 churches were closed down. In January 1918 a decree was issued for the confiscation of entire property of the churches: All the Church schools were suppressed while the clergymen were persecuted and they lost their right to vote. The Soviet political system was marked by ideological over-tones. In communist Russia, the religion has no place. With the passage of time the orthodox Judaic, Christian and Islamic institutions which had lost their official status became mere tolerated private bodies. Several clergymen were either executed or exiled. Churches were converted into national museums, schools and recreational centres. Atheism was practised and it was given official support.

(ix) Soviet System and its Social Impact : According to Soviet viet system individual is subordinated to society and his good is an intrinsic part of the good of society. The capitalist concept of extreme individualism as manifested by the doctrine of laissez-faire has lost its credibility. This has called for a new and positive social philosophy. It is now universally accepted that there must be some social planning which should cover practically every domain of public affairs so that national efficiency and social justice may be fully promoted. The Soviet social system is designed to promote material and moral progress of the society. More emphasis is laid on the material progress which is regarded as the fundamental basis of society. The significant impact of the Bolshevik ideology is reflected in the substitution of the "social values of mass civilisation" for the individual values of the present day capitalist system. By the end of 19th century retreat from extreme individualism towards to the new social values of mass civilisation has been observed through various symptoms like trade union movements, collective bargaining, social insurance, collective farming, and even swelling volume of social legislation all over the world. Commenting on social values in relation to individualist values, E. H. Carr has remarked thus "The modern cult of common man is both broader and bolder in its universality than any previous social programme, for it asserts the social rights not of members of a select society or group but of individual men and women every where and without discrimination." Indirectly Soviet social system has partially affected the free American society. In the United States various legislative enactments have been introduced in order to end social discrimination between the white Americans and the Negro population.

Now the cult of the common man has become very popular in all democracies and non-communist countries. The popularity of a government is now measured by the quantum of welfare measures to promote the interests of common men. After the Bolshevik revolution the privileged classes like nobility and the clergy were eliminated and the proletarians the common people assumed the supreme power. Though the cult of the common man is not the legacy of the Soviet system, yet its revival as well as its popularity is ascribed to the impact of Marxism and of Soviet social system.

(H) The Internal Administration And Foreign Policy Of Lenin

I. The Internal Administration and the Role of Lenin

Lenin the architect of the Bolshevik revolution was born at Simbrisk on 22 April 1870. His real name was Vladimir Ilyich Ulianov. Though he established the dictatorship of the proletariat yet he did not belong to the proletarian class. His father was an Inspector of Schools. His brother was executed in 1887 due to his involvement in the plot to assassinate Tsar Alexander II. This incident is believed to have inculcated revolutionary ideas in Lenins mind. In 1887 he joined the University of Kazan as a law student but in December of the same yuear he was expelled from the university due to his active participation in students movement. However, he obtained his law degree as an external student from the University of St. Petersburg. By 1893 he was regarded as an authority on Marxism. In 1895 he founded the League of Struggle for the Liberation of the Working Class. In December 1895 he was arrested on the change of inciting the workers against the government and was exiled to Siberia.

(1) Publication of Iskra and Zarya

On 10 January 1900 Lenin was released after the completion of his term of exile in Siberia. He proposed to start a weekly called Iskra that is "The Spark" and a theoretical journal named "Zarya" that is "The Dawn". In order to implement his project he proceeded to Geneva in Switzerland and sought collaboration of G.V.Plekhanov. The first issue of Iskra and that of Zarya were released on December 1, 1900 and April 1, 1909 respectively. These publications went a long way to disseminate the ideas of Karl Marx in Russia. The overthrow of monarchy the clergy and the nobility by violent proletarian revolution was the avowed objective of Lenin.

(2) Lenin's Return to Petrograd and his Famous April Theses

When the Menshevik revolution broke out in February-March 1917, Lenin was in Switzerland. The Germans provided facilities to

him to travel across German territory in a sealed train along with other Russian revolutionary socialists and thus he arrived in Petrograd on April 16, 1917. The motive of Germany was to create chaos and confusion in Russia so that the pressure on the German army by Russian troops in the First World War might be relieved. On reaching Petrograd Lenin chided the Mensheviks for having surrendered power to the Provisional Government which he vigorously denounced. On 17 April 1917 Lenin presented to the Bolsheviks his programme of action Known as "The April Theses," which contained the following measures to be taken by the proletariat.

(i) No support was to be given to the Provisional Government because it was pro-capitalist countries.

(ii) All power should be concentrated in the hands of the Soviets.

(iii) Since the armed forces of Russia were weary of the war, cessation of hostilities should be announced.

(iv) All the feudal estates should be confiscated and entire land should be nationalised.

(v) Since the workers were exploited by the capitalists, there should be workers control over the management and production in the factories.

(vi) The proletarians should be provided arms for meeting the challenge of the reactionary elements.

(vii) The right of self-determination should be given to the various nationalities inhabiting Russian empire.

The above programme of action could be implemented only when the Bolsheviks seized political power from the Provisional Government by an armed insurrection. Although the Lenins theses was not accepted by the Petrograd Committee of the Bolshevik party, he enlisted the support of leading Bolsheviks like Stalin and the workers in general. Only Kamenev raised his voice of dissent to Lenin's April theses. In fact the April theses signalised the on-set of another political, social and economic upheaval of the extreme leftist nature. Under the dynamic leadership of Lenin, the Bolsheviks launched a revolutionary movement to bring about the downfall of the Provisional Government. On 25th October 1917 the Bolshevik revolution a deliberately planned coup detat by Lenin and the Bolsheviks-controlled Petrograd Soviet had been successfully accomplished. On the same day the Second All Russian Congress of the Soviets elected a cabinet called the Soviet of Peoples Commis-

sars of the Russian Republic under the chairmanship of Lenin. After the seizure of power, Lenin was engaged in his efforts to consolidate the position of the Bolsheviks.

(3) Elimination of the Nobility and Bourgeoisie

Lenin had harboured great resentment against the privileged class of the nobility and the bourgeoisie. In 1917 he had once declared thus "Yes we will destroy everything and on their ruins we will build our temple. It will be a temple for the happiness of all. But we will destroy the bourgeoisie and grind it to powder." Inhuman and untold atrocities were perpetrated on the nobility and the bourgeoisie through a special organisation called the Cheka.

It carried out the whole-sale massacre of the people of these privileged classes and thus inaugurated a Reign of Red Terror. Ultimately the nobility and the bourgeoisie were eliminated,

(4) Lenin and the Civil War

The Soviet government headed by Lenin consolidated its position by use of sheer brute force. This inevitably bred discontent and indignation among the Don and the Kuban Kossacks in South Russia, the national groups such as Ukrainians, the Georgians, the Kalmyks and others, the dissatisfied and disgruntled military leaders, the socialist revolutionaries and dispossessed landlords and capitalists who rose in revolt against the Bolshevik government. These anti-revolutionary elements were also aided by the army of Allied Powers whose aim was to overthrow the communist government in Russia. The Red Army was completely reorganised and the communist party roused the people to crush anti-revolutionary elements aided by foreigners. Leon Trotsky played a vital role in crushing these elements. As a Peoples Commissar of War, he maintained order through the formidable Red Army which wiped out the anti-government elements.

(5) Lenin and War Communism

In order to bring civil war conditions under control, and to boost production a policy of war communism was framed. This transformed the whole country into a huge military camp. The salient features of war communism are as follows:

(a) General Nationalisation : The Soviet government issued a decree of general nationalisation on June 28, 1918. As a result of the operation of this decree all large scale enterprises were nationalised. In 1920 the government nationalised even small scale industries and handicraft workshops.

(b) Requisition of Foodstuffs : The Soviet government adopted a strict policy of compulsory requisition of foodstuffs. In accordance with the Decree of May 14, 1918 all foodgrains in excess of strict maintenance needs of peasant households were to be delivered to the government purchasing institutions at fixed prices which were most unattractive. All those peasants who refused to surrender surplus foodgrains at fixed prices, were regarded as the enemies of the revolution. Such elements were exterminated. For the recovery of surplus foodgrains armed detachments were frequently sent to those districts where surplus foodgrains were believed to be available.

(c) State Monopoly of Trade and Centralised Allocation of Supplies: The communist government of Russia abolished free private trade. There was nationalisation of all the means of distribution and the consumers were to get their articles of need by means of ration cards. This naturally led to abolition of money as a medium of exchange between individuals and the government and among all the individuals. Wages to the workers were paid not in cash but in goods or coupons exchangeable against goods. The abandonment of the use of money as a medium of exchange was a natural consequence of the extraordinary inflation which gripped the national economy.

(d) Strict control over Trade Unions : To tighten its grip over the workers the Soviet government curtailed the freedom of trade unions. Strikes were declared illegal because the people had now their own government.

(e) Dictatorship of the Proletariat: The outstanding feature of war communism was the dictatorship of the proletariat. This was a novel and unparalleled experience throughout the world. The dictatorship of the proletariat implied the initiation of the steps to crush the resistance of the defeated capitalists and all the elements of corruption of the old society.

(6) Failure of War Communism

Lenins experiment of war communism was not successful as the industrial production drastically declined and industrial employment went down by quite a large percentage. The price spiral touched the fantastic heights and the value of rouble decreased to a considerable of extent due to extra-ordinary inflationary trends. The value of a US dollar in relation to rouble in the beginning of 1918 was about 9 roubles. In 1919 the dollar was worth 80 roubles and in 1920 its value was worth 1200 roubles. Due to high prices, waves of peasants uprisings swept rural Russia. On

the other hand the transformation of trade unions into auxiliary agencies of the proletarian state, also generated great discontent in the industrial workers. In 1921 a devastating famine broke out. This added to the difficulties of the Soviet government.

(7) Lenin's New Economic Policy

Lenin properly assessed the causes of the failure of war communism and so he decided to reverse the policies of war communism. In 1921, he introduced the New Economic Policy for reviving economic freedom to some extent. The New Economic Policy (NEP) was operative for seven years (1921-28). Lenin was compelled to make a compromise in his NEP between the state socialism and profit motive of private entrepreneurs. Lenin declared that his N.E.P. was "a partial return to capitalism." However, Lenin did not lose sight of his avowed objective of complete elimination of private enterprise. This objective was to be fulfilled definitely in future. Certain significant decisions were taken to revive the health of national economy under the N.E.P. which was characterised by the following features:

(i) Agricultural Tax in Kind and Incentives to the Poor Peasants: Compulsory requisition of agricultural produce was abandoned. In its place agricultural tax in kind was to be imposed. The right of the peasants to sell the surplus foodgrains after paying an agricultural tax, in the open market served as a great incentive to the poor peasants to increase their agricultural production.

(ii) Free Trade and Commercial Autonomy for Cooperative Societies: The right of the peasants to sell their foodgrains in the open market necessitated the revival of free market in the agricultural produce. The market relations were reestablished between the agriculture and industry. During the period of war communism, Commissariat of Supplies, a government department, enjoyed a monopoly over purchase, collection and distribution of agricultural commodities. This department was abolished and cooperative societies were revived by restoring independent status and commercial autonomy to them.

(iii) Denationalisation: General nationalisation which was resorted during the period of war communism was abandoned. This was followed by de-nationalisation of some large-scale and a number of medium and small-scale industries.

(iv) Decentralisation of Industrial Administration and Management: This was the key-note of the New Economic Policy. State regulation of industrial administration and management was reduced to a great extent. Vesenkha, the Supreme Economic Council

exercised general supervision of industrial administration. The government avoided interference in the day-to-day administration of the industries.

(v) Revival of the Private Trade: According to the NEP, the private traders secured control over nearly three-quarters of the total trade in retail business of the whole country. However, the private traders could secure control over 20 per cent of the whole-sale business in the country. Cooperatives enjoyed a commanding position in the whole-sale business.

(vi) State Monopoly of Foreign Trade and Austerity Measures: Although the private capitalists found some place in internal trade, the state enjoyed monopoly of foreign trade under the NEP. In order to avoid deficit in budget certain austerity measures were taken. State expenditure was reduced by taking a number of measures such as reduction in the number of government subsidized enterprises, closing down of several non-productive enterprises, and separation of local budgets from the state budgets in order to cover local expenditure from local revenues.

(vii) Certain Measure of Freedom to Workers: Labour conscription was abandoned and trade union movement was given impetus within certain limits.

However, the NEP which brought about economic recovery resulted in the rise of state capitalism. Lenin made it quite clear that the NEP marked only a temporary retreat from pure communism and the goal of state socialism was not abandoned.

8. Constitution of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic (RSFSR)

In April 1918 the Council of Peoples Commissars appointed a committee with Sverdlov as chairman for drafting a constitution. The new constitution framed by the committee,referred to the country as the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic"(RSFSR). It contained the "Declaration of the Rights of the Toiling and Exploited People." All central and local authority was to be vested in the Soviets. The state was like a pyramid. The village Soviet was the lowest political unit and above it was the town Soviet. There were the Soviets of larger territorial sub-divisions above town Soviets. On the top was the All Russian Congress of the Soviets. There was provision of All Russian Central Executive Committee to be elected by All Russian Congress of Soviets. The Council of the Peoples Commissars (Cabinet) was to be elected by the All Russian Central Executive Committee.

II. Foreign Policy of Lenin

In his April theses Lenin had emphasised the need to withdraw from the costly First World War because Russian participation in the war was weakening the Bolshevik resistance to the Provisional Government and on the other hand the war had the devastating effect on the national economy. Due to humiliating military reverses during the course of hostilities, the Russian army was completely demoralised and the image of Russia was tarnished by the dismal performance of her armed forces. In the circumstances Lenin deemed it to be expedient to withdraw from the war.

Since the provisional government was overthrown by the October Revolution, Russia needed peace at any cost to consolidate the position of the Bolsheviks in the country.

(1) Treaty of Brest - Litovsk with Germany

The famous decree on peace was the first statement of foreign policy of the Bolshevik government. This decree was adopted by the Second All Russian Congress of Soviets on October 26, 1917 the day after the victory of the revolution. Russia immediately signed an armistice with Germany. Trotsky the Peoples Commissar for Foreign Affairs was sent to negotiate peace treaty with the German government. On 3rd March 1918 Russia signed the most humiliating treaty of Brest Litovsk imposed by Germany. According to this treaty Soviet Russia was deprived of Eastern Poland, the Ukraine, Lithuania, Estonia and Latvia. She agreed to pay 300 million gold roubles as war indemnity. Thus, rich farm lands and factories and nearly a quarter of population were ceded by Russia. Subsequently the defeat of Germany in the First World War made the terms of the Treaty of Brest - Litovsk a dead letter. Yet by that time Finland and the Baltic states as well as a large part of Poland were lost by Germany.

(2) War with Allied Interventionist Armies

Hardly had the ink dried on the paper on which the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk was signed when Russia found herself involved in a war with Allied interventionist armies. It started with the landing of Japanese soldiers at Vladivostok on 4th April 1918. From this date onwards the young Soviet state was involved in a life and death struggle with the counter-revolutionary white army assisted by interventionist army of different Allied Powers. It was a sort of undeclared war between the Soviet Russia and the Allied Powers. The mortal fear of the spread of communism prompted the Allied governments to launch this undeclared war to crush the young Soviet state. The Soviet government had denounced all debts

contracted by Czarist Russia. This involved the colossal loss of British, French and American shares that were invested by them in Russia. The Red Army was organised under the able guidance of Trotsky. In South Russia first British landing took place at Murmansk. They now joined hands with the white troops of anti-revolutionaries at Murmansk and Archangel. The French troops landed at Odessa in the Southern Russia and cooperated with General Donkin in the Don. But the Allied army of intervention and the rebel White Generals who acted on the behalf of the nobles and the landlords and other reactionary elements could not gain the desired collapse of the Red regime within a short period. The French government ordered the withdrawal of its troops in April 1919 whereas by the middle of 1919 nineteen thousand British troops were withdrawn. Inspired by the slogan "Socialist Fatherland in danger the Red Army achieved unheard of success. In 1919 the offensive of the white army was started with gusto. Kalchuk from the north, Denkin from the South-West and Yudenitch from the direction of White Sea marched towards Petrograd. One by one all these invading armies were beaten back. By the end of 1920 the Soviet Union had successfully terminated all foreign and civil wars. The Red Army emerged triumphant in the struggle for survival of the young Soviet state.

(3) Soviet Government's Agreements with Britain and Germany (1921)

In 1921 Great Britain entered into a trade agreement with the Soviet government and thereby recognised the new regime in Russia. In the same year Soviet government entered into a treaty of friendship with Germany. This repudiated all previous agreements between the two states. Both Germany and Soviet Russia agreed to refrain from entering into a hostile agreement against each other.

(4) Treaty of Rapallo (1922)

In 1922 Russia and Germany entered into the Treaty of Rapallo. Under this treaty both the countries gave up all financial claims including war indemnities arising out of the First World War. Diplomatic ties were established between the two countries. The principle of the most favoured nation was adopted in the treaty, which caused a tremendous sensation in the world.

(5) Participation of the Soviet Union in the World Economic Conference at Geneva

In 1922 the Soviet Union was invited to the World Economic Conference at Geneva. The Soviet delegation proposed that due

consideration should be given to that article of the Treaty of Versailles which prescribed general disarmament. As her suggestions were not accepted, she summoned a disarmament conference of the states bordering on her frontiers. Since the major Powers were not willing to disarm, the deliberations of this disarmament conference sank into insignificance.

(6) Diplomatic Recognition to Neighbouring States

The Soviet Union recognised the independence of Finland, Lithuania, Estonia, Latvia and Poland. By the Treaty of Riga of March 1921 Poland was given many million Ukranians. The Soviet Union under Lenin tried to establish cordial relations with these neighbouring countries.

(7) Organisation of the Third International

After the Bolshevik revolution, the communists resolved to destroy capitalism in every country. With a view to accomplishing this objective they assembled in Moscow in 1919 and organised an international gathering of the communists. This came to be known as the Third International; which became their agency for world wide propaganda and intrigue. The prospects of spread of communism seemed at first to be bright indeed. Hungary actually went red and a Bolshevik revolution was believed to be imminent in Italy, and every effort was made to bring Germany in the line. Russian agents were active in spreading communism in the Bal-Kans, Persia, Mongolia Manchuria, China and Japan.

(8) Conclusion of Friendship Treaties with Eastern Countries

The Bolshevik revolution was followed by a series of agreements with eastern countries. Soviet Union under Lenin signed a treaty of friendship with Persia on February 26, 1921 with Afghanistan on February 28 and with Turkey on March 16. It was a step towards recognition of the communist regime in Russia by the outside world.

(9) Lenin's Death and the General Appraisal of his Works

On 21 January 1924 Lenin died at the age of 53. In his honour Petrograd was renamed as Leningrad on 26th January 1924. His body was buried in a specially constructed mausoleum in the Red square of Moscow. The Russian revolution lost its guiding spirit by the death of Lenin. It was he who had made a correct assessment of the situation in Russia and formulated the strategy and tactics of the Russian revolution. His policy proved to be successful not only in deciding the right moment for the seizure of the power by the

Bolsheviks but also in chalking out path to be followed in the economic social and political regeneration of Russia. In the face of over-whelming odds he guided the party and the government clear of war and foreign intervention.

I. Stalin's Home Policy And Emergence Of The Soviet Union As A Highly Industrialized State

No one could be found to fill up the vacuum created by Lenins death and the period immediately following was marked by factional quarrel for power between his two outstanding lieutenants, Joseph Stalin and Leon Trotsky.

(1) Trotsky Outmanoeuvred and Expelled and Rise of Stalin to Power

When the civil war was in full swing during the days of Lenin, Joseph Stalin developed serious difficulties with Trotsky the Commissar of War. This resulted in an intense rivalry between them for a pretty long time. Ultimately this rivalry culminated in the exit of Trotsky from the political scene of the Soviet Union. In April 1922 in the eleventh Bolshevik Party Congress, Stalin was appointed as General Secretary of the party and he relinquished his post in the Council of Peoples Commissars headed by Lenin. This change was a turning point in his career because as a General Secretary, Stalin brought the whole machinery of the party under his control and through it the government and the whole nation. Trotsky like Lenin, believed that without world revolution, socialism in Russia was doomed. Other communist leaders such as Gregory, E. Zinoviev and Leo Kamenev shared Trotskys views. On the other hand Joseph Stalin stressed that socialism should be built within one big country like the USSR with its vast territory, large population and tremendous resources. Stalins emphasis on the need of consolidating communism in the USSR only was regarded as departure from Leninist doctrine of world communism. An intense controversy raged over these two major issues. Stalin who desired to attain the supreme power tried his best to outmanoeuvre Trotsky. In 1923 Stalin formed a triumvirate consisting of himself Kamenev and Zinoviev with the sole objective to debar Trotsky from political power. Stalin established his decisive control over party agencies such as Politbureau. and Central Committee. The members of Communist party began to subscribe to Stalin's doctrine of socialism in one country, that is the socialist experiment should be successful first in the USSR before efforts should be made for world communist revolution. In January 1925 Trotsky was dismissed from the post of Commissar of War, expelled

from the Communist party and deported to Alme Ata in 1927. Later in 1929 Trotsky was exiled to Turkey and finally assassinated in Mexico City in August 1940. Thus Stalin got rid of his principal rival and became the undisputed leader of the government of the USSR.

(2) Introduction of First Five Year Plan by Stalin

The First Five Year Plan was the work of a body of experts of the State Planning Commission known as the Gosplan. The aim of the commission was to develop heavy industries manufacturing producer's goods. Commenting on the targets of the First Five Year Plan Duranty has observed thus "It (the First Five Year Plan) asked no less than a complete transformation from backward agricultural individualism to mechanized collectivism, from hot house subsidized industry to self-sufficient industry on the greatest most modern scale, from the mentality of feudalism far behind the Western industrial age, to socialism still ahead of it." At the end of the plan period in 1933 Soviet Union emerged as a highly industrialized state. All the targets set in this plan were achieved in both agricultural and industrial sectors. (1) Enormous tractor works at Kharkhov, automobile factories in Moscow and Gorki, tractor plants in Rostov and Stalingrad, steel furnaces in the Don basin, fertilizer works in the Urals and enormous dams were created. (2) In the drive for electrification the target set was 17120 kilowatt and the actual output at the end of the plan was 13100 kilowatt. But it compared favourably with preplan output of 5050 kilowatt. (3) In the field of agriculture, rapid transformation of small land holdings of peasant proprietorship into large-scale organisation based on collective farming astounded the world. The kulak was destroyed and peasant holdings disappeared. (4) Production of oil crossed the target of the plan. (5) The Soviet government announced in 1932 to the effect that the First Plan was successful to the extent of 103.4 per cent in developing heavy industry and 84.9 per cent in case of light or consumers goods industry. (6) During the plan period, labour productivity was increased by 41 per cent in industry. (7) In 1932, there were about 11,500,000 unemployed people in the USA, 5600,000 in Germany and 2300,000 in Britain whereas in Soviet Union umemployment was abolished and this was an epoch-making triumph of the Soviet society.

(3) Introduction of the Second Five Year Plan

The Second Five Year Plan (1933-37) was formulated on the foundation laid down by the First Five Year Plan keeping in view its mistakes, failures and achievements which proved to be the torch-bearers for the planners. The Second Five Year Plan had the

most ambitious economic objectives. It aimed at the installation of more than 4500 new industrial enterprises and tremendous increase in the volume of industrial production.

It also aimed at substantial rise in the standard of living, the completion of collectivization and mechanisation of agriculture. In the political field the main target was to eliminate capitalist survivals in the national economy. During the period of the Second Five Year Plan heavy industry including machine building registered tremendous progress. The railways were strengthened with powerful new locomotives and new means of communications and signalling system. The output of electricity was doubled exceeding 26000 kilowatt in 1935 whereas in 1913 Russias electricity output was only 2000 Kilowatt. In short the achievements of the Second Five Year Plan were phenomenal. Industrial out-put increased by more than 100 per cent as compared with the same in 1932 and by 500 per cent in comparison to that in 1913. By the end of the plan as many as 4500 new industrial enterprises were commissioned. This accounted for 80% of the Soviet industrial production.

(4) Third Five Year Plan

The Third Five Year Plan (1938-1942) was cut short in the midst of 1941 when Nazi Germany invaded the Soviet Union. Right from its inception the third plan was over-shadowed by the growing menace of war. However, the out-break of the Second World War resulted in converting the plan for peaceful development into a war time devise. Industrialization in the Soviet Union was characterized by the usual advantages and short comings of state directed work. It eliminated the costs inherent in the competitive system of production and did not altogether destroy individual initiative. On the other hand in the industrial output quality was sacrificed for the considerations of quantity. The emphasis on the heavy industry and the comparative neglect of consumer goods produced discontent among the people. The labour conditions in the Soviet Union were criticised in respect of wages which were described as starvation wages. The labourers were forced to work because it is indeed a part of communist theory that "he who does not work shall not eat." Socially hostile elements in the working class were deported to Siberia. With every thing said for or against the Soviet system the fact stands out that the USSR which was a poor agricultural country in 1914 had made enormous strides towards industrialization at the end of the Second Five Year Plan. The Soviet Union had at the time of the Nazi Germany's aggression,

a well-disciplined and well equipped army and industries of all descriptions supporting her so as to be able first to bring to a halt and then beat back and destroy the strongest war machine that had been built up in the world.

(5) The Stalinist Constitution of 1936

Prior to the adoption of the new Stalinist Constitution in 1936 in the eighth extraordinary Congress of Soviets of the USSR there had been two previous constitutions such as (i) the constitution of the RSFSR enacted in 1918 and (ii) the constitution of the USSR adopted in 1924. The Stalinist Constitution had the following features:

(i) Bicameral Legislature : The constitution of 1936 provided for bicameral legislature known as the Supreme Soviet consisting of two chambers called the Council of the Union and the Council of Nationalities. The term of the Supreme Soviet was fixed at four years. The Council of the Union is the lower chamber while the Council of the Nationalities is the second chamber. It meets twice a year usually for not more than a week in each session.

(ii) Presidium : This unique institution is quite novel. It enjoys full authority when the Supreme Soviet is not in session. Presidium is composed of thirty seven members. It is elected jointly by both the chambers of the Supreme Soviet. It has been described as Super Executive body which is armed with heavy powers and functions. It can dissolve the Supreme Soviet, order fresh national elections, revoke the decisions of the Council of Ministers, issue decrees, appoint new ministers and interpret laws. It can appoint and remove the high army officers.

(iii) Council of Peoples Commissars : The executive authority is vested in the Council of Peoples Commissars consisting of fifty to sixty members named by the Presidium and confirmed by the Supreme Soviet, Various departments of government are entrusted to the members of the Council of Peoples Commissars.

(iv) Fundamental Rights and Duties of Citizens: The Constitution of 1936 in its chapter X provided a long list of fundamental rights and duties of the Soviet citizens. Among the important rights is the right to work. Other rights such as right to free expression, right to practise religion and right to vote are illusory. The Soviet citizens are required to perform certain duties such as obedience to law observance of labour discipline, honest performance of public duties, protection of public property and defence of nation.

(v) Critical Appraisal of Constitution :

(a) The Soviet system has been criticised not only because it has set up an all powerful state but because it is arbitrary and oppressive. There is no provision of judicial review.

(b) The elections to the Supreme Soviet are an eye wash since there is no provision of an opposition party which may be allowed to contest the elections.

(c) The freedom to practise religion is illusory. On the contrary atheism is being encouraged.

(d) There is no provision for joint and collective responsibility of the cabinet to the parliament.

(e) In Soviet Union there is admittedly a dictatorship of the proletariat but it is pointed out that there is also dictatorship over the proletariat viz. of the communist party. Finally it is alleged that even the communist party is under strict regimentation of a handful of leaders.

(f) The freedom of expression is not granted in real sense of the term. The citizens cannot criticise the policies of the country. Their freedom of expression in confined to appreciation of government policies. But the most redeeming feature of the Soviet system is that there is no unemployment. Every citizen is given his inalienable right to work. But in essence the Soviet system is a dictatorship of the communist party. Stalin himself admitted on the eve of the adoption of this constitution by the Supreme Soviet that the document fortified "the present leading position of the Communist party". On another occasion he frankly stated that the dictatorship of the proletariat in essence meant the dictatorship of its vanguard the Communist Party.

(vi) The Purges Initiated by Stalin : Stalin crushed the voice of dissent with iron hand. He crushed his opponents whether they were leftists or rightists. He outmanoeuvred Trotsky his formidable rival and the prospective successor of Lenin in struggle for power. Trotsky was eventually expelled from the party and exiled. The great purge commenced in December 1934 when Stalins most trustworthy friend Sergei Kirov, party secretary in Leningrad was murdered. Stalins frenzy assumed serious dimensions. He lashed out to right and left and about hundred suspected former Tsarist officials were shot dead. The top ranking leaders of left and right wings of the communist party were sacked and their only crime was their opposition to Stalin. Commenting on the gross miscarriage of justice and the atrocities perpetrated on

the people during Stalins regime, M. C. Wren in his book entitled "The Course of Russian History" remarks thus "A grim nation-wide search directed by Yezhov, the new head of the secret police, swept up hundreds of thousands of suspects in every walk of life-officials, army officers, industrial and labour leaders, teachers, artists and ordinary citizens. The opportunity to hurl charges or whisper suspicions allowed many to settle personal grievances and Stalin later admitted that many of the victims were innocent." Zinoviev, Kamenev, Bukharin, Rykov, Yagoda, Marshal Tukhachevsky and several top ranking army officers perished as a result of the great purge.

By the end of March 1939 the purge came to an end. Regarding these proceedings of purge M. C. Wren has remarked thus "What remained was not the communist party as Russia had known it, but Stalins party. Every Soviet citizen was given to understand that Stalin was the state and that to question his leadership or policies would be to invite the charge of treason." However, this reign of terror came to an end when Joseph Stalin suddenly died of a cerebral haemorrhage at the age of 73 on 5th March 1953.

(J) Foreign Policy Of The Soviet Union Under Stalin

The Soviet Union had emerged from the Civil War and foreign military intervention, virtually broken. She was in absolute need of a breathing spell so as to enable the new regime under Stalin to establish the law and order and to proceed with her plans of industrialization and collectivization of the country. Due to military intervention by the Western countries during the days of Lenin, suspicion and distrust about western democracies took a firm root in the minds of the Russian people. The re-establishment of the Third International and its close cooperation with the government of the Soviet Union confirmed Western susceptibility. The decision of Stalin to build up socialism in one country that is the Soviet Union, contributed to better relations with the West. But the common belief in the USA, Britain and France that the world communist revolution was on the agenda of the Third Communist International (Comintern), still persisted. Western press constantly carried on anti-Soviet propaganda and it was supported by responsible leaders. Sir Winston Churchill the leader of Conservative party in England remarked "No one knows what is coming out of the Russian cauldron, but it will almost certainly be something full of evil, full of menace for Britain, France and the United States". The suspicion of these Western Powers was not removed even when Trotsky and his followers the staunch supporters of world communist revolution, were discredited. Stalin

realised that for the consolidation of the gains of the Bolshevik revolution, it was necessary to work for peace. He tried his best to allay the suspicions of the West regarding the spread of communism. In an interview with a press representative he denied the possibility of spread of communist revolution. He said "The export of revolution - that is nonsense." But the statesmen of the Western democracies had reservations with regard to the motives of the Soviet Union. Stalin, however, proceeded to work for peaceful coexistence, and gaining recognition for Soviet regime. Foreign relations during his days are summarized as follows:

(1) Efforts to Gain Recognition of the Soviet Government

By the end of 1924 Soviet Union secured recognition from minor states such as Poland, Lithuania, Georgia, Latvia, Finland, Afghanistan and Persia. The Treaty of Rapallo (1922) provided for the de jure recognition of the Soviet government by Germany. In 1924 when Ramsay MacDonald became the Prime Minister of England, he accorded recognition to the Soviet Union as pledged by his Labour Party. This prompted other countries to recognise the new Soviet government. By the end of the year Austria, China, Denmark, France, Greece, Italy, Mexico, Norway and Sweden accorded recognition to the Soviet government. Early in 1925 Japan and the Soviet Union, concluded the Treaty of Portsmouth and resumed diplomatic relations. But the United States still withdrew recognition. In 1933 the election of President Roosevelt contributed to the recognition of the Soviet Union. Thus, long fight for securing recognition was now crowned with success.

(2) Soviet Union a Signatory of Pact of Paris (1928) and her Efforts for Concluding Non-aggression Pacts

(i) In 1928 the Pact of Paris which aimed at the renunciation of war as an instrument of national policy, was signed by a large number of states including the Soviet Union. The government of the USSR under Stalin was not only the first to ratify the Pact but it convened the conference of its neighbours to arrange that the pact should come into force immediately without waiting for universal ratification.

(ii) The Soviet Union proposed to Poland and Germany the conclusion of a Baltic Pact including the Baltic states for guaranteeing mutual aid in case of attack on any one of the signatory states. But the proposal was rejected by Poland and Germany.

(iii) But the Soviet government continued its efforts for concluding non-aggression Pacts. The Soviet Union along with France suggested to Germany the conclusion of an Eastern —

Locarno applying the principles of the Locarno agreements of 1925 to Eastern Europe. But Germany gave no favourable response to this initiative. Again for the third time the Soviet government proposed to Germany a tripartite mutual assistance pact, the third party being France. But no response was forth-coming from the German government.

(iv) Thus, being disappointed the Soviet Union alone proceeded to conclude a pact of friendship with France in 1932 which was renewed in 1935. This pact provided that in the event of France or the Soviet Union being threatened with war on the part of any European state, both the countries undertook mutually to proceed to immediate consultations with regard to the measures to be taken. In the event of unprovoked aggression on either party by any European Power, both the countries were to come immediately to the aid of each other. These undertakings were to be in keeping with the obligations of the soviet government and France as the members of the League of Nations. The treaty was to be registered with the Secretariat of the League of Nations. It was to remain in force for five years.

(v) The above Russo-French alliance (1935) was followed by conclusion of similar treaty between the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia. This treaty stipulated that the Soviet Union would come to the aid of Czechoslovakia only if France which had signed a mutual aid treaty with the Czechs would first fulfil her mutual defence obligations to the Czech republic.

(3) The Soviet Attitude Towards the League of Nations

At the outset, the Soviet Union condemned the League of Nations as "a Holy Alliance of the bourgeoisie for the suppression of the proletarian revolution." This continued to be the Soviet stance towards this world body throughout the decade following the birth of the League on 10th January 1920. In 1928 a manifesto of the Sixth Congress of the Comintern declared "The League of Nations the product of Versailles, the most shameless robber treaty of the last decade, cloaks the war-like work of its members by working out projects for disarmament." However, as the danger from Nazi Germany under Hitler increased, there was a perceptible change in her attitude towards the League. In 1933 both Molotov and Litvinov spoke favourably of the League and gave hint that the Soviet Union would be willing to join the League. However, in 1934 Soviet Union joined the League of Nations. Litvinov, the Soviet representative in the League was very enthusiastic about the constructive role of

the League. He wanted to strengthen the collective security system of the League. When no action was taken by the member states of the League to save Abyssinia from Italys aggression, the Soviet representative Litvinov in his speech on 1 July 1936 made a fervent appeal to the delegates of the member states of the League to come to the aid of Abyssinia. He said "I say we do not want a League that is safe for aggressors. We do not want that kind of League, even if it is universal because it would become the very opposite of an instrument of peace. We must educate and raise people upto its lofty idea, not degrade the League." Soviet delegates appeal to the member states to stand by the covenant of the League, evoked no response and eventually the collective system of the League collapsed and it became the defunct body.

(4) Soviet Union and the Collapse of the Leagues Collective Security System

In 1933 in the horizon loomed the ominous figure of Hitler the dictator of Nazi Germany. In his Mein Kamf he had stated that he intended a crusade against Bolsheviks. Hitler was loudly committed to conquest in the East and to an armed crusade against communism. In the Far East Japan had made the first breach in the Leagues system of collective security by her aggression against Manchuria in 1931. To strengthen collective security Russia joined the League in 1934. Russias invitation to the League was largely due to the initiative of Barthou the Foreign Minister of France, who wanted to build up a grand alliance with the Soviet Union and the smaller states of Europe. The Soviet Union was given a permanent seat in the League Council. Russias attempt to strengthen the collective security system of the League was not, however, a mere gesture. The desire of the Soviet government for peace was genuine. It helped her to concentrate on national development schemes and go ahead with her Third Five Year Plan. In 1931 Stalin had said "We are fifty to a hundred years behind the advanced countries. We must make up this lag in ten years. Either we do this or they will crush us." Exactly ten years later the prophesy of Stalin proved to be true with the expected Nazi invasion of the Soviet Union.

(i) Violation of the Military Clauses of the Treaty of Versailles : The efforts for collective security came under severe test when on March 16, 1935 Germany declared her intention to introduce conscription. It was a menace to peace. The Soviet Union suggested collective action against Germany but Britain and France were reluctant to take stern action against Germany.

(ii) Spanish Civil War (1936-37): In July 1936 General Franco raised a banner of revolt against the legitimate republican government of Spain. With the military aid of Nazi Germany and Fascist Italy, General Franco ultimately succeeded in overthrowing the existing democratic government in Spain. The Soviet Union called upon the member states of the League to take joint action immediately against Italy and Germany the supporters of the rebel Franco.

(iii) German Invasion of Austria and Czechoslovakia : In March 1938 Nazi Germany invaded Austria and in April Hitler declared the annexation of Austria to Germany. Britain and France the leading members of the League took no action against Hitler. The basis of collective security was cracking. After the annexation of Austria in March 1938, Hitler saw Czechoslovakia with an eye of covetousness. Now the Czech state was on the agenda of Nazi aggression. In view of the imminent German attack on Czechoslovakia M. Litvinov the Soviet representative in the League appealed to the delegates of Britain and France and to the government of the USA to take decisive action to stem the tide of Axis aggression. He said "Tomorrow it may be too late, but today the time has not yet passed if all the states and specially the Great Powers will adopt a firm and unequivocal stand in regard to the problem of collective saving of the peace." But the warning was overlooked. German aggressive design on Czechoslovakia was a direct threat on Russias border. By the end of 1938 the French were playing in the hands of Hitler and British Premier Chamberlain made his trips to Berschtesgaden and Godesberg. On September 29, 1938 Munich Pact was signed between England France, Italy and Germany. Neither Czechs nor Russians were invited to conference at Munich. The pact signed at Munich partitioned Czechoslovakia. Germany got a big area of territory of the Czech state. The Soviet Union now realised that the Soviet-French mutual defence treaty of 1935 was as worthless as the French had just demonstrated their treaty with Czechoslovakia. Thus, Hitler succeeded in exposing the weakness of Britain and France and destroying the Franco-Russian mutual Defence Pact of 1935. When Germany occupied the whole of Czechoslovakia on March 15, 1939 and thus destroyed the Munich Pact, the Soviet Union appealed to Britain and France for taking collective action against Germany.

(iv) Spree of Acts of Aggression by Germany and Italy: Encouraged by the Anglo-French-Policy of appeasement in case of Germanys remilitarization of Rhineland, introduction of conscription, invasion of Austria and Czechoslovakia, Italys attack

on Abyssinia, and invasion of Spain, the dictators of Germany and Italy further intensified their efforts for territorial aggrandizement. More alarming developments took place in 1939. On 15 March 1939 Germany established protectorate over Bohemia and Moravia. Memel was annexed by Hitler. On 7 April 1939 Mussolini landed troops in Albania in violation of Anglo-Italian accord a year before. Thus, it was not surprising that the Soviet Union should be sceptical about Anglo-French guarantee to Poland, Greece and Rumania. The system of collective security for which the Soviet leader Mr. Litvinov had worked hard was crumbling.

(5) Emergence of Rome-Berlin-Tokyo Axis (1936-37)

Italy Like Germany was one of the leading revisionist Powers. Mussolini was committed to repudiate the unjust treaty of Versailles of 1919. Ideological similarity provided the background and international situation served as the bridge between Hitler and Mussolini who were also committed to resist communism. In 1936 Mussolini was sending men and material and ammunition to aid General Franco in his adventure against Spanish democracy; and this provided to Hitler an opportunity to win the goodwill of Mussolini. With this background Germany and Italy signed on 25 October 1936 an agreement containing the following provisions: (1) There should be collaboration between the two states in all matters affecting their parallel interests, (2) Both would maintain Spains territorial integrity, (3) Both the countries would work for the defence of European civilisation against communism, (4) Both the states would work for economic cooperation in the Danubian region. Hitler realised that the Soviet Union was a great danger to Germanys international position. In Japan Hitler found a dependable ally. On 25 November 1936 Germany signed a pact with Tokyo in which each signatory state promised (1) to inform the other concerning the activities of the Comintern (2) to consult with the other concerning measures to combat its activities and to execute these measures in close cooperation. Directed as it was primarily against the Soviet Union, the pact between Germany and Japan came to be known as Anti-Comintern pact. On November 6, 1937 Italy also adhered to the Anti-Comintern pact and thus the fascist triplice or Rome-Berlin-Tokyo Axis emerged on the international scene.

(6) Abortive Negotiations for Anglo-French-Soviet Alliance

The blackmail and pressures exerted on M. Benes the President of Czechoslovakia for surrendering a large part of Czech territory to Germany had convinced the Soviet Union that Cham-

berlain the British Prime Minister and Daladier the French premier were mortally afraid of communism and war with Germany was the last thing desired by them. By sacrificing Czechoslovakia, Britain and France removed the last barrier against Hitlers attack on the Soviet Union. But the rapid growth of influence of Nazi Germany made the Soviet Union eager for alliance with France and England. The British guarantee to Polands territorial integrity was given without inviting the Soviet government to participate. On 17th April 1939 Russia proposed that the guarantee against aggression should be extended jointly by Britain, France and the USSR to Poland and all the countries from Baltic to Black Sea. But Britain gave no heed to the Soviet proposal. Britain had no faith in Soviet Union and regarded Germany as a fitting bulwark against communism. Further encouragement to Hitler was given by sending to Berlin on 24 April the British ambassador who was earlier recalled as a protest against Germanys seizure of Czechoslovakia. This was followed by Hitlers denunciation of Anglo-German Naval Pact of 1935 and the Polish-German Non-Aggression Pact of 1934 on 26th April 1939. But even now the British government did not move and make any reply to Soviet proposal of April 17, 1939. On 9th May, the British government reiterated her old proposal that Russia alone should guarantee Poland and Rumania against aggression. But the Soviet government did not like the idea. On 27 May 1939 the British and French governments agreed on the initiative of M. Molotov of Russia to discuss the whole situation in a tripartite conference. On 12th June Mr. William Strang reputed for his hostility to the Soviet Union and a minor official in British Foreign Office was sent to Moscow to conduct the negotiations. No particular authority was given to him. At the conference the Soviet government insisted that since she had no common frontier with Germany, she must be given right to pass her troops through Polish territory so as to meet German troops on the Polish-German frontier. But the British and French statesmen expressed their inability to concede such a demand as it was unpleasant to Poland which would also not agree to it. This reply brought about the breakdown of the negotiations and Mr. Strang was called back to London.

(7) The Russo-German Non-Aggression Pact

A complete change came in the Soviet diplomacy after the failure of these negotiations. On May 20, 1939 the Soviet Union had already proposed a non-aggression pact to Germany but it was not welcomed by Hitler. By August 16 it was agreed that a non-aggression pact would be signed between the two countries and a

week after, German delegate Mr. Ribbentrop flew to Moscow and signed a Ten year Pact of Non-aggression and Neutrality on 23 August 1939. According to the terms of the pact the signatories agreed to refrain from any act of aggression against each other and to remain neutral in case any signatory state found itself at war with a third Power. This non-aggression pact was signed by Germany because Hitler, wanted to destroy the West first and in this war with the Western Powers, Germany would not be stabbed in the back from the East.

Hitler also hoped that the Russo-German non-aggression pact would cause Britain and France to repudiate their pledges of guarantee of Poland as they had done earlier in the case of Czechoslovakia. In such an event Germany would be able to annex Poland without going to war or at least a major war could be avoided since the Soviet Union was not to come to the help of Poland in the event of German attack. Moreover, the Soviet government believed that if Germany was first engaged in a long and costly war with the Western Powers, she would be left enough time to strengthen her own military and industrial position to meet the eventual conflict with Germany which was however inevitable. Stalin might have thought that the war between two groups - Germany and Italy on the one side and Britain and France on the other would exhaust them and leave the Soviet Union in a dominant position in Europe.

(8) The Soviet Union and the Middle East

The hostility felt by the East towards Western imperialism and the aspiration of the Eastern countries for liberation from colonial rule made Soviet approaches to the Middle Eastern countries easy. In Persia Anglo-Soviet rivalry was strongly pursued and the Soviet Union backed Riza Khan, the rising star who finally established a monarchy in Persia. With Turkey Soviet Union had signed a Soviet-Turkish treaty in March 1921 and gave moral and material support to Mustapha Kemal Pesha to drive out the Greeks. At the Lausanne Conference the Soviet Union had given support to Turkish governments claim to close the Straits to warships. In 1925 during the Mosul dispute the Soviet Union supported Turkey against England and France and concluded a treaty of friendship and neutrality. The Lausanne Conference had decided the demilitarization of Dardanelles much to the dislike of Turkey and the Turkish government demanded the revision of this decision of the Lausanne conference in view of the imperialist ambitions of Italy. The Soviet Union favoured a conference at Montreaux. However, the Montreaux convention signed in 1936

conceded Turkish right to fortify The Straits and close them to all foreign warships at times of war unless acting under the covenant of the League. Thus, the Montreaux Convention was concluded to the satisfaction of the Soviet government. In 1941 Russia along with Britain occupied the northern zone of Persia to forestall German aggressive designs on Persia. Russian military forces now took control of all the regions in the Turko-Persian border. Turkey joined the Allied States only a few weeks before the end of the Second World War and thus became belatedly Soviet Unions war-time ally.

(9) Soviet Relations with the Far East

(i) Relations with China: Subjected to inequality and maltreatment at the hands of Japan and Western imperialism and anarchic feudal system, China was specially susceptible to Soviet influence. The Soviet revolution was hailed by Sun Yat Sen of China even though he was not a Marxist. The Soviet government renounced all extra-territorial and other privileges and claims regarding Boxer indemnity and cancelled unequal treaties of Tsarist regime with China. The Soviet government also cancelled all her claims on the Chinese Eastern Railway and renounced all territorial and other acquisitions of the Tzarist government on the Chinese soil. Soviet relations with China improved due to the understanding reached between Joffe the Russian envoy and Sun Yat Sen who in a joint statement in 1923 hailed Sino-Soviet friendship. Both sides agreed to settle the issue of Chinese Eastern Railway through negotiations and Joffe announced that the Soviet government had no design to secede Outer-Mongolia from China. The Sino-Soviet Pact signed on 31 May 1924 included all these provisions. The Chinese Eastern Railway became a commercial enterprise for the Soviet Union and China was given full sovereign right over it. It was to be managed by a joint board of the Chinese and the Russians. But the death of Sun Yat Sen in 1925 led to the deterioration of Sino-Soviet relations. Chiang Kai-Shek who seized power after a period of struggle with the left forces drove out the Russian experts from China. By 1929 the Sino Soviet relations reached their lowest ebb. They were revived when in September 1931 Japan invaded China. In December 1932 the Sino-Soviet diplomatic relations were resumed. In 1937 Japan resumed her incursons into Chinese territory. It evoked from the Soviet Union the denouncement of Japanese policy. The Soviet Union entered into a treaty of neutrality and non-aggression with China and sent material help to resist the Japanese.

(ii) Soviet Relations with Japan : By 1925 Japan agreed to give the Soviet Union de jure recognition and signed a treaty under

which the Soviet Union recognised the terms of the treaty of Portsmouth. Russia agreed to grant concessions in trade to Japan and the latter agreed to evacuate Sakhalin. The relations between the two countries became cordial and trade relations also developed. But after the invasion of Manchuria by Japan in 1931 the relations between the two countries were strained. The Soviet Union offered in December 1931 and in November 1932 proposals for non-aggression pacts but received a curt refusal from Japan. The threatening growth of Japans strength in the Far East and the rise of Hitler in Germany prompted the Soviet Union to take measures to ensure her security. Russia reached an understanding with the USA in 1933 and joined the League of Nations in 1934. Japans military leaders found that anticommunism was a bogey that was sufficient to paralyse action by Western democracies. They proceeded to exploit this and signed with Hitler the Anti-Comintern Pact in 1936. The formation of this Axis greatly alarmed the Soviet Union which unequivocally condemned Japanese aggression on China. The Soviet Union now entered into a definite treaty of friendship with China and sent her moral and material support inspite of Japans protest.

(10) The Soviet Union and the Second World War (1939-45)

C.J.H. Hayes in his book entitled Contemporary Europe since 1870 has remarked that the Nazi German forces were "splendidly prepared with superior air and ground forces and extra ordinary mechanized equipment and with popular confidence in the vigour and ability of its high command." Due to non-aggression pact with the Soviet Union, Germany was protected on the East and assured of a quick victory over Poland which was the next target of attack. On September 1, 1939 Germany invaded Poland and later on England and France declared war against Germany. Entire Poland lay prostate before Germany. On 29 September 1939 the Soviet Union secured half of Polish territory. Poland was partitioned between Germany and the Soviet Union and the latter got the eastern regions of Poland.

(i) Soviet Deal with Baltic States, Rumania and Finland : In June 1940 Soviet Union incorporated into its territory the three Baltic states viz. Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania. Later on the Soviet troops occupied Bessarabia and Bukovina. Those regions in these two districts of Rumania, which were predominantly populated with the Ukrainians, were incorporated in the Soviet territory. In order to protect Leningrad from the possible German attack, the Soviet Union attacked Finland which was forced to

conclude a treaty on 12 March 1940, under which Finland agreed to dismantle the strong defensive Mannerheim line built by her along the Russian border. She agreed to cede to the Soviet Union whole of the Karelian peninsula, certain Baltic islands, and the Arctic port of Petsamo. She gave to the Soviet Union a thirty year lease of the naval base of Hango. The Western Powers viz. England and France could do nothing to protect Poland and Finland.

(ii) German Invasion of the Soviet Union (June 1941) : On 22 June 1941 Germany attacked the Soviet Union and thus repudiated the non-aggression pact with the Soviet Union. The war between Germany and the Soviet Union continued for 1418 days. In his broadcast to nation Molotov observed thus "This war has been forced upon us not by the German people, not by the German workers, peasants and intellectuals whose sufferings we well understand, but by the clique of blood-thirty Fascist rulers of Germany who have enslaved Frenchmen, Czechs, Poles, Serbians, Norway, Belgium, Denmark, Holland, Greece and other nations. This is not the first time that our people have had to deal with an attack of an arrogant foe. At the time of Napoleons invasion of Russia our peoples reply was war for the Father-land and Napoleon suffered defeat and met his doom. It will be the same with Hitler who in his arrogance has proclaimed a new crusade against our country. The Red Army and our whole people will again wage victorious war for the Fatherland, for our country, for honour, for liberty. The government calls upon you, citizens of the Union, to rally still more closely around our glorious Bolshevik party, around our Soviet government, around our great leader and comrade Stalin". 22

As soon as Churchill the British premier heard of German invasion of Russia, he proclaimed solidarity with Russia against Hitler whom he dubbed as "the blood-thirsty gutters-nipe and a monster of wickedness, insatiable in his lust for blood and plunder." Winston Churchill declared on 22 June 1941. "Any man or State who fights against Nazidom will have our aid. We shall give whatever help we can to Russia and to the Russian people." An identical declaration was also made by US President Franklin. D. Roosevelt on June 24.

(iii) The Soviet Victory and Emergence of the Soviet Union as a Super-Power : The Soviet Union inflicted crushing defeat on German armed forces at Leningrad in November 1942. The Soviet victory on the Volga demonstrated to the world that the highly touted Nazi war machine had begun to crumble. More than a

hundred German divisions were crushed during the hostilities in 1943. The military achievements of Russia enhanced its international prestige. The Soviet Union emerged as a Super Power after the end of the Second World War. The Third Communist International known as the Comintern which had reached its nadir with the Soviet-German non-aggression pact and Hitlers victory in the west, came to be revitalised and reinvigorated after the Nazi invasion of the USSR under the name of Cominform. Since then it has been playing an important role in propagating the communist philosophy all over the world. Soviet Unions influence tremendously increased in the East European countries. Commenting on significance of the expansion of communism Richard Freeborn has remarked thus, "however, with all the war-time appeals and promises, the Soviet leopard did not change its spots and with the Soviet conquest of most of Eastern Europe, such ruthlessness became an instrument of policy for ensuring the "Sovietisation" of Rumania, Bulgaria, Hungary, Poland and the Soviet Zone of Germany. In many respects such sovietisation quite simply involved the extension to these non-Russian territories of a Russian domination, which if not more efficient, was more far-reaching than the former German domination." During the course of hostilities the Soviet Union had acquired five new republics viz. Estonian, Latvian, Lithuanian, Karelo-Finnish, and Moldavian republics. Thus, the Soviet Union emerged quite a large country after the end of the Second World War.

11. Soviet Foreign Policy during the Regime of Stalin After the end of Second World War

The last decade of Stalins regime (1945-53) witnessed very significant developments in the foreign policy of the Soviet Union. These developments are discussed as follows:

(i) Expansion of Communism in Eastern Europe : Stalin talin embarked upon the policy of intransigence and expansion after the end of the Second World War. Several East European countries viz. Yugoslavia, Albania, Bulgaria, Poland, Rumania, Czechoslovakia and Hungary came under the sway of the Soviet Union. In these states local communist parties were encouraged to seize the power by resort to subversive means. The Soviet Union pursued the policy of Sovietisation in case of these East - European states which eventually became Soviet satellites with the exception of Yogoslavia.

(ii) Collapse of War-time Cooperation between the Soviet Union and the Western Allied Powers : The third Communist International

now known as Cominform had not abandoned its, programme of communist expansion in the world.

Although the Soviet Union cooperated with the West in the task of de-Nazification of Germany and the Nuremberg trial of Nazi leaders in 1946 and also dividing Germany, the Soviet hostility towards Western Powers assumed the form of aggressive non-cooperation on such vital issues as the international control of nuclear energy and arrangement for a peace treaty with Germany. Though the Soviet Union concluded peace treaties with Italy, Rumania, Hungary, Bulgaria and Finland and confirmed its territorial gains from Finland Rumania and Czechoslovakia, yet it refused to sign any peace treaty with Austria unless and until a German peace settlement had been reached. The Soviet Union also declined to participate in the United Nations Atomic Energy Commission in 1946 and in the Marshall Plan of 1947. On the contrary the Soviet Union formulated the Molotov Plan to keep the economies of the satellite East European countries under her control.

(iii) Polarization of the World into Two Power Blocs : The last decade of Stalin was characterized by the polarization of the whole world into two hostile power blocs viz. the Communist bloc led by the Soviet Union and the Capitalist bloc under the leadership of the United States. Each bloc has a global strategy to out-manoeuvre the other and to advance the interests of the member states of the bloc. This has resulted in the mounting tension between the member states of these blocs.

(iv) Confrontation between the Soviet Union and the United States : (a) The Soviet Union and the United States clashed with each other on various international issues. In the UN Security Council the Soviet Union made use of seventy-seven vetoes out of the total eighty votes cast by her during the period between 1945 and 1955. In Asia the communism spread in China and North Korea. The USA and the USSR confronted with each other in Korea when North Korea supported by the Soviet Union invaded South Korea in 1950. It was only after fierce fighting and subsequent protracted negotiations that peace was restored in Korea in July 1953.

(b) After the end of their war-time honey-moon the Soviet Union and the Western Powers had their first clash in the negotiation of peace treaties with the Axis satellite countries at the Peace Conference of Paris in 1946. Two decisions taken at this Paris Conference in the teeth of Soviet opposition sharpened the rivalry between the Soviet Union and the Western World. These decisions

pertained to (i) the setting up of Trieste as a free port under the protection of the Security Council of the UNO, and (ii) the proclamation of the Danube River and the Black Sea as open water ways. The internationalizing of the Danube and the Black Sea exposed the Soviet Union to security risks as these gateways exposed the Crimea and Southern Russian ports to naval attacks by the West. The Soviet government retaliated by delaying the signing of peace treaty with Austria. The question of peace treaty with Germany was bedevilled by the intensification of the cold war.

(c) The Capitialist bloc countries such as Belgium, France and Italy expelled communists from ministerial power in 1947 while the East European countries the Soviet Satellites excluded the non-communist elements from their popular front governments.

Thus, conflict between the two Super Powers has often been described as the inevitable duel between rival ideologies — democracy and dictatorship. No doubt many Americans genuinely disapprove of communism because of its rejection of parliamentary democracy and human rights. Similarly, the Communists hate American democracy as synonymous with capitalist exploitation of the masses and colonialism. The conflict of values, however, is not the only reason behind the cold war. The Americans have one firm conviction that communism is an international movement whose expansion means an accession of strength to the Soviet Union and a danger to the free world. The national interests of the Super Powers seem to be irreconcilable and as such the cold war is intensified.

10

RISE OF FASCIST ITALY UNDER MUSSOLINI

OUTLINE:

(A) Political Situation in Italy After the End of the First World War

(B) Causes of the Rise of Fascism in Italy

(C) Characteristics of Fascist State

(D) Mussolini's Domestic Policy

(E) Objectives of Fascist Italys Foreign Policy

(F) Implementation of the Foreign Policy of Fascist Italy and the Down-fall of Mussolini.

(A) Political Situation In Italy After The End Of The First World War

When the First World War broke out in Europe in 1914, nearly all the belligerents could claim that they fought for some great cause. The Germans fought for attaining world power, the British for the sanctity of international agreements and integrity of small nations, the French to get back their lost territories, viz. Alsace, and Lorraine, and even for ravanche and when the Americans had joined the war, they waged a war to end all wars and to make world safe for democracy. Alone among the Great Powers of Europe, Italy maintained her neutrality. If her abandoning her friends of the Triple Alliance was any how justifiable, her joining the war at later stage was little better than selling herself to the highest bidder among the belligerents.

(1) Secret Treaty of London and Italy's Discomfiture at Paris Peace Conference:

Italy, originally a member of Triple Alliance — was induced to withdraw her support to her allies viz. Germany and Austria. In case Italy joined the First World War on the side of Germany and Austria, she was to get only Trentino but the Allied Powers held out the hope of Trentino plus Trieste and Istria and entire Dalmatian coast except Fiume. The Allied Powers also offered to give her Vallona and a protectorate over Albania and a share in the German and Turkish empires in Africa. Due to these inducements Italy deserted the Central Powers — Germany and Austria and joined the Allied Powers. The above mentioned offers of territories were embodied in the secret treaty of London which was concluded in April 1915. Thus, Italy participated in the First World War on the side of the Allied Powers on the distinct understanding that she was to acquire all the territorial gains stipulated in the treaty of London. Italys sacrifices in the war were great. She sustained the loss of 700,000 troops killed and 10,00,000 wounded. The cost of the War was more than 12000,000,000 dollars. She also suffered the damages of other kinds amounting to 3000,000,000 dollars. With such a record her representatives at the Paris Peace Conference could hardly make themselves heard and even when asking for nothing more than the Allied Powers had pledged themselves to give her by the solemn treaty of London, the Premier of Italy had to whine and whimper at the Paris Peace Conference where others growled and roared. While Germans were mortified at the fruits of defeat, the Italians were disappointed at the fruits of victory. In both countries the ground was prepared for launching revolutionary movements under the guidance of ambitious politicians. Yet it was likely that these agitations which fed on the widespread misery and suffering caused by the aftermath of the First World War would have died down, had it not been for the appearance in both countries of such men of destiny as Hitler and Mussolini whose many sided qualities of leadership were matched by their passion for wielding power. The uneasiness in Italy's political circles was further heightened when the Allies betrayed Italy at Paris Peace Conference. She was to have her frontier extended from Trentino to the Brenner. She was given the Dalmatian port Sara and the island of Lagosto but not the rest of Dalmatian coast. Italy could not secure protectorate over Albania or the port of Vallona. Not much of Africa except small extension to Libya and Somaliland was acquired by Italy in the peace treaties. The territories promised to Italy were either gained by Greek government or retained by Turkey. On the other hand the acquisition of the port of

Fiume was very much coveted by Italy but unfortunately she could not acquire it at Paris Peace Conference.

The Italians felt themselves cheated at the Paris Peace Conference and they were disillusioned when they realised that the territories acquired by Italy at Paris Peace Conference were not in commensurate with their sacrifices during the course of hostilities in the First World War. Commenting on the precarious position of Italy after the First World War, J. Hamp-deu Jackson has aptly remarked thus, "Italians felt themselves disgraced in the eyes of the world, swindled by their own politicians. War had cost Italy dear, draining of money, saddling her with a budget deficit of over twelve thousand million lire, forcing up the cost of living. The political party in power in 1919 was pacifist, its leaders old and cynical. It is little wonder that Italians turned to violence".

(B) Causes Of The Rise Of Fascism In Italy

Fascism was a creed of totalitarianism which Mussolini defined as: "All in the State, nothing outside the State and nothing against the State". Indeed fascism was the product of open terrorist dictatorship of the chauvinistic elements of Italian society. A variety of factors led to rise of fascism in Italy. These factors are discussed as follows:

(1) Dissatisfaction with Paris Peace Conference

Italy was a member of Triple Alliance and was expected to support her allies Germany and Austria during the First World War. But Italy remained neutral as late as April 1915 when she was weaned away by Allied Powers and was persuaded to sign the secret treaty of London under which the Allied Powers promised to give her various territories such as Trentino, Trieste, Istria, a large portion of Dalmatian coast, Vallona, protectorate over Albania, and a share in the German and Turkish empires in Africa. But in the Paris Peace Conference the Allied Powers did not fulfil their obligations according to the Treaty of London (1915) which was nothing but a diplomatic manoeuvre to wean away Italy from the Triple Alliance. Italy was not given those territories which were to be ceded to her according to the treaty of London and her sacrifices during the war far out weighed the territorial gains conceded to her by the allies at the Paris Peace Conference. She insisted very enthusiastically on the acquisition of Fiume port but the Allied Powers did not concede this Italian demand. Thus, Italy harboured great resentment against the Allies. Italian leadership was discredited at home as Italy could not get what was promised to her by the allies. The seething

discontent in Italy resulted in the collapse of democratic institutions and the consequent rise of Fascist dictatorship under Mussolini.

(2) Discredited and Feeble Democratic Government of Italy

The people of Italy levelled scathing criticism against their government leaders. Fierce nationalists referred to old politicians as parasites. The general impression that the ordinary man in the street carried about the government was that Italy had won the war but lost the peace due to the incapacity of her leaders. After the end of the First World War the instability of the democratic government tarnished the image of Italy. This instability was partly due to absence of firm democratic traditions and partly due to the multi-party system prevailing in the country. From June 23, 1919 to October 31, 1922 there were as many as six changes of government. During this period the coalition governments could not function smoothly because persons of diametrically opposite ideologies were inducted in these coalition ministries. As a result of this, no coherent national policy or programme could possibly be chalked out for post-war reconstruction.

(3) Italy's Economy in Bad Plight

The government of Italy had to face problems which were beyond its capacity to solve. The demobilization of a large number of soldiers increased the army of unemployed. During the War Italy had sustained the loss of 12000,000,000 dollars. This precipitated the economic ruination of Italy. Foreign trade and tourist traffic offered no effective relief because the restrictions in international trade had already affected Italys trade with other countries. On the other hand chaos in Italy had scared away many tourists. The currency of Italy was rapidly declining in value. For example the value of Lire in 1914 was 19.3 cents but in 1920 it stood at 5 cents only. Banks were inclined to restrict credit. Factories were closed and a shortage of consumer goods was accompanied by the steep rise in prices by three to four hundred per cent. Italys economic position was very precarious and naturally it had its repercussions on her domestic politics.

(4) Possibility of a Tilt Towards Bolshevism in Italy

The economic crisis of the post-war period led to the spread of Bolshevik ideology and to many disaffected people in Italy the path chalked out by the extreme parties with leanings towards communism proved more alluring than the empty talk of arm-chair politicians of a sham democracy. Unemployment and lock-outs in factories resulted in strikes and seizure of factories by Bolshevik-minded

workers. The philosophy of communism was preached with more and more vehemence. The Socialists who had gained 156 candidates in Chamber of Deputies preached the necessity of setting-up workers councils. The war veterans and disbanded soldiers were mocked at whereas frightened capitalists and landlords sought to get protection and Benito Mussolini the Duce or the leader of the Fascist party in Italy was the product of this mortal fear of the vested interests. By maintaining anti-communist posture, Mussolini managed to enlist the support of the capitalists and landlords. He also tried to seek support of the discontented masses in order to seize power. The left forces in the country failed to maintain unity due to split between the communists and socialists and this paved the way for the rise of Mussolini.

(5) Attractive Programme of Fascist Party

Fascist party stole the wind out of the sails of the communist and socialist parties by giving wide publicity to its attractive programme which included nationalisation of munition factories, economic councils with legislative powers, management of certain industries by workers and eradication of unemployment. In foreign policy the Fascists declared that annexation of Fiume and Dalmatia would be their main objective. Mussolini promised to cure the ills of the nation by implementing his bold programme which went a long way to satisfy workers and farmers as well as the capitalists and landlords. He stood for the maintenance of the institution of private property. Naturally various sections of society rallied round him.

(6) Need for a Strong Government Emphasised by Mussolini

Between 1919 and 1922 Italy saw six governments which were mostly the results of short-term coalitions of heterogeneous majority of discordant factions. From 1920 to 1921 Italy was in state of civil war and nearly 100 battles were fought between the Fascists and the radicals. The government became callous onlooker to these riots which broke out at various places such as Bologna Florence and Milan. By the end of 1921 the Fascist had 35 deputies in the national parliament. The government was so scared by the Red menace that though Mussolini had a small number of deputies in the parliament, he was given offer to join the government together with other parties in a coalition ministry. But the Fascists refused to enter the government and launched a propaganda to malign the government. Mussolini was the editor of the news paper "popolo d Italia" which mobilised the public opinion against the Red menace and the discredited coalition government.

(7) Fascist belief in Organised Violence and the Historic March on Rome

Though the Fascists participated in parliamentary elections from time to time, yet they had no respect for parliamentary democracy. They believed in organised violence and Mussolini had established the National Fascist Party which believed in one point programme i.e., action. The loyal members of Fascist Party donned black shirts, gave Roman salutes, fortified themselves with brass knuckles and guns which they used freely against their opponents such as the Communists and Socialists. Mussolini laid down his plan of a coup detat. He gave a cry of "on to Rome" in a public gathering in September 1922 but he affirmed his faith in the Monarchist tradition. It must be remembered in this connection that Mussolini attained political power in a constitutional form. Mussolini fixed October 27, 1922 as the date for the march of Fascists on Rome. As the final hour arrived squadron after squadron of Fascists reached the towns near Rome. Mussolini demanded the formation of a Fascist government. King Victor Emmanuel III gave way before the threat of military action by the Fascists. The King dismissed the Prime Minister Luingi Facta and invited Mussolini to form the government. The army of the King was never asked to go into action against Mussolini. The Fascists overdramatized the phrase "March on Rome" as they were willingly saddled with power by the King terrified by a threat of a communist revolution in his country. Thus, Mussolini rose to power in Italy and communism was in full retreat and the menace of Bolshevism disappeared.

(C) Characteristics of Fascist State

When in October 1922 following the historic march on Rome, King Victor Emmanuel III asked Mussolini to form the government, outwardly he became the head of a constitutional government; but he became Prime Minister by an act of force and was virtually the Italian dictator. He soon fascitized the entire administration and the state. In 1936 he published the Doctrine of Fascism which was characterised by the following features;

(1) Exaltation of State

The Fascists exalted the state to great heights. The individual was subordinated to the all pervading state. The Fascists viewed the state as an end in itself. According to them state was an independent entity having a personality, a will and an end of its own, apart from those of the individuals. Commenting on the significance of State, Mussolini had remarked thus "The State is not merely a guardian, nor is it an organisation with merely material aims, nor is it a purely

political creation but it is a spiritual and moral fact in itself. The state is the guarantor of security both internal and external but it is also the custodian and transmitter of the spirit of the people as it has grown up through centuries in language in customs, and in faith. And the state is not only living reality of the present, it is linked with past, and above all with the future and thus transcends the brief limits of individuals life". Thus the fascists view the state as an ethical and spiritual entity.

(2) Totalitarian Character of State

The totalitarian state is omnipotent and all-embracing. In the words of Dr. Asirvatham "In recent political literature the term totalitarian state is used in contrast with the term the liberal democratic state. The totalitarian state claims justification over the whole of mans life. No part of the individuals life is outside its detailed supervision and control. If the Bible teaches that we live, move and have our being in God, totalitarianism teaches that we live and have our being in the State". The Fascist state was essentially a totalitarian state. The Fascist principle was "Every thing within the state, nothing against the state and nothing outside the state". According to Mussolini every individual can be sacrificed at the altar of state. Fascism proclaims the rights of the state and the pre-eminence of its authority. Mussolini said "For the Fascists all is in the State and nothing human or spiritual exists and much less has any value outside the State".

The Fascist state was dictatorial in nature and it had right to subordinate the liberties of the individual to its paramount interests because according to Mussolini individuals interest was the intrinsic part of interest of the state. Commenting on the grant of civil liberties to the citizens Mussolini said "The Fascist state has curtailed useless or harmful liberties while preserving those which are essential. In such matters, the individual cannot be the judge but the state only". In the totalitarian state like Fascist Italy, the citizens were debarred from enjoying civil liberties like freedom of thought and expression and freedom to form associations.

(3) Glorification of War

Mussolini glorified war and condemned peace. He said "War is to man what maternity is to woman". He was elevated to the position of dictator of Italy through force. According to him, in eternal warfare mankind has become great but in eternal peace mankind would be ruined.

(4) Imperialism

Fascist philosophy was imperialistic. Mussolinis avowed objective was expansion of Italian empire. he said "Italy should expand or perish". According to him "Imperialism is the eternal and immutable law of life. Italian expansion is a matter of life and death". Such irresponsible and bellicose attitude towards world affairs was responsible for the outbreak of the Second World War. Fascist philosophy was anti-internationalism. Mussolini openly preached aggressive warfare and imperialist expansion. He said "International peace is a cowards dream". Entire Italian nation was geared up for war. Mussolini said. "We are charged with having imposed upon our nation a war discipline. I admit it". The territorial integrity and political sovereignty of the weaker and small states were taken for granted, Mussolini dragged the Italian nation in the arena of war with disastrous consequences for mankind.

(5) Adherence to no Fixed Principles

Fascist philosophy does not spell out certain fixed principles. In this context Jawaharlal Nehru has observed thus "Fascism had the unique distinction of having no fixed principles, no ideology, no philosophy behind it, unless the more opposition to socialism communism and liberalism might be considered to be philosophy". Commenting on the Fascist ideology Mussolini said "Our programme is simple. We wish to govern Italy. Formal principles are iron and tin fetters. My programme is action and not talk. Fascists are the gypsies of Italian politics and not being tied down to any fixed principles, they proceed unceasingly towards the goal of future well being of the people of Italy." So in politics, the expediency was given precedence over principles, the Fascists could renounce all the traditional principles and according to circumstances they could assume the role of democrats, revolutionaries, reactionaries supporters and opponents of proletarians, lovers of peace and lovers of war. So opportunism was the watch-word of Fascism. End justified means and in the context of Fascist Italy, the end was territorial expansion of Italy and consolidation of Fascist partys powerful position in the country. To achieve this end, Mussolini could adopt any means according to circumstances. In sharp contrast to communism, the Fascists did not believe in class war and elimination of private property and religion. They also did not believe in economic interpretation of history. Mussolini laid more emphasis on the glory of nation and imperialist expansion than the material well-being of the citizens. He said "Economic well-being would reduce men to the level of animals caring only for one thing, to be fed and well-fed and

would thus degrade humanity to a purely physical existence". Unlike communism the religion had a respectable place in Fascist Italy. According to Vatican Italian Accord, the freedom to practise religion was guaranteed in Italy. However, there is no doubt that Fascism had no scientific philosophy but it was a queer mixture of various principles drawn from various sources. In this context William Ebenstein has aptly observed thus "Stripped to its essentials Fascism is a totalitarian organisation of government and society by a single party dictatorship, intensely nationalist racialist militarist and imperialist. To trace all of the sources of the political philosophy now known as Fascism is not easy. It is a compound of many ingredients which have been blended together with great ingenuity. We may perceive among others, borrowings from Machiavelli, Hobbes, Fichte, Hegel, Treitschke, Nietzsche, Marx, Sorel, Mosca, Schopanhauer Bergson, James and Pareto".

(6) Anti-Intellectualism

Fascism is marked by anti-intellectualism. The Fascists attached great importance to the instinctive and non-rational side of man. They rejected the methods of discussions and persuasion. Their objective was that the people should be made to fear the government and not to appreciate the policies and programmes of government in rational perspective.

Anti-intellectualism is clear from Mussolinis ideas. He said "Faith moves mountains, not reason. Reason is a tool but it can never be the motive force of the crowd". He appealed to the people of Italy to have implicit faith in the policies and programmes of Fascist party which according to him was "the conscience of the State". In the opinion of Mussolini the ordinary people were incapable of understanding the national problems. According to his concept of corporate state, only the members of the ruling party were capable of understanding the matters of State. Mussolini expected the common people to behave like dumb-driven cattle and follow the policies of the Fascist ruling party.

(7) Anti-democratic Philosophy

Fascism was an anti-democratic philosophy. According to Mussolini the parliaments representing the people were talking shops. The Fascists refused to believe in the inherent worth of man and maintained that the supreme virtue of an individual was to obey the command of the state. In Fascist Italy the civil liberties were infringed. The people were taught to obey and fight for the state. Commenting on the anti-democratic features of Fascism, Gentile has remarked thus "Law and State are the supreme manifestation

of liberty and maximum of liberty coincides with maximum of state force". According to Fascist ideology, the state was the sole judge of the nature and degree of liberty to be enjoyed by the citizens. Fascist State was nothing short of terrorist dictatorship of chauvinistic elements of society.

(D) Mussolini's Domestic Policy

(1) Establishment of Corporate State

After seizure of power in October 1922, Mussolini soon fascitized the entire administration, though he still maintained constitutional forms. He turned all the opposition elements out of office. He compelled the parliament to pass a law by which the party which secured majority of votes at the general elections, should be entitled to two-thirds of the seats in the Lower House of the Parliament. In the first general elections held under this new law, in April 1924 the Fascists by their familiar recourse to violence secured the majority and thereupon were given two-thirds of seats in the new chamber. Strikes to enforce economic demands were forbidden, the press was censored, municipalities, towns and cities lost their political rights and were placed under the control of appointed Podestas and on the other hand the critics of Fascist party were put under arbitrary arrest and indefinite confinement. All the political parties were banned. Only Fascist party had to exist. Mussolini was given power to issue decrees with the force of law. Under a new penal code, promulgated in 1931 his person became sacred like those of the King, Queen, and Crown Prince and any attempt on his life became punishable with death. Municipal autonomy and freedom of press were ruthlessly suppressed. The Fascist party in 1939 consisted of about two million members. It was controlled by the Fascist Grand Council consisting of Mussolini, his ministers and lieutenants. The Grand Council was headed by Mussolini under the title of Duce (The Leader). He acted as perpetual chairman of Grand Council, which was the main spring behind all legislation and executive actions. Fascist Grand Council also controlled foreign and internal affiairs; and its members owed allegiance to the Duce. According to the Labour Charter of 1927 the rights of the workers were defined. Mussolini abolished the old Trade Unions which were substituted by six National Confederations of Workers. On the otherhand another six Confederations of Unions for employers were created and the workers were deprived of their right to strike. All the labour disputes which could not be settled by arbitration, were to be referred to Labour Court, the judges of which were to be nominated. Agriculture, industry, com-

merce, inland transport, sea and air services, banking and insurance and all vital installations of national production were organised under the National Council of Corporation which was responsible for planning and co-ordination. In 1934, 22 corporations representing the employers, the government and the labour interests, were created. Their chief function was to advise the government to step-up production and settle amicably the labour disputes. In 1938 the Chamber of Deputies was abolished and it was replaced by "the Chamber of Fasces and Corporation" representing the state, the corporations and the Fascist party. All the 700 members of this new chamber were called National Councillors who were to be nominated by Mussolini. All these measures were designed to regulate national economy and consolidate the position of Mussolini as the dictator of Italy.

(2) Economic Policy of Italy under the Fascist Regime

Mussolinis objective was to make Italy self-sufficient. The improvement in agriculture was marked by the term - "battle for grain". Measures were taken for land reclamation, training of farmers and manufacture of fertilizers. However, the most publicized achievement was the draining of Pontine marshes. An agricultural Credit Bank was established and the peasants were encouraged to join agricultural co-operatives. The dependence on foreign import of agricultural items was reduced. Among the measures taken to modernize agriculture was the building of hydroelectric generating plant which accelerated the process of rural electrification. In the industrial sector, Italy enjoyed the leading position in the production of cars. Italian cars enjoyed reputation all over Europe and caused anxiety to American manufacturers. Italy also entered into trade agreements and commercial treaties with several foreign countries. The tourist traffic was given great impetus while mercantile shipping received great stimulus through government aid. Italy undertook projects to build war vessels for several countries. However, Italy was unable to achieve complete self-sufficiency as she still lacked iron, coal, oil, cotton and other vital sources for industrialization. Due to world slump (1929) lire was devalued and Italys economy suffered a set-back and the government failed to give Italy a favourable balance of trade.

(3) Domestic Reforms

On the domestic front the Fascist government under Mussolini established a complete control over the education of the young. The teachers and professors were required to take an oath of loyalty to the Fascist government. The OVRA (Secret police) directly respon-

sible to Mussolini always kept strict watch over all anti-government activities. A definite schedule for military training was introduced for all the males from eighteen to thirty-three. Fascist Italy needed more soldiers for future wars. The Fascist government had planned to win an empire. Therefore, all forms and techniques of birth control were prohibited.

(4) The Lateran Accord with the Pope

One of the most outstanding achievements of the Fascist regime was bringing to an end of the fifty year old quarrel between the Italian State and the Pope. Mussolini was anxious that religion should be enlisted for rather than against the State. The reigning Pope Pius XI without being an advocate of Fascism, wanted to end a conflict which was to nobodys advantage. The two parties came to terms by signing an agreement at the Popes second palace at Rome, the Lateran on 11 February 1929 under which the Pope renounced his claim to Rome and acknowledged it as the capital of the Kingdom of Italy. The government of Italy, in return, agreed to the creation of a separate state to be called the Vatican City, which was to be under the complete ownership and sovereign jurisdiction of the Pope. The government gave recognition to the Catholic religion and undertook to enforce among its Catholic citizens the directions of Vatican regarding marriage and morals. In return Pope Pius XI accorded recognition to the House of Savoy. This agreement came to be known as Lateran Accord. But simultaneously with the signing of Lateran Accord a financial agreement and a Concordat were concluded between the Papacy and the government. The Catholic Church was accepted as the sole religion of the State which undertook to maintain the obligation of paying clerical salaries. The Pope was to appoint the Bishops subject to the condition that these dignitaries should not be opponents of the Fascist government. Civil and religious marriages were to be valid according to the law. The Pope received a sum of 100,000,000 dollars as an indemnity for his territorial renunciations. The above Lateran Accord and the Corcordat survived Mussolinis downfall and were embodied in the constitution of the present day republic of Italy.

(E) Objectives Of Fascist Italy's Foreign Policy

Italy was poor in material resources and after the First World War a frustrated nation. Her expectations in Europe and outside were not fulfilled by the peace treaties. Italy was dissatisfied on the colonial issue and she felt swindled by the Allied Powers. Her need of colonies for raw material and for her excessive population was urgent. Italys need for Lebensraum, i.e., more space for her ever-

increasing population was real. Italy had cast a covetous eye on Tunisia where French protectorate was established inspite of the fact that the Italian settlers exceeded the French in this colony. Italy felt aggrieved when a conference to settle the international status of Tangier was called without Italy. The programme of Fascist Italy to feed the people with glory naturally aimed at revival of Italian colonial claims at the expense of other countries. Mussolini indulged in fervent speeches for expansion of Italy's empire. He said "We are hungry for land because we are prolific and intend to remain so."

Italy's land hunger had a corresponding reflection in her desire to turn the Mediterranean sea into an Italian lake. According to the treaty of Versailles (1919), Italy failed to get Fiume. The Fascist party now raised the slogan of Marenostrum (our sea). Italy found it necessary for her greatness to acquire hold over the Mediterranean. Mussolini also claimed the British stronghold of Malta as a part of unredeemed Italy. Apparently Italy possesses a wonderful natural frontier. The Alps mountains and the Mediterranean surround her and keep her apart from the outside world. But appearances are deceptive. Italy depended entirely for her essential commodities on import from foreign countries. Despite the Fascist drive for national self-sufficiency, any country controlling the gateways of Mediterranean at Suez, or Straits of Gibraltar could starve Italy to submission in case of war. Even in 1940 Italy depended for 86 per cent of her imports from the sea-borne trade. So the development of maritime power and control of the gateways of Mediterranean had been considered as significant objectives of Italy's foreign policy.

On the other hand the Alps mountains provided Italy with a deceptive natural frontier and instead of providing her security induced foreigners from Hannibal onwards to march in the Italian plains through its various passes and mount a surprise attack on her unsuspecting inhabitants. Moreover the foreign trade through the Alps was not a profitable venture. Italy had an adverse balance of trade despite the Fascist drive for self-sufficiency. So Mussolini and his followers advocated a policy of imperialist expansion. The Fascists revived the memory of ancient greatness of Rome. The defeat at Caporetto (1917) and at Adowa (1896) was a blot on prestige of Italy and the Treaty of Versailles was yet another instance of Italys failure in the international field. These spots on glory of Italy had to be erased by vigorous foreign policy of imperialist expansion. Thus in the opinion of Mussolini the prestine glory of Rome could be revived only by pursuance of the policy of territorial expansion. Commenting on the aims and

objectives of Italys foreign policy under Mussolini, Katharine Duff has aptly remarked thus: "As things were, the Mediterranean far from being her empire was her prison. Corisca, Malta, Tunis and Gyprus formed that prisons bars while Gibraltar and Suez guarded its gates and Greece, Turkey and Egypt were ready to complete the chain encircling her. Determined first to break her prison bars and to march to the Ocean without access to which she must be considered only half independent, Italy might push towards the Indian Ocean by linking Libya with Ethiopia through Sudan, and towards the Atlantic through French North Africa".

(F) Implementation Of The Foreign Policy Of Fascist Italy And The Downfall Of Mussolini

Mussolini followed very vigorous and spirited foreign policy. He openly advocated war as the highest ideal to be pursued to establish Italys claims for more land and colonies. As early as 1927 he declared "We must be in a position at a given moment mobilize five million men and we must be in a position to arm them". The Western Powers were alarmed to know the ulterior motives of Mussolini. That Mussolini had scant respect for Leagues system of collective security and territorial integrity of small nations, is clear from his following acts of high-handedness.

(1) The Corfu Incident

On 27th August 1923 an Italian General with his staff was killed by Greek bandits while engaged in the work of delimination of frontier. Mussolini, at once, served Greece with an ultimatum demanding heavy compensation. Italian warships shelled the Greek island of Corfu and occupied it without reference to the League of Nations. His demand for a compensation of fifty million lire was fulfilled by Greece. The Inter-Allied Commission of Inquiry appointed to investigate into the Corfu incident showed little sympathy to Greece. On Commissions recommendations Greece paid the compensation and Italy evacuated Corfu. In this context Gathorne Hardy remarked, "This denouncement which looked painfully like paying the aggressor to evacuate Corfu, was not calculated to discourage recurrence of such incidents". Mussolinis handling of the affair, from beginning to end was expressive of the new spirit of boldness. It was an ominous indication of Mussolinis resolve to do the utmost to strengthen Italys position in the Mediterranean which the Fascists had already begun to designate as "our sea".

(2) Acquisition of Fiume

At Paris Peace Conference (1919) Italy laid claims on the port

of Fiume but President Wilson was not responsive to Italys demand. While controversy was going on at the Paris Conference between President Wilson and Italian delegation, public opinion in Italy was aroused to frenzy on the issue of Fiume which became the very symbol of Italinity when the Italian poet D.Annunzio flew to the city with his followers, garbed in cloaks, crested with eagle's feathers and armed with daggers! It was with great difficulty that the government of Italy could drive him out of Fiume and hand over to the Inter-Allied authorities who decided to make it a "free city". However, the question was finally settled on 27 January 1924 when an agreement was signed in Rome between the Fascist government of Italy and Yugoslavia. By this agreement the original solution creating Fiume as a free city was abandoned and greater part of Fiume was incorporated in Italy leaving Yugoslavia in possession of the adjacent port of Baros and provided with satisfactory economic facilities in the main harbour.

(3) Albania and Italio-Yugoslav Relations

Italy and Yugoslavia found a fresh bone of contention in Albanian question. The fate of Albania was a miniature parody of Balkan politics. In 1912 it was set-up as an independent state by Austria-Hungary and Italy in order to block Serbian expansion. In 1920 Albania was admitted as a member of the League of Nations. But Italy tried to dilute the independence of Albania by various methods. Mussolini advanced large sums of money to Albania for its internal development and thereby tried to establish financial and military control over it. This led to deterioration of relations between Albania and Yugoslavia. Italian control over Albania enabled Mussolini to control the Strait of Otranto and this endangered Yugoslavia's access to Mediterranean. The conclusion of Italio-Albanian Treaty on 27 November 1926 made Albania virtually an Italian protectorate. In 1927 the war between Albania backed by Italy and Yugoslavia was imminent because Albania had arrested legation officers of Yugoslavia at Tirana but fortunately the matter was settled without recourse to arms. Now Yugoslavia turned to France for an alliance. Meanwhile out of the chaos in Albania had emerged the conspicuous figure of a young Muslim chief Ahmed Zogu who after several vicissitudes of fortune was proclaimed as Zog I in 1928. He tried to lessen Italian influence but did not succeed in his objective. On Good Friday of 1939 Italy invaded and annexed Albania and the King Zog — fled from the country with his wife and two-day old son.

(4) Franco-Italian Relations during Fascist Regime in Italy

Due to rivalry between France and Italy in the Mediterranean, the relations between the two countries were strained. Italy had joined the First World War on the side of the Allied Powers in the hope of getting some rewards as promised to her by the Allies by the secret Treaty of London. But at Paris Peace Conference she failed to get the entire booty because of President Wilsons objections on the ground of self-determination. Though France and Britain supported her case at the Paris Peace Conference, Italy thought that they did not do so strongly enough and her anger on the score was specially directed against France whose voice had generally prevailed at the Conference. So Italy was a strong critic of the Paris Peace Settlement, and gradually she took up an attitude of distinct unfriendliness if not hostility towards France. The relations between France and Italy deteriorated after the Fascist revolution. Democratic France was naturally an anathema to totalitarian Italy. Besides, the Fascists complained that the opponents of their government found a ready asylum in France and many anti-Fascists migrated to France in search of employment and were encouraged by the French to become naturalized citizens. French hostility to Italians Albanian policy also strained the relations between the two countries.

Yet another cause of Italys strained relations with France arising out of the Treaty of London was over the fulfilment of Article 13 of the treaty under which Italy had been promised equitable compensation in the event of France or Britain increasing their territories in Africa at the expense of Germany. According to the Treaty of Versailles Britain took most of the German colonies while France took Alsace and Lorraine and smaller concessions outside Europe; but Italy alone got no increase to her poor colonial possessions. After protracted negotiations Italy obtained the cession of Jubaland from Britain in 1925 but from France she got an insignificant strip of desert in Africa. This was a rankling sore which drove Mussolini to seek an empire in Ethiopia. On the other hand Tunis was an old sore which kept on festering and prevented better relations between France and Italy from growing up. It was French occupation of Tunis in 1881 which by shattering Italys hopes of territorial expansion in North Africa had been responsible for joining the Triple Alliance. After the end of First World War France issued decrees which made acquisition of property in Tunis prohibitive to Italians. The interests of 130,000 Italians in Tunis were adversely affected by French decrees in Tunis. However, in 1935 as the result of talks held between M.Laval the

French Foreign Minister and Mussolini at Rome, an agreement was concluded under which children born of Italian parents before 1945 should retain Italian nationality and those born after 1945 should have right of option. Fascist Italy was not satisfied with these concessions because Italy yielded to France 100,000 Italians in Tunis in exchange of a barren strip of territory ceded to her by France. On the other hand France in the quest for her security had concluded defensive agreement with countries of Little Entente viz. Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia and Rumania which supported the status quo maintained by the treaty of Varsailles. Mussolini looked upon the French policy of alliance with Little Entente Powers as a military alliance under a French general. This alliance prevented the expansion of Italy's trade relations with the Little Entente Powers. Thus, Mussolinis contempt for democracies and his claims for the cession of Tunis, Corsica, Nice and for extension of territories in Libya and North Africa and Italian rivalry with France in the struggle for predominance in South-Eastern Europe, resulted in strained relations between Italy and France.

(5) Stressa Front

On 16 March 1935 Germany under Hitler declared her intention of introducing conscription in defiance of the Treaty of Versailles. Britain, France and Italy at once decided to register their protest against this flagrant violation of Treaty of Versailles and met in the Stressa Conference in April 1935. It was attended by MacDonald the British Prime Minister, Flandin the French Premier and Mussolini. In the formal declaration the three Powers agreed to oppose any unilateral repudiation of the treaty of Versailles and to uphold the system of collective security under the frame-work of the League. Thus, the three countries made an impressive display of solidarity which was really short-lived. On 18th June 1935 the Anglo German Naval Agreement was signed under which Germany could raise her naval strength to 35% of British strength. This was a clear betrayal by Britain and violation of solemn declaration of Stressa Conference and the treaty of Versailles. Italy was surprised at British move and was drawing away from France and Britain and the Little Entente and becoming increasingly friendly towards Germany, Austria, Bulgaria, Hungary and Turkey. But before new alliance systems were to have definite crystallization, certain events took place which deserve necessary mention. These events culminated in the close co-operation between Nazi Germany, Fascist Italy and militarist Japan.

(6) Italy's Attack on Abyssinia (1935)

(i) The Preclude to Italy's Military Adventure: Abyssinia or Ethiopia a land-locked Negro state wedged in the mountainous region between Somaliland and Anglo-Egyptian Sudan was the only independent country in East Africa. It was specially vulnerable to an Italian attack because it lay between two Italian East African possessions of Eritrea and Italian Somaliland and so it could be attacked both from the north and the south. Abyssinia had been for a long time the object of Italys ambition. In the reign of Emperor Menelik (1889-1913) the Italians tried to conquer Abyssinia but the Italian army was badly defeated at Adowa in 1896. Ever since the Fascist government was saddled with power it was determined to redeem the prestige of Italy by undoing the great military disaster of Adowa. With Mussolini therefore, the conquest of Abyssinia was an issue of prestige. Italy got a suitable opportunity to attack Abyssinia in 1935; when she entered into an agreement with France whereby Italy obtained the promise of neutrality from France in case of Italys attack on Abyssinia. Another reason which prompted Italy to attack Abyssinia was that the latter was rich in raw materials and was reputed to possess great mineral wealth. On the other hand Ethiopia could serve as an outlet for her growing population. Italy had suffered the economic blizzard of the thirties and acquisition of Ethiopia would provide a boost to her economy as Ethiopia had rich mineral wealth and raw materials. From political angle Mussolini was encouraged by British policy of appeasement in case of Japans attack on Manchuria in 1931. As late as March 1935 Hitler flagrantly violated the military clauses of Treaty of Versailles and introduced conscription in Germany. In these circumstances, Italian attack on Abyssinia was on cards.

(ii) Italian Attack on Abyssinia and the Reaction of the League of Nations: In accordance with established imperialist technique Mussolini precipitated a number of border clashes between Italian and Abyssinian troops to serve as excuses for an invasion of Abyssinia. After one such incident had happened at the village of Walwal on 5th December, 1934 in which 30 Italian soldiers were killed, Mussolini demanded compensation. Abyssinia asked for arbitration under her treaty with Italy (1928) but Italy did not agree to arbitration. So Abyssinia appealed to the League of Nations on 3rd January, 1935. France and Britain who were engaged at this time in wooing Mussolini, succeeded in getting the hearing of the appeal of Abyssinia postponed till May Session of the Council of the League. From January to March 1935 Italian armies poured into

Eritrea and Somaliland and Abyssinia made repeated appeals to the League. Even when Britain and France met at Stressa to consider over Germanys repudiation of the military clauses of the treaty of Versailles, they did not discuss the Abyssinian issue. This was naturally interpreted by Mussolini as Englands and Frances approval of his design. In the May session of the Council of the League it was decided that the Council would consider the issue in July 1935 and the member states of the Council expressed the hope that Mussolini would agree to arbitration. However, England and France laid an embargo on arms for both the belligerent states which meant an unfair discrimination since Italy was already heavily armed and Abyssinia was very far from doing do.

On 3rd July 1935, Emperor Haile Selassie made a desperate appeal to US President Roosevelt and requested him to persuade Italy to observe her obligations under the Pact of Paris by which she had renounced war as an instrument of national policy. The appeal was promptly rejected by the President at a press conference on 5th July 1935.

The actual invasion took place on October 3, 1935 and a week after, the League Council resolved that Italy had invaded Abyssinia in violation of the Covenant of the League under article 12. On 19th October 1935, the Council recommended sanctions. An arms and financial embargo was imposed on Italy but oil was wisely omitted from the list. On 6th November 1935 the Canadian representative proposed that oil embargo should be included in the list. Italy vigorously resisted the proposal and oil embargo as recommended by Canada was never imposed. In December 1935 Hoare the British Foreign Secretary and Mr.Laval the French Foreign Minister prepared a plan known to history as Hoare-Laval Plan to be presented to both Italy and Abyssinia. This plan proposed to cede to Italy all the extensive territory in Abyssinia which had been conquered up to date. In exchange of her sacrifices Abyssinia should be allowed to have a narrow strip across Eritrea to establish her link with the Red Sea. The plan was leaked before it could be confirmed by the British Cabinet and it caused a good deal of controversy in Britain. Hoare was compelled to resign as Foreign Secretary. A few weeks later Laval was also forced to resign.

In March 1936 the Italian army gained ground and within a month they reached near the Abyssinian Capital. At the end of April 1936 Emperor Haile Sellasie of Ethiopia made a fervent and last appeal to the League saying "I must still hold on until my tardy allies appear and if they never come, then I say prophetically and

without bitterness the West must perish". But the appeal did not evoke any response from the member states of the League of Nations.

(iii) Fall of Addis Ababa and Victory of Italy: On May 2, 1936 the Emperor Haile Sellasie fled away leaving the country to its own fate. Addis Ababa fell to the invading Italian army and on May 9, 1936 the King of Italy became the Emperor of Abyssinia.

(iv) International Consequences of Conquest of Abyssinia: The conquest of Abyssinia by Italy was a flagrant violation of the covenant of the League of Nations which was completely discredited. Commenting on the impact of the conquest of Abyssinia, G. M. Gathorne Hardy remarked thus "The Conquest of Abyssinia marks a crucial turning point in post-war history. The triumph of Italian aggression naked and unashamed affected the whole world with fundamental consequences. To England it meant the virtual destruction of the institution which successive governments of different parties, had proclaimed to be the keynote of their foreign policy. To France it meant that the enemy of whom she stood most in terror was encouraged to fresh audacity and rescued from his previous isolation. And finally to the Italian transgressor by an act of poetic justice it was destined to mean the extinction of his influence on the Danube and the arrival of German forces on the Brenner". According to Simonds and Emeny "The most important consequence to Italy and to Europe, of Italian conquest of Ethiopia, was of course, the annexation of Austria by Germany".

(7) Participation of Italy in Spanish Civil War

The Italian conquest of Abyssinia served as a feeler to test the solidarity of Western democracies but the inaction of the League convinced Mussolini that the road to aggression was the bed of roses. On 17th July 1936 General Franco raised a banner of revolt in Morocco and crossed into Spain. The military garrisons in Spain also revolted and thus the country was thrust into the throes of a civil war. In reality this civil war assumed the form of an Axis invasion of Spain. Italian war planes were atonce placed at the disposal of General Franco. On October 25, 1936 Germany and Italy entered into a secret pact about Spain and on November 18, 1936 both the countries recognised Franco as the ruler of Spain. Britain and France in the name of non-intervention and America in the name of neutrality forbade their citizens to sell arms to Spain and thereby co-operated with Italy and Germany in the murder of Spanish democracy. About one lakh Italian troops were operating in Spain. On October 2, 1937 the Assembly of the League of Nations

passed a resolution stating that "there were veritable foreign corps on Spanish soil." The League could do nothing to prevent foreign military intervention in the internal affairs of Spain. On January 26, 1939 Barcelona fell to rebels led by General Franco who seized the power, Later on Britain, France and U.S.A.recognised General Frances regime in Spain.

(8) Rome-Berlin Axis

Encouraged by successful military adventure of Mussolini in Abyssinia, Hitler moved his troops in the demilitarized zone of the Rhineland on 7th March 1936 and violated the Locarno Pact. Mussolini was convinced about the worthlessness of the position of Britain and France in international politics. He was full of admiration for Hitler. As a result he was drawn towards Germany. Sir Winston Churchill in his book "History of the Second World War", has aptly remarked thus "The battle for peace which could during 1935 have been won was now almost lost. Mussolini had triumphed in Abyssinia and had successfully defied the League of Nations, and specially Great Britain. He was now bitterly estranged from us and joined hands with Hitler. The Rome-Berlin Axis was in being". Germany immediately recognised Mussolinis conquest of Abyssinia. So Fascist Italy and Nazi Germany were drawn closer to each other by mutual interest and by their opposition to Bolshevism. Thus, slowly and steadily Rome-Berlin Axis was taking shape. The name was given by Mussolini in a speech at Milan on November 1, 1936. He declared "The Rome Berlin line is not diapharagm but rather an Axis". Mussolini now became partner of Germany. Both the countries pledged themselves to work against Bolshevism and recognise each others spheres of interest. Both the countries signed a protocol for mutual co-operation on 21st October 1936.

(9) Emergence of Rome-Berlin-Tokyo Axis

In 1937 Mussolini joined the Anti-Comintern Pact which Germany had signed with Japan on 25th November 1936. The pact was obviously directed against international communism. To Mussolini the prospects of earning national glory by making common cause with Hitler against decadent western democracies and international communism appeared more tempting and alluring than playing the part of a mediator between Berlin, London and Paris. But unfortunately he did not take into consideration the fact that in an alliance between unequals the weaker side always becomes the loser and reaps little from a common victory and loses everything in a common defeat.

(10) The Out-break of Second World War and Downfall of Mussolini

When the Second World War broke out in September 1939, Italy remained neutral. She decided to attack when the Allied Powers were almost exhausted by the ravages of war. Delay in the participation in the war would save Italy from the destruction of war and would entitle her to a share in the spoils of victory. Such a time came in June 1940 when France was on the verge of collapse. It was then that Italy declared war on Great Britan and France on 10th June 1940. When the US President Roosevelt heard of it, he remarked thus "The hand that held the dagger has struck it into the back of its neighbour". France capitulated and she signed an armistice with Germany on 22nd June 1940 and with Italy on 24th June 1940. Italy opened war with Britain by launching military offensive against Greece, Egypt, Somaliland, Sudan and Kenya. In June 1941, Italy declared war against the Soviet Union and in December 1941 against America. When the Allied forces invaded Cicily in 1943, King Victor Emmanuel dismissed Mussolini and issued order for his arrest. Mussolini was imprisoned and Marshal Badoglio was appointed as Prime Minister. In May 1945 King Victor Emmanuel abdicated in favour of his son Umberto. After a plebiscite held in June 1946, monarchy was abolished in the country and a republic was proclaimed on 10th June 1946.

11

WEIMAR REPUBLIC AND THE RISE OF NAZI GERMANY

OUTLINE:

(A) Performance of Weimar Republic (1919-1933)

(B) Causes of the Rise of Nazism in Germany and Collapse of Weimar Republic

(C) Salient Features of Ideology of Nazism

(D) Domestic Policy of Hitler

(E) Foreign Policy of Nazi Germany Under Hitler

(A) Performance Of Weimar Republic (1919-1933)

Few countries in the world's history had to face a situation so baffling as Germany did at the signing of the armistice in November 1918. Almost overnight the entire nation passed from dreams of a triumphant Germany surrounded by subject and tributary states to the realities of surrender to implacable enemies and a domestic revolution which well-nigh threatened a complete collapse of their accustomed social and economic order. Yet in military defeat and radical political revolution, the marvellous discipline of the German nation prevailed and enabled the people to form a stable state from baffling confusions. There was something heroic, even sublime, in the conduct of the prostrate German nation which extorts admiration.

(1) Downfall of Monarchy and Emergence of Weimar Republic

The establishment of republican form of government in Germany was preceded by a civil war. Emperor Kaiser William II fled

to the Army Head Quarters at Spa and from there to Holland from where he sent his letter of abdication on November 28, 1918. Prince Max had become the Chancellor of Germany in September 1918 and he carried out a number of reforms which virtually converted Germany into a constitutional monarchy. But the seething discontent in the army and among the German people against Kaiser William II whose actions resulted in Germany's defeat and dishonour was so great that from every quarter came demand for his abdication. This demand for Kaiser's abdication was made in Reichstag by Haase who was supported by socialists like Geistav, Noske, Ebert and Scheidemann. Everywhere workers' and soldiers' councils were established. The political and military situation was so tense that Kaiser William was constrained to abdicate in November 1918 and Prince Max the German Chancellor also resigned later on. He was succeeded by Ebert a socialist. The communists tried to seize power but their movement was crushed and their leaders Liebknecht and Rose Luxemburg were brutally killed by the government dominated by socialists. However, the national gathering of all workers Council held in December 1918 took a decision to call a National Assembly. This Assembly met in Weimar on 6 February 1919. Since the Assembly had a majority of the Social Democrats wedded to the ideal of a democratic republic, Ebert, a moderate socialist was elected as the President of Germany.

(a) Initial Problems of the National Assembly : The Assembly ıbly faced the three-fold task of setting the government in order by crushing extremist uprisings in the country, of making peace with the Allies, and of evolving a constitution. The communist revolt at Berlin and establishment of a provisional government at Munich prompted the social Democrats to conclude alliance with the militarists to crush these extremist movements. The conclusion of Peace Treaty with Allied Powers presented a very difficult task. The Assembly was required to accept the terms of the Treaty of Versailles before June 23 1919 according to the ultimatum served to Germany by the Allies. The Assembly accepted a democratic constitution which defined the Reich the German Parliament as a federation of republican states. The new constitution provided civil liberties and universal franchise on the basis of proportional representation. There was provision of a Reich President to be elected by a popular vote for a period of seven years. The constitution provided for a chancellor and his cabinet directly responsible to the Reichstag which was to be a bicameral legislature. The National Assembly extended President Ebert's term of office up to 1925. The constitution also provided for Supreme Court on the model of its counterpart in

the USA. In May 1919 the National Assembly's headquarters was shifted to Berlin.

(2) Acceptance of Treaty of Versailles by the Weimar Republic and the Reaction of German Nation

The socialists who formed the largest single party made coalition government with the support of the Democrats and the Centre Party in the National Assembly. Philipp Scheidemann was made as the Chancellor. Their first task was to sign the terms of peace offered to them by the Allies. Chancellor Scheidemann refused to sign so humiliating a document saying. "Let the hand that signs it wither". His successor Gustav Bauer had to do it under duress on 28th June 1919. He declared in the German National Assembly "Our power of resistance is broken and there is no means of averting this treaty." It may be recalled that a veiled threat of definite invasion of Germany was given by British Prime Minister Lloyd George in case of German refusal to sign the treaty of Versailles. Lloyd George said "These terms are written in the blood of fallen heroes. The Germans say they will not sign. Their newspapers say they will not sign. The politicians say the same. We say, gentlemen, you must sign. If you do not do so in Versailles, you shall do so in Berlin." However, the German National Assembly ratified the Treaty of Versailles most reluctantly. But in the eyes of German people, the infant German democratic republic was discredited for having accepted the most humiliating treaty. In the words of David Thompson "The new political democracy was thus super-imposed upon a social order that had changed surprisingly little. An overriding and universal national resentment against defeat, against the terms of peace, against the Allies who were responsible for both was the only common sentiment. The new regime commanded little emotional loyalty." Very distressing were the boundary commissions of the Allies which were engaged either in severing the German territory or supervising the plebiscites which were to decide the future of certain parts of German territory. Germany was branded as criminal nation responsible for the out-break of the First World War. She was stripped of her colonies and saddled with the payment of reparations which none knew how heavy they were to be or how long they were to continue. With the Rhineland already under Allied military occupation, with her industries thoroughly disorganised and with a population decimated by war and facing unknown privations, German nation was in a very sorry plight indeed.

(3) Menace to Weimar Republic's Survival

A coupd'etat was staged by Captain Ehrhardt, General Luttwitz and Dr. Wolfgang Kapp in Berlin. But due to loyalty of workers to the democratic government, this attempt to seize power became unsuccessful. Attempts were also made upon the lives of highest dignitaries of government such as Ebert and Scheidemann. In March 1920 National Socialist German Workers Party was created. Hitler was a member of this party which was supported by Junkers and militarists. It was vehemently anti-communist and anti-semetic. In November 1923 Ludendroff and Hitler who were the members of the above party made an attempt in Munich to overthrow the government. The army remained loyal to the government and the plan to overthrow the republican government ended in a fiasco. Hitler found himself in jail where he wrote a book entitled 'Mein Kampf' which was his autobiography. Thus, the republic steered the ship of state through these tremendous odds and began to concentrate attention on the solution of various problems.

(4) The French Occupation of the Ruhr

On 27 April 1921 the Reparation Commission announced that Germany should pay 132 billion gold marks as reparation to the Allies. This amount was equivalent to thirty two billion dollars or £ 6600,000,000. It was thirty times as great as the French indemnity in 1871. In December 1922, when Germany failed to fulfil her commitment of deliveries in kind, the commission, against the vote of its British member declared Germany to be in voluntary default. Though Germany had defaulted in making deliveries of timber, telegraph poles, coal and cattle, yet she maintained that the default was temporary and involuntary. On 11 January 1923 the French and Belgium's troops entered the Ruhr valley. The Ruhr was the heart of German industry because it produced about 80 per cent of coal, iron and steel of the country and was responsible for 70 per cent of its commercial railway traffic. Its occupation was bound to result in the economic strangulation of Germany. The German people unable to oppose France by force of arms were welded together in patriotic fervour and in stubborn determination to resist the French invaders by following the policy of passive resistance. All the workers of the Ruhr withdrew their cooperation with the army of occupation. They went on indefinite strike and the government undertook to feed them. The factories and mines, were deserted and essential services came to a standstill. Local officials refused to execute the orders of the invaders. The occupation of Ruhr proved to be disastrous both for France and Germany. France lost the

goodwill and cooperation of Britain and on the other hand the Germans harboured a deep sense of resentment against the French. The military occupation of Ruhr also precipitated the economic collapse of Germany. Before France invaded Ruhr, one pound was equivalent to 20 German marks, but in December 1922 one pound was worth 3000 German marks. However, the French troops were withdrawn from Ruhr in 1924 when a compromise was reached between Germany and France.

(5) Allied Occupation of Rhineland and French Efforts to Establish Revolver Republic

The treaty of Versailles provided that the Rhineland was to be permanently demilitarized and occupied by the Allied forces for fifteen years. The British army of occupation in Rhineland made itself friendly to the local population but the South Rhineland under the French army became a hotbed of discontent on account of the haughty attitude of the French soldiers. The French government had employed coloured troops which were stationed in Rhineland. The Germans tried to convince the western world about the deliberate insult hurled upon a defeated country by the victors. However, Britain and the United States exerted pressure on the French government to withdraw the detachment of coloured troops from Germany. But France was bent upon maintaining her predominance and perpetuating Germany's humiliation. An attempt was made by the French to set up a separatist state in the Rhineland called "Revolver Republic". In the words of Langsam "Discontented workers and radicals, released convicts and rowdies from all over Germany were imported into the Rhineland and encouraged to proclaim the region independent." This move of the French was very much resented by the British government and ultimately the French government was forced to withdraw its support from it.

(6) Financial Difficulties of Weimar Republic

The financial problems of Germany after the First World War assumed serious dimensions due to the dislocation of the factories and industries. The adverse balance of trade, inflation, reparation payments and deficit budget adversely affected the financial stability of Germany. The policy of issuing excessive paper currency to tide over the financial crisis resulted in a precipitous fall in the value of German Mark which in November 1922 stood as compared to dollar in the proportion of 1: 7000. The First World War had left Germany exhausted with immeasurable loss in men, money and wealth. Millions suffered from lack of food and shelter and basic needs of life. Under these circumstances Germany's economic misery

reached its climax when the French occupied the industrially advanced Ruhr under the pretext of Germany's failure to make the reparation payment according to schedule in January 1923. The Allies tried to rehabilitate the Germany's economy so that she might be in a position to make reparation payments.

(7) The Dawes Plan and the Young Plan

The Dawes Committee was appointed to examine the question of the payment of reparations by Germany.

According to the recommendations of the Dawes Committee full economic and fiscal sovereignty was to be restored to Germany and the Ruhr valley was to be evacuated by France. A Central Bank of Issue was to be established for the payment of reparations. The amount of annual reparation payments to be made by Germany was also fixed. It was to vary in accordance with the index of prosperity of Germany. German government was to be given foreign loan of 800 million gold marks. A foreigner was to act as Agent General to supervise the implementation of the Dawes Plan. Mr. Gilbert was appointed as the Agent General. The Dawes Plan removed the issue of reparations from politics and the payment of reparation was to be treated as an ordinary commercial debt. Germany borrowed money from the United States and paid to her creditors. The result was that she cleared off one debt and created another. Commenting on the Dawes Plan, the Agent General Gilbert said, "As time goes on and practical experience accumulates, it becomes clearer that neither the reparation problem nor the other problems depending upon it will be finally solved until Germany had been given a definite task to perform on her own responsibility without foreign supervision and without transfer protection".

The Dawes Plan was superseded by the Young Plan in 1929. Under the Young Plan Germany was to make 37annual payments of reparation at the rate of £ 100 million a year. In addition to these instalments she was to pay 22 smaller annual payments. The Young Plan relieved the financial pressure on Germany but unfortunately this relief was short-lived because the world slump of 1929 had great destabilizing effect on German economy. One welcome development which took place after the implementation of the Young Plan was the withdrawal of the Allied troops from the Rhineland in 1930.

(8) Impact of the World Slump (1929)

The world economic crisis stopped foreign loans and resulted in the economic instability of Germany. As a result of the world economic depression, the banks and factories closed down and as

many as six million people were thrown out of employment and there was general bankruptcy. Due to the economic difficulties the democratic government was discredited and the extremist parties gained ground. In 1930 elections the Nazis increased their membership to 107 in Reichstag while in the previous assembly they had only twelve seats. Likewise the communist party's representatives increased from 55 to 77. The Socialists Party secured 143 seats whereas in the previous assembly it had 153 seats. In Reichstag no political party could command majority which resulted in a series of unstable ministries which governed through emergency decrees. In May 1932 President Hindenburg dismissed the Bruning Cabinet which was ruling through emergency decrees. The President appointed Papen as the Chancellor. Papen hatched a plan which ultimately placed all power in the hands of Hitler. On 30 January 1933 President Hindenburg was persuaded by Papen to appoint Hitler as the Chancellor. Thus the Great Depression created a breach in the Weimar Republic through which Hitler stepped in and grabbed power.

(9) Treaty of Rapallo with the Soviet Union

In 1922 Germany and the Soviet Union concluded the Treaty of Rapallo which provided for mutual recognition of claims. The treaty provided for promotion of trade between the two countries. Germany and Russia also arranged for surreptitious military cooperation. Because of rapprochement between Germany and Russia the latter was accorded recognition by the former by the end of 1924.

(10) German Adherence to Locarno Pact and the Kellogg-Briand Pact

In 1925 Locarno Pact was signed and under this agreement Germany undertook to guarantee her Western frontiers with France and Belgium. But she refused to give such a guarantee with regard to her eastern frontier with Poland and Czechoslovakia. Even in that case, she promised not to change the statusquo by resort to war. According to the terms of the Locarno Pact, Germany was admitted as a member of the League of Nations. She also became the member of the League Council. "This Locarno honey moon", as David Thompson puts it," apparently improved the international situation by placing Germany to the status of equality along with other great European countries." Austin Chamberlain the British Foreign Minister described the Locarno Pact as "the real dividing line between the years of war and the years of peace". In the League of Nations Briand the French Foreign Minister hailed the Locarno pact and remarked thus "Those who indulge in irony and detraction

at the expense of the League of Nations and proclaim that it is doomed to perish, what will they think now? That means that we have done with the long series of terrible and bloody conflicts which have stained the pages of history. Hence forward our road is one of peace and progress. We shall win real greatness in our countries if we induce to let aside their pride, if we persuade them to sacrifice certain of their desires in the service of the world peace. This sacrifice will not diminish, it will increase their prestige." For Germany at least the Locarno Pact ushered a temporary revival of her confidence and re-establishment of her dignity and status.

On August 27 1928 Germany signed the Pact of Paris (the Kellogg-Briand Pact), which was designed to renounce war as an instrument of national policy. This agreement out-lawed the war and was signed by as many as 65 states.

(11) The Failure of the Weimar Republic and the Rise of Hitler

Between 1919 and 1933 Germany had no less than 19 ministries. This lack of stability affected the internal politics of Germany and paved the way for the rise of Hitler. Increasingly the people of Germany felt the need of a strong man. In Hitler they saw a strong man. He banked on the desire of the people to secure for themselves a place under the sun. The apparent failure of the Weimar republic to restore the prestige of Germany was one of the important causes of its downfall. Hitler merely voiced their desire. The alliance with the Soviet Union and the growth of the communist party alarmed the vested interests. Hitler's theory of racial superiority appealed to the German mind. Thus, the dirge of the Weimar republic was sung from its very birth and the way for an easy victory for Hitler was paved.

(B) Causes of Rise of Nazism in Germany and Collapse of Weimar Republic

On 30 January 1933 President Hindenburg appointed Hitler as the Chancellor. Thus, outwardly the Nazis rose to power through constitutional method but in reality through the conspiracy hatched by Papen and his friend Thyssen who successfully persuaded President Hindenburg to appoint Hitler as the Chancellor. On March 5, 1933 Hitler ordered fresh elections but immediately before the commencement of elections, the Reichstag was conveniently burnt by Nazi agents of Hitler but the blame was shifted on the shoulders of the communist party. This gave Hitler an opportunity to attack the communists and to outlaw the communist party. Thus debarring the communists from contesting the elections Hitler and his party

secured 288 seats in the Reichstag. The Nazis gradually eliminated all opposition. In August 1934 President Hindenburg died and Hitler assumed all his Presidential powers. Thus, the graveyard of the Weimar Republic was dug by Nazis. After elapse of sometime the Cabinet headed by Hitler issued a decree to the effect that the only legal party in Germany was the Nazi Party.

However, a variety of factors contributed to the rise of Nazism and the eventual collapse of Weimar Republic.

(1) Germany Unfamiliar with Democratic Tradition

The democratic form of government established through Weimar constitution was a super-imposition with which Germany was unfamiliar. Though Kaiser William II had abdicated and monarchical tradition relegated into background, yet the bureaucratic structure of state and socio-economic base of the country remained the same. German unification itself was achieved by the authoritarian statesman Bismark. German society was not acquainted with the democratic form of government established in the post-Versailles period.

(2) Treaty of Versailles Most Humiliating for the German Nation

The stringent and harsh terms of the treaty of Versailles such as the imposition of war guilt clause, the loss of colonies, the Allied military occupation of the Rhineland, the huge war indemnity, the Polish corridor to sea and the cession to Poland of a large slice of industrial area of Silesia, and above all the forced destruction of the mechanism and equipment of the German national army under the eyes of an Allied Commission were deeply resented by the proud German nation. The unjust Treaty of Versailles was a national wrong. The Germans regarded it morally justified to repudiate the treaty. The treaty registered on the consciousness of the German nation the concept of dictated peace. The treaty was accepted by German National Assembly under sheer duress. The Chairman of Armistice Commission condemned the treaty as work of devil. A wave of discontent gripped the entire nation. The social democrats and republicans were branded as betrayers of the German cause and were held responsible for German defeat and degradation. Disbanded soldiers, hungry, unemployed and disillusioned youth and discontented industrialists and businessmen lost confidence in the highsounding phrases used by parliamentarians of Weimar Republic. The Nazi party and its supporters took advantage of this smouldering fire of discontent and they succeeded in creating the impression that German salvation lay in the abolition of Weimar constitution and the establishment of strong government.

(3) Political Instability

The working of the democratic government was not an easy-going affair. Between 1919 and 1933 there occurred the rise and fall of 19 ministries. Naturally parliamentary system of government did not inspire confidence among the majority of German people who hoped for the return of good old times and prayed for the rise of a savier of German nation. Commenting on the poor plight of the Weimar Republic Dr. M. G. Gupta has aptly remarked thus "Side by side with the army, stood intact the structure of the bureaucracy authoritative and authoritarian in temper, having utter contempt for democratic processes and pining for the old Prussian absolutist regime. Rule of law, therefore, always remained spasmodic and precarious". The Weimar Republic from its very inception had to face many tremendous odds and due to frequent changes of government, a coherent policy and programme for national regeneration could not be implemented. Thus, the Weimar republic was discredited for having shown its incapacity to cope with national problems such as repudiation of the Treaty of Versailles, inflation, adverse balance of trade, restoration of prestine national glory, unemployment and industrial stagnation.

(4) Financial Difficulties

The Weimar Republic was saddled with financial difficulties due to the adverse balance of trade, inflationary trends, crushing reparation amount, profiteering, unemployment and deficit budget. In 1922 the dollar - Mark ratio stood at 1 : 7000. After the French occupation of the Ruhr in 1923 due to Germany's failure to pay instalment of reparation, the economy of Germany was under greater pressure and inflation assumed dangerous dimensions. The German mark was not even worth the value of the paper on which it was printed. In November 1923 the exchange rate of the mark was 2.5 trillion to the US dollar in Berlin. A saving of even one million marks became worthless because a trillion marks were required to buy a cup of coffee worth one dollar. The speculators, businessmen and industrialists amassed huge wealth because they possessed land, factories and goods. But the people of middle class and lower class whose only saving was currency, were hit hard because of this inflation. There was seething discontent among the masses. On the other hand there was mounting unemployment because the government had withdrawn its patronisation from munition industries. Trade with Russia was also reduced to considerable extent. However, according to Dawes Plan and Young Plan Germany managed to keep her financial house in order with the help of American loans.

But German's economy was shattered due to World Economic Depression in 1929. As a result of this crisis sixty lakh people were thrown out of employment and there was general bankruptcy and trade and commerce came to standstill.

The great slump created a breach in the Weimar Republic through Hitler stormed into power. He successfully capitalised on miseries of the common people and discredited the government for its apathy and inaction in redressing the public grievances. Commenting on the impact of the world slump on the internal social and economic order of Germany Hitler remarked thus "Wars and defeats have a less disastrous significance in the life of the nation than the internal crisis of social structure. After a lost war, a nation can swiftly recuperate. But once the internal order of a nation has been disturbed centuries may pass before recovery is effected. Then a nation may fall and never recover again." In Hitler masses of Germany found a strong man who could bring about economic recovery and restore prestine German glory.

(5) Fear of Communism

After the Bolshevik revolution of 1917 the communist ideas were infiltrating in Germany. Hitler played up the menace of communist take-over of the country and he successfully enlisted the support of workers and militarists. He condemned the government for having concluded the treaty of Rapallo with the Soviet Union, under which both the countries were to expand their trade relations. In March 1920 National Socialist German Workers Party was created. Hitler joined this party, which was supported by Junkers and militarists. It was vehemently anticommunist and anti-semetic. The communists in Germany were called Spartacists, who were in favour of establishing outright a communist government in Germany. They were even opposed to a Constituent Assembly. They declared 5th January 1919 as the beginning of the "Spartacus Week". The Communist movement fizzled out because the leading communists such as Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg were brutally killed by the troops of the government. Fear of communist expansion was not only haunting the Weimar Republic but also the general masses. Hitler tried his best to outmanoeuvre the communists and enlisted the support of militarists and industrialists and workers.

(6) Magnetic Personality of Hitler

Hitler was most vocal about the injustice of the Treaty of Versailles. He denounced its provisions in the strongest possible terms. The National Socialists held out high hopes of the regeneration of the old glittering Germany. Hitler promised a panacea for

every economic evil. He gave the Germans a high-sounding programme of 25 points. It was a catalogue of promises. It promised something to each group of German nation. Since he promised something to everybody, he was able to secure the support of a large number of people. The reparation payment was opposed and the German grievances against it were fanned by Hitler. Hitler knew the pulse of the people and capitalised on the fear of spread of communism. The Nazi Movement led by Hitler was based on anti-communism, anti-semitism and an ambitious economic programme. The people in general were attracted to the Nazi programme of economic regeneration and Hitler's anti-communist stance. Indeed Hitler was an expert demagogue and he had great mass appeal. German people rallied round him and reposed confidence in his leadership. According to Dr. M. G. Gupta. "Hitler had the knack of giving expression to the mood of the crowd, their hidden longings, passions and sentiments so that his words went like an arrow to their target". In a speech at Munich on 24 February 1933 Hitler said "We are the result of the distress for which others (Weimar Republic) are responsible". Henceforth the Nazi cry was "Down with the betrayers of the German Fatherland". The popular German slogan was "Down with the Treaty of Versailles". Hitler said "the lost territories are to be brought to the bosom of the Reich not by flaming protests but by sword strong to smite". He stated "The German frontiers are the out-come of chance and are only temporary frontiers that have been established as the result of political struggles which took place at various times. State frontiers are established by human beings and may be changed by human beings." These utterances registered great impact on the young generation. The resurgent German nationalism was carefully cultivated by Hitler's exaltation of German racial superiority. The people of Germany had no love for parliamentary institutions and preferred prestige and glory to freedom. They wanted a strong man who could bring peace and prosperity to the country. In Hitler they found the strong man who could deliver goods to Germany. If the saying "a political revolution should be preceded by a psychological revolution" is true, "the Mein Kampf" the autobiography written by Hitler, brought about tremendous awakening among the younger Germans who were impatient to avenge the wrong done to them by the Allies after the end of the First World War. In the words of Benns "Hitler was an adept psychologist a clever demagogue and a master showman; he was a resourceful agitator, a tireless worker and an able organiser". With the conditions which existed in Germany it was not difficult for Hitler to exploit them to attain the objectives of his Nazi Party.

(C) Salient Features Of Ideology Of Nazism

Nazism was not a well-defined and scientific theory of state. In some respects it was similar to Fascism. Political thinkers like Kant, Hegel, Rosenberg and H.S.Chamberlain contributed to the development of Nazism in Germany. The following were the salient features of Nazism.

(1) Totalitarian State

Nazism elevated the state to great heights. It sacrificed the individual at the altar of the state. The people of Germany cherished the ideal of "one Reich, one people one leader". Duty, discipline and sacrifice were the watch words of every German citizen. The German people regarded Hitler not only as a leader of Nazi Party but also as the only leader of nation, government, state and armed forces. Commenting on entrenched dictatorship of Hitler, Mac Iver has remarked thus: "Nazism set up the paraphernalia of dictatorship, the body guard of the Fuhrer, the party troops, the secret police, the propagandist control, the concentration camps, the labour camps, the official agencies and indoctrination. But it was more ruthless and thorough than its Fascist predecessor". According to Nazi philosophy, the state had a super-personality. The greatest happiness of the individual lay in obeying the state implicitly and working for its greatness. In this respect Hitler was impressed by Hegel the German philosopher who regarded the State as the "march of God on earth".

(2) Adherence to Personality Cult

The people of Germany reposed implicit faith in the leadership of Hitler who was worshipped as God. There was no God but Hitler, no ism but Nazism and no religion but nationalism. The culture of the German people was thoroughly modified and controlled to serve the ends of Hitler's dictatorship. In the words of Ernest Bergman "The high priest of new German paganism is Hitler himself. He is the real Holy Ghost. Hitler is lonely. So is God. Hitler is like God. Hitler is a new, a greater and a powerful Jesus Christ". The German people abandoned the Christian ethics and began to worship Hitler. They magnified his virtues. It has been pointed out "He (Hitler) does not talk, he orates, he does not discuss, he pronounces judgment; he does not walk, he strides". Indeed the Nazi leadership of Hitler "was the instrumentality through which nationality, state and all political processes were fused into one". Hitler was hailed as the supreme embodiment of spirit and will of the German people. He was regarded as the infallible head of the state. Thus, totalitarianism acquired a sanctity in Germany.

(3) Nazi Party a Link between the Volk and the State

According to Nazi ideology the individual has no importance, while the Volk, that is the community is all important. The Nazi Party had to play the role of mediation between the state and the people. It was the connecting link between the State and the Volk.

(4) Aggressive Nationalism and Imperialism

Nazism glorified war and considered international peace as coward's dream. It laid emphasis on the expansion of German empire through war.

Hitler preached and practised violence as the only instrument of national policy. During the days of Hitler war was the national industry of Germany. He had said "He who would live must fight. He who does not wish to fight in this world has not the right to exist. Such a saying may sound harsh but that is how the matter stands".

Stressing the need of war Hitler said "In eternal warfare mankind has become great; in eternal peace mankind would be ruined".

Hitler's imperialist designs and love for war got fillip in militarisation of Rhineland, repudiation of Treaty of Versailles and the Locarno Pact and the conquest of Czechoslovakia and Austria.

(5) Racial Superiority

Nazism stood for racial superiority. In this respect the writings of Rosenberg Gabineau and Chamberlain had registered a great impact on Hitler. In the words of Burns. "According to Rosenberg, Nordic superiority accounted for all the great cultures of past including those of Greece and Rome. All decay and corruption resulted from the infusion into the superior race, of blood from inferior strains". Hitler urged the German people to adopt Nordicism as a religion in place of Christianity. He firmly believed that German people were pure Aryans and non-Aryan people of other countries could not make any contribution to art or culture. Commenting on the views of Hitler regarding the achievements of Aryan race, Lawerence has remarked thus : "All the human culture, all the results of art, science and technology that we see before us today, are almost exclusively the creative product of the Aryan". Hitler also justified German imperialism because the people of Germany who belonged to superior nordic race had right to rule the semi-civilised people of other countries.

(6) Anti-Semitism

Yet another feature of Nazism was anti semitism. The supporters of Nazism considered the Jews as a curse of Germany. Untold

atrocities were perpetrated on the Jews community. They were ruthlessly persecuted. One of the popular Nazi sayings was "The Jew is our misfortune. Hitler is our Saviour" Hitler organised the mass slaughter of the Jews in gas chambers. The Jews were regarded as non-Aryan persons. In April 1932 a law was passed for the dismissal of all non-Aryan officials who were mostly the Jews. They were also deprived of German citizenship and most of them were assassinated or expelled from the country.

Commenting on Hitler's prejudice against the Jews, Lawrence C. Waulass has remarked thus "History demonstrates that all nations receiving the Jews among themselves and giving them the same rights, sooner or later perish from the Jewish poison". The intermingling of the Jews the creatures of inferior breed, with German people of superior Aryan race, was not permissible in Nazi Germany. So the protection of human rights of the Jews was a far cry in Nazi Germany.

(7) Denunciation of Christianity

Nazism opposed Christianity and denounced Jesus Christ for being an Asiatic Jew. The German philosopher Schopenhaner held the view that the dominant motive in man is his will to dominate. He condemned the concepts of idealism, humanism and romanticism as unrealistic and had stated that man is motivated by passions like pride and lust for power. Schopenhaner's philosophy appealed to another German writer Nietszche. Both these writers exalted the evils of self-aggradizement and vanity. Hitler was highly impressed by their writings. Though Hitler condemned the ethical precepts of Christianity, yet he tried to enlist the support of Catholic and Protestant Churches in order to remain in power. When Hitler was saddled on the position of supreme power in Germany, he launched open attacks on Christianity. It was surprising that the people of Germany were so thoroughly indoctrinated as to denounce Christ. They were unfortunately swayed by the ideas which were patently absurd and self-contradictory.

(8) Men for War and Women for Progeny

According to Nazism, German women were regarded as excellent breeders of pure Nordic children. Dr. Willibald Hentschel was vocal in advocating sex immorality in case it ensured the birth of a large number of children of pure Nordic blood. The women degenerated into child bearing machines becauses large population of pure Nordic blood was essential for conduct of imperialist conquests by Nazi Germany. So great emphasis was laid on accelerated rate of growth of population and for the paramount interest of German

nation which was poised for imperialist war, no consideration was given to sex morality. In this context Dr. Willibald Hentschel remarked thus "Round up a thousand German girls of the purest stock. Isolate them in a camp. Then let them be joined by a hundred German men equally of purest stock. If a hundred such camps were set up, you would have a hundred thorough bred children at one stroke". This shows the extent of the low tone of sex morality in Nazi Germany where women were exploited to serve the ends of the State.

D. Domestic Policy Of Hitler

Hitler's rise to power was as legal as any other Chancellor in the Weimar republic. On January 30, 1933, President Von Hindenburg, who was re-elected to presidency nine months earlier, appointed Hitler as the Chancellor. President Hindenburg was persuaded by Papen to appoint Hitler as the Chancellor. On one previous occasion President Hindenburg was reluctant to appoint Hitler as the Chancellor. He had told Gregor Strasser "I give you my word of honour that Bohemian Corporal will never be chancellor .... I will make him post-master and he can lick my face hundred times a day". But under the spell of charisma of Hitler, Papan and his friend Thyssen persuaded Hindenburg to appoint him as the Chancellor. Obviously Papen and Thyssen had woven a conspiracy to serve their selfish ends but they were disillusioned later on by the actions of Hitler. On the domestic front Hitler took the following steps to consolidate his position in the country.

(1) Ban on all Political Parties

On 5 March 1933 he ordered fresh elections; but before the commencement of the elections the Reichstag was conveniently burnt and the blame was shifted on the shoulders of the communists. Hitler accused the communists of subversive activities and banned the communist party. Thus, debarring the communists from contesting elections Hitler and his party secured 288 seats in the Reichstag. Gradually Hitler eliminated all opposition parties. The Enabling Act, "The fundamental law of Hitler's regime" gave him dictatorial powers. Thus, by July 4, 1933 one by one, all political parties were out-lawed and the Nazi Party was declared by a Cabinet decree to be the only political party in Germany.

(2) Suspension of Weimar Constitution and End of Federal System of Government

On March 23, 1933 Hitler got the Enabling Law passed which virtually suspended the Weimar constitution. Hitler wielded dictatorial powers and ruled the country by issuing decrees. Hitler also

resorted to centralisation of powers which resulted in the loss of the autonomy of the federal states of Germany. He took steps to bring the federal states completely under his control by January 1934. Nazi-controlled cabinets were established in the states. The State Diets were abolished and the powers of these State legislative bodies were transferred to the Reich the national parliament of Germany.

(3) Assumption of President's Powers by Hitler

On June 30, 1934 after the death of President Hindenburg Hitler succeeded to Presidency which was ratified by a plebiscite on August 19, 1934. Thirty eight million Germans voted in favour of assumption of President's powers by Hitler and only 4 and a quarter million Germans had voted against Hitler.

(4) Organisation of Secret Police (Gestapo)

In April 1933 Hitler organised the secret police under Himmler with the sole object of smothering the voice of dissent. This Secret Police was known as Gestapo. On June 30, 1934 the Bloody Saturday, Rohm and his followers and other dissidents were executed. Papen who had advised President Hindenburg to appoint Hitler as the Chancellor, narrowly escaped death. After this thorough purge of Nazi Party, Hitler heaved a sigh of relief and was saddled with supreme power.

(5) Supreme Command of German Armed Forces in the Hands of Hitler

Hitler's purge of the army took place in 1934 when Field Marshall Blomberg was dismissed. The same fate awaited General Fritch the Commander-in-Chief of the Germany Army. On 20 August 1934, a new law was passed under which the German armed forces took a new oath of allegiance to Hitler. Thus, Hitler took personal command of the army. He not only became the head of government, but also the head of state as well as the supreme commander of German armed forces.

(6) The Nazification of Germnay

(i) The rise of Nazism meant entire reorientation of Germany. ny. Nazi control was established on every aspect of the individual's life. There was complete Nazification of culture under the direction of the German propaganda Minister Goebbels. The culture of German nation was put into "a Nazi strait jacket" The press, the Universities, schools, stage and cinema were controlled by the Reich Chamber of Culture. Education was fashioned to suit the objectives of Nazi party.

(ii) In economic sphere, the programme was of restoring prosperity through planned economy. The peasants were forced to boost agricultural products. The Food Estate established by a law passed in September 1933, controlled production marketing and processing. Nazi economic policies were framed by Dr. Schacht. In his book entitled "The Rise and Fall of the Third Reich," Shirer William L. says that the economic policy formulated by Dr. Schacht was deliberately designed to function not only in time of war but during the peace that led to war. Thus, Dr. Schacht's genius was applied to gain for the Third Reich a prosperity which would prepare her for a great war. It destroyed organised labour and free scope for entrepreneurs. The small entrepreneurs who had entertained high hopes from the Chancellor Hitler soon found themselves to the poor position of mere wage earners. The labour was reduced to virtual serfdom and strikes were banned and trade unions were declared illegal. According to 'Charter of Labour', the working class was placed at the mercy of capitalists and the government. But Nazi Germany solved the unemployment problem by providing jobs for a large number of workers in ammunition factories. In 1933 the Nutrition Estates Law was passed which regulated each phase of farming. The farmers and the landlords were required to declare the quality, quantity and the character of the crops that were to be raised. During 1933-37 agricultural income registered an increase of 51%. Germany became almost self-sufficient in agricultural production. Marshlands were drained and artificial fertilizers were used to boost the production and agriculture was modernised.

(7) Persecution of the Jews and Infringement of Civil Liberties

The National Socialists under the leadership of Hitler had stormed into power by using the bludgeon. The civil liberties of the citizens were trampled down. The Reichstag was composed of a single party members who were called at intervals to hear the speeches of Hitler. Any suspicion of opposition to the will of Hitler meant summary trial and death sentence or miserable existence in the concentration camp like that of Dachau near Munich. In order to prove racial superiority of Germans Hitler persecuted the Jews community, and ultimately exterminated them. The 'Non-Aryan Christians' and Catholics were sent to the concentration camp for their opposition to Hitler. The will of the Gestapo the secret police was the law.

Thus, Hitler destroyed the Weimar Republic. The Enabling Act had helped him to gain dictatorial powers. He became the supreme

authority and as Goering declared "Der Fuhrer carries final responsibility. His will is law". The government was dictatorial and was based on leadership principle. At the top stood the Austrian Corporal.

(E) Foreign Policy Of Nazi Germany Under Hitler

"History of Germany", says Schuman, "began from man symbol, continued with three dynastic symbols and ended with man symbol, that is Hermann Hohenzollern, Hohenstauffens, Habsburg and Hitler i.e., mathematically speaking H^5." The last symbol of German regeneration has been described by Gathorne Hardy "as an Austrian of insignificant and ludicrous appearance; emotional, irresolute, temperamental and superficially educated but in light of what he has achieved, he might have been possessed of great quality of leadership and more so of statesmanship to a wholly exceptional degree". Hitler was an expert demagogue and had a great mass appeal. German people rallied round him and reposed confidence in his leadership.

(1) Foreign Policy Objectives of Hitler

In his book entitled Mein Kampf, Hitler had laid special emphasis on the acquisition of new territories in Europe on which Germans might settle and which would ensure the freedom of existence to the German people. In order to achieve this objective Germany must have allies. Hitler said "Alliance whose aim is not war, is useless". No country in Europe was ready for alliance with present-day Germany which could give no military help. Hence, Hitler believed that conduct of vigorous foreign policy was possible only through transformation of the nation into a strongly armed military state, "Oppressed peoples" wrote Hitler "are never freed and unified into a common empire by means of flaming protests but through sharp, unsheathed sword. The forging of the sword is the task of the leaders of a people's domestic policy; the consummation of this work of forging the sword and securing of the military allies is the task of leaders of its foreign policy". Hitler envisaged Italy and Britain as the two future allies of Germany. "France" he said "is and always will be the deadly enemy of Germany".

Nazi Germany under Hitler aimed at territorial expansion in eastern Europe. This eastern policy was stressed by Alfred Rosenberg Hitler's associate who was the head of the Foreign Affairs Bureau of the National Socialist Party and the cultural dictator of the Reich. Commenting on Germany's future thrust towards Eastern Europe Rosenberg said "In this great battle for existence of the future — a struggle for honour, freedom and bread — a creative

nation such as Germany can have no consideration for impotent, worthless and presumptuous Poles, Czechs etc. These people must be forced eastward in order to free territory for German peasant to cultivate. Only thus can there be the possibility for the German people to breathe again. Thus, also will the foundation of a new cultural epoch for the whole race be made possible". There were Hitlerites before Hitler and in the 25 point programme of German Workers Party which was drawn up by one Gottfried Feder a disgruntled engineer, emphasis was laid on future expansion of Germany and principle of self-determination. In the official commentary, Feder said "All people of German blood whether they live under Danish, Polish, Czech, Italian or French rule must be united in a German Reich. We will not renounce a single German in Sudetan, in Alsace - lorraine, in Poland, in the League of Nations colony, Austria or in the succession States of old Austria".

Hermann Rauschning who became the President of Danzing Senate after its Nazification in May 1933 had some lengthy conversations with Hitler. He published these conversations with Hitler in his book entited "Hitler speaks" in December 1939 shortly after the outbreak of the Second World War. These conversations show that Hitler was a criminal conspirator against peace. The following extracts of this book are revealing indeed. "If Germany is to become world power and not merely a continental State (and it must be a world power, if it is to survive) then it must achieve complete independence. Do you understand what that means? Is it not clear to you how tragically mutilated we are by the restriction and hemming in of our vital space, a restriction which condemns us to the status of a second rate power in Europe? Only nations living independently in their own space and capable of military defence can be world powers. Only such nations are sovereign in true sense of the word". Again "We need space to make us independent of every possible political grouping and alliance. In the east we must have the mastery as far as the Caucasus and Iran. In the west we need the French coast. We need Flanders and Holland. Above all we need Sweden. We must become a colonial power. We must have sea power equal to that of Britain. The material basis for independence grows with the increasing demands of technique and armaments. We cannot, like Bismarck limit ourselves to national aims. We must rule Europe or fall apart as a nation, fall back into chaos of small states. Now do you understand why I cannot be limited either in the East or in the West"? These utterances demonstrate the grand design of Hitler for territorial aggrandizement.

(2) Boycott of World Disarmament Conference and Renunciation of Membership of the League of Nations

The World Disarmament Conference met at Geneva on 2nd February 1932. It was attended by representatives of sixty one states including Germany. In this conference the controversy raged over the issue of offensive and defensive weapons and the issue of German claim to parity in acquisition of armaments. M.Tardieu the French delegate pointed out that it was not possible to draw the line between aggressive weapons and defensive weapons. France was not ready to concede parity to Germany in acquiring armaments. She insisted that Germany was required to adhere to the military clauses of the Treaty of Versailles. The French delegate intensified opposition to concession of equality to Germany after Hitler became the Chancellor of Germany on 30th January 1933. On 17th May 1933 Hitler addressing the Reich referred to the protracted negotiations going on at Geneva and demanding a 'strict parallelism' and true equality among nations declared that if a decision was to be imposed on Germany on the pretext of its being a majority decision, Germany would prefer to resign from the Disarmament Conference and the League of Nations. In October 1933 Germany withdrew from the World Disarmament Conference and renounced her membership of the League. The withdrawal of Germany sounded the death knell of the conference and of the military clauses of the Treaty of Versailles.

(3) Nazification of Danzig

After the seizure of power Hitler proceeded with the Nazification of Germans beyond the border of the Reich. Hundreds of Nazi agents infiltrated in the free city of Danzig which was administered by the League of Nations according of the Treaty of Versailles. The first major success in this direction was achieved on 28th May 1933 when elections held in the Free City of Danzig resulted in a decisive victory for the followers of Hitler. The new government was formed and Dr. Hermann Rauschning the Nazi leader became the President of the Senate of the Free City of Danzig. German influence in Danzig became decisive.

(4) Plebiscite in Saar : (1935)

According to the Treaty of Versailles the Saar was detached from Germany and was placed under the administrative control of the League. France was given right to occupy and exploit the Saar for fifteen years. However, according to the above treaty the plebiscite was to be held after 10th January 1935. The future status of the inhabitants of the Saar was to be determined by this plebiscite.

They were free to be re-united with Germany, or to be annexed to France or to continue under the administrative control of the League. However, a plebiscite was held in January 1935 and about five lakhs of people voted in favour of reunion with Germany. Thus, 90% of the electorate was in favour of merger with Germany. On 1st March 1935 the Saar was handed over to Germany. The recovery of the Saar added to resources of Nazi Germany and its merger indicated the efficacy of the Nazi technique of propaganda.

(5) The German — Polish Pact

Germany concluded a non-aggression pact with Poland for ten years on 26th January 1934. This agreement specifically outlawed war between the two countries and defined more precisely the obligations of the Anti-War Pact. This pact suited the present needs of both Germany and Poland. It terminated the state of isolation of Germany. The motives of Poland were plain and understandable. The emergence of a powerful Germany posed a peculiar threat to her. This pact eliminated this threat. Now Poland was not to be a battle ground between Russia and Germany The pact enabled Poland to become neutral buffer state between Russia and Germany. Now she was to be less dependent on France for her security. Apparently Germany made professions of peace but Hitler entertained ulterior designs on Poland. However, as the events of 1939 showed, this pact was merely a stop-gap arrangement. Germany had no intention to guarantee permanently the frontier of Poland.

(6) Nazi Raid on Austria and Assassination of Dollfuss (1934)

Hitler was an Austrian by birth and that partly explains his interest in the affairs of Austria. According to the Treaty of Versailles Austria was separated from Germany and their union in future was forbidden. But Nazi Germany wanted "the Anschluss" that is the union with Austria. Hitler had an ulterior design for territorial expansion in Europe. Prior to 1938 no lost territory had been regained except the Saar district which was restored to Germany on March 1, 1935 after a plebiscite in January 1935. Danzig and Polish corridor were yet to be annexed but this necessitated that Poland must be rendered powerless. This in turn needed that Czechoslovakia must be overrun so that German armed forces might operate against Poland through her. The rendering of Czechoslovakia to helplessness demanded that Austria must first be controlled. This was in nutshell the imperialist strategy of Hitler. On 25th July 1934 a band of Austrian Nazis about a hundred and fifty strong entered the chancellory building in Vienna. They surprised Dollfuss the Austrian Chancellor who was parleying with two

other ministers and wounded him with a bullet. Dollfuss succumbed to his wounds. The real security of Austria lay in the fact that Italy regarded Austria as a buffer state between her and Germany and had accordingly guaranteed its independence. On the other hand Austrian independence was also supported by France. However, the Nazi raid on Austria ended in fiasco. The insurgents surrendered and law and order was restored. President Miklas of Austria promptly appointed Schuschnigg as Chancellor and proclaimed a state of siege. Due to the tense situation in Austria, Mussolini despatched three Italian divisions to Brenner pass. German complicity in this raid was established beyond doubt. Hitler immediately disavowed any connection with the tragic happenings in Austria.

(7) The First German Repudiation of the Treaty of Versailles

On 9th March 1935 Hitler officially notified the foreign governments about the existence of a German air force. The announcement did not produce the dramatic effect, Hitler intended to produce because the fact of German rearmament was known to the world. Nevertheless 9th March 1935 is an important date in post-war history since it marked the first open violation by Germany of her treaty obligations.

On 16th March Germany unilaterally denounced the military clauses of the treaty of Versailles. She introduced conscription and placed the peace time strength of German army at thirty six divisions having about 550,000 men.

(8) Stressa Conference and Anglo-German Naval Agreement

France demanded a special session of the League Council in April 1935 to consider Germany's action and by way of preparation for this session the French, British and Italian statesmen met in conference at Stressa and drafted a resolution for submission to the Council of the League of Nations condemning Germany's violation of her obligations under the Treaty of Versailles. The resolution was duly presented to the Council of the League and it was adopted. It caused great indignation in Germany particularly against Britain.

In order to conciliate feelings in Germany, Britain soon after the League Council dispersed, informed Germany that she was prepared to accept Hitler's offer to limit German naval strength to 35% of British naval strength and to give Germany right to equality with the British empire in respect of submarines. Hitler welcomed the British initiative and on 18th June 1935 the Anglo-German agreement was signed. Thus, on one hand England was cooperating

with France in condemning Germany's repudiation of the military clauses of the Treaty of Versailles and on the other hand she was openly recognising Germany's right to ignore upto 35% of British naval strength, the naval restrictions imposed by the treaty and to possess all categories of ships including submarines prohibited by the Versailles treaty. This attitude of Britain gave Hitler further encouragement towards preparedness for major military offensive. Anglo-German agreement was a violation of agreement reached at Stressa Conference that any release granted to Germany from the restrictions imposed by the Treaty of Versailles should be a part of a general settlement. By weakening the Stressa front Britain became a sharer of Hitler's guilt of violating solemn treaty obligations.

(9) Remilitarisation of Rhineland by Hitler

On 7th March 1936 Hitler in the course of an address delivered by him at the Reich, announced Germany's denunciation of the Rhineland demilitarisation clauses of the Treaty of Versailles and Locarno agreements. Germany vehemently condemned the Franco-Soviet Pact of May 1935 and regarded it as a military alliance directed against her. Hitler held the view that Franco-Soviet Pact violated the spirit of Locarno agreement and that Germany no longer considered herself bound by it. As Hitler was delivering speech in the Reich, 20,000 German troops occupied the Rhineland. This step caused a good deal of alarm in France. The British public reaction to the incident was best expressed in Lord Lothian's remark: "After all they are going into their own back garden". The League Council registered its formal findings that Germany had violated the Treaty of Versailles and the Locarno Agreement; but no action was recommended or taken.

The acquiescence of Britain and France in Germany's violation of the Treaty of Versailles raised doubts in the minds of Stalin as to the real motives of the Western Powers. Hitler successfully played up German's anti-communist stance which resulted in Anglo-French policy of appeasement. But many critics thought that the effusions of the Nazi leaders in their denunciation of Bolshevism amounted to a calculated bluff and a gigantic piece of political fraud.

(10) Rome — Berlin — Tokyo Axis

Encouraged by successful military adventure of Mussolini in Abyssinia, Hitler moved his troops in the demilitarised zone of the Rhineland on 7th March 1936 and violated the Locarno Pact. Mussolini was convinced about the worthlessness of position of Britain and France in the contemporary international politics. He was full of admiration for Hitler. As a result, he was drawn towards

Germany. Sir Winston Churchill in his book "History of the Second World War" has aptly remarked thus "The battle for peace which could during 1935 have been won, was now almost lost. Mussolini had triumphed in Abyssinia and had successfully defied the League of Nations and specially Great Britain. He was now bitterly estranged from us and joined hands with Hitler. The Rome-Berlin Axis was in being". Germany immediately recognised Mussolini's conquest of Abyssinia. So Fascist Italy and Nazi Germany were drawn closer to each other. On October 21, 1936 Ciano on behalf of Italy and Neurath on behalf of Germany signed a protocol for Italo-German cooperation. Mussolini described it as an Axis round which European Powers may work together. In 1937 Mussolini joined the Anti-Comintern Pact which Germany had signed with Japan on 25th November 1936. The pact was obviously directed against international communism. This combination of totalitarian states was an ominous development on the international scene.

(11) German Military Intervention in Spanish Civil War

Italian conquest of Abyssinia, violation of the military clauses of the Treaty of Versailles and remilitarisation of Rhineland by Hitler convinced the dictators of Italy and Germany that the road to aggression was the bed of roses and that Anglo-French solidarity was worthless and the League was a defunct body. On 17th July 1936 General Franco raised a banner of revolt in Morocco and crossed into Spain. The military garrisons in Spain also revolted and the country was thrust into the throes of a civil war. In reality this civil war assumed the form of an Axis invasion of Spain. On October 25, 1936 Germany and Italy entered into a secret pact about Spain and on November 18, 1936 both the countries recognised General Franco as the ruler of Spain. In addition to technicians, planes, submarines etc. Germany supplied to General Franco an army unit of 15000 men. Italy transported one lakh troops between December 1936 and mid-April 1937. Italy also sent an air force with more than 6000 men and supplied 4370 trucks, tanks and automobiles, 750 cannons and 40,000 tons of ammunition. From the middle of 1937, the tide of civil war began to turn in favour of the rebels headed by General Franco who was supported by Italy and Germany. Britain and France in the name of non-intervention and the United States in the name of neutrality forbade their citizens to sell arms to Spain and thereby cooperated with Italy and Germany in the murder of Spanish democracy. On October 2, 1937 the League of Nations passed a resolution stating that there were foreign troops on Spanish soil. The League could do nothing to prevent the foreign military intervention in the internal affairs of Spain. In January 1939

Barcelona the main republican strong hold fell and in March the rebels occupied Madrid. By 29th March 1939 the whole of Spain was in possession of Franco and the civil war came to an end after two years and 254 days of bitter fighting. Franco's victory in Spain raised the prestige of Fascist Italy and Nazi Germany and lowered the colours of democracies. Successful military adventure in Spain emboldened the dictators specially Hitler to go ahead with his aggressive designs.

(12) The Annexation of Austria by Hitler

The international scene was now fully set for the launching by Hitler of his policy of aggression. Through the Axis and Anti comintern agreements, Germany was in close friendship with Italy, Japan and Spain. The Non-Aggression Pact with Poland acted as a buffer against the Soviet Union. At home Hitler compelled General Blomberg, who had married his typist secretary whom the police declared to be a former prostitute, to retire. After this he dismissed General Fritsch and assumed personal command of all the armed forces of Germany. There was no project which was dearer to Hitler than "the Anschluss" that is the union of Austria and Germany. It was the last remaining shackle of Versailles Treaty. Austria was Hitler's home, and it was a German land. Its annexation with Germany was in consonance with Nazi political philosophy. It may be recalled that previous Nazi raid on Austria in 1934 was abortive. This time Hitler's action was marked by ruthlessness. On 11th February 1938 he summoned the Austrian Chancellor Schuschnigg to meet him at his mountain residence at Berchtesgaden and made him agree to admit a Nazi leader in his cabinet. A Trojan horse thus admitted inside the gate, the fall of the citadel could not be long delayed. On 11th March 1938 Seyss Inquart, the Austrian Nazi leader was appointed as the Minister of Interior by the Chancellor Schuschnigg. The Austrian Chancellor announced on March 9 that a plebiscite would be held on March 13 on the question of independence versus union with Germany. On 11th March Seyss — Inquart presented Chancellor Schuschnigg with an ultimatum demanding his resignation and the postponement of plebiscite. He threatened the Chancellor that in case he did not abide by the Nazi demands, German troops would be put into action against Austria. Schuschnigg cancelled the plebiscite and resigned. Seyss Inquart became the Austria's Chancellor. He invited Hitler to come and help in saving Austria from internal chaos and disruption. Soon the German army and air force entered Austria and on March 14, 1938 Hitler himself visited Vienna and was accorded an enthusiastic reception. In 1934 Mussolini had raised objection to union of Austria

with Germany and supported the separation of Austria from Germany as provided in the Treaty of Versailles, but in 1938 Hitler received a message from Mussolini saying that Austria was immaterial to him and Hitler flashed back his reply on the hot wire "Mussolini I will never forget it." Annexation of Austria with Germany was of tremendous advantage to Germany. Seven million Austrians were added to German national population of 66 million. Besides this, mines, metallurgical works, and the gold reserves of Austrian National Bank were the significant material advantages. Hitler secured important strategic advantages viz. road, rail and river communications of middle Danubian Valley and direct contact with Italy, Hungary and Yugoslavia. Annexation of Austria was the prelude to the annexation of Czechoslovakia.

(13) Explosive Situation in Czechoslovakia

Vienna is the gateway to South-Eastern Europe. Its occupation by Germans brought about a decisive change in the European balance of power. Lord Palmerston had called Austria-Hungary by the name of "European China" Swami Vivekananda said that if Turkey was the Sick Man of Europe, Austria-Hungary was the Sick Woman. Both Lord Palmerston and Swami Vivekanand believed that Austrian empire was vulnerable. It was dismembered and disintegrated during the First World War. According to Paris Peace Settlement new state of Czechoslovakia comprising of Austrian territory of Moravia and Silesia and Bohemia, was created. Italy Poland, Romania and Yugoslavia got territorial gains from the disintegrated Austrian empire. Czechoslovakia contained 65% Czech population but there were numerous minorities such as Germans, Slovaks Magyars and Poles. The incorporation of so many nationalities in one single state was a direct violation of the principle of self-determination to which so much lip service had been paid after the end of the First World War. The Sudeten Germans, though well treated, were highly conscious of their German nationality in Czechoslovakia. The reoccupation of the Saar, of the Rhineland and the annexation of Austria all were an extension of resurgent German nationalism. The new Germany was displayed to the Sudetens on films, on the radio, in pictures and leaflets. The presence of the Sudeten Germans provided Hitler a pretext to interfere in the affairs of Czechoslovakia. As early as 1925 France and Czechoslovakia concluded an agreement under which both countries promised to lend each other immediate aid and assistance in case any one of them was attacked. Czechoslovakia was reassured by firm statements made in March 1938 by both France and the Soviet Union that they would protect the territorial integrity of Czechoslovakia. But the

attractions involved in the seizure of Czechoslovakia were so great that Hitler minimised the importance of possible Russo-French military involvement. Hitler was encouraged in his designs by the international situation. France and the Soviet Union had promised to protect Czechoslovakia against attack but their protection was illusory because Soviet military aid could not easily be obtained due to barrier policy of Poland with which Germany had signed the Non-Aggression Pact and on the other hand remilitarisation of the Rhineland by Germany had made it virtually impossible for France to come to the rescue of Czechoslovakia.

(i) Hitler's Demand for Self-determination of Sudeten Germans and Munich Pact

Before the Nazi Party Congress, Hitler on September 12, 1938 demanded the right of self-determination for the Sudeten Germans and announced that in case they could not defend themselves, German troops would be despatched to protect them. The Sudeten Germans began to indulge in violent activities under the leadership of Conrad Henlein who had formed German fascist party consisting of Sudeten Germans. Due to explosive situation in Sudeten, German military intervention was imminent. The French and British statesmen were placed in a difficult dilemma. If they decided to support Czechoslovakia, they risked a general war because Hitler openly threatened to throw his powerful army into action to attain his objective. In this War of nerves the Western democracies collapsed and became nervous. In this explosive situation British Prime Minister sought interview with Hitler. He met the German dictator on 15th September 1938 at Berchtesgaden. The German leader told him "There was nothing that anybody could do that would prevent the invasion of Czechoslovakia unless the right of self-determination was granted to the Sudeten Germans". Chamberlain returned to London and conferred with French authorities. They jointly agreed that the only way to avoid general European war was to concede to the Sudeten Germans the right of self-determination.

On the last day of September 1938 at about 1.30 AM an agreement was signed at their conference at Munich by the Big Four. A Czech delegation had arrived at the town but they were not allowed to attend the conference. The agreement concluded by England, France Germany and Italy, read like a death sentence for Czechoslovakia. She was to surrender the Sudetenland and other areas of mixed but predominantly German population and she had to deliver intact all existing installations in these areas. She was to release all Sudeten Germans from the army, the police and the jail

and the Big Four agreed to guarantee the new borders of Czechoslovakia. The Czech delegation had no alternative except to accept the Munich pact. Commenting on the agreement Lord Strang said "Collective security for the Czechs had been replaced by collective blackmail to preserve peace." Dr. Benes, President of Czechoslovakia declared "I had been forced to yield to pressures of which there is no precedent in history and all that was due to the presence of Chamberlain and Daladier." Coming out of the Conference at Munich, Ribbentrop said about Chamberlain "The old man has signed his death warrant and now it is for us to fill the date." Prof. Schuman has aptly remarked thus "The Munich Pact was the culmination of appeasement and warrant of death for the Western democracies. It was the symbol of the collapse of the system of collective security."

(ii) Outright annexation of Czechoslovakia.

On 5th October 1938 President Benes resigned and left the country. He was succeeded in his office by Emil Hacha. On 14 March 1939 Hacha the President of Czechoslovakia was summoned to Berlin where he was told that Prague the capital of his country would be bombed into rubble if he did not agree to surrender his country to the Germans. German troops which were already on the march seized Prague. President Hacha, it is said, fainted and was revived by injections. With no alternative in sight, he signed the document at 4.30 P.M. on March 14, 1939. Entire country was occupied by German troops and on 16th March Hitler announced that Czechoslovakia belonged to the territory of German Reich. Hitler proceeded to Prague and issued a formal proclamation of the Republic's union with the Reich. The Gestapo the Nazi Secret Police went into operation and a concentration camp for the disloyal Czech citizens was established at Milovice. Thus the Republic of Czechoslovakia ceased to exist. Chamberlain the British Prime Minister was particularly shocked to know the annexation of Czechoslovakia. On 17 March 1939 he said "Public opinion in the world received a sharper shock than has ever been administered to it even by the present regime in Germany. Hitler had violated his own declared principles by including in the Reich a people of non-German race. He had mainfestly departed both from his assurance at Munich as to the extent and nature of his claims and from his undertaking to deal with any further questions in consultation with Great Britain." On 23 March 1939 Chamberlain made the following significant statement: "The possible aim of the German government is the domination of the whole of Europe." The policy of Britain and France underwent a radical change. On 31 March 1939 both England and

France issued a joint statement which threw light on the abandonment of the policy of appeasement. Both the countries declared "In the event of any action which clearly threatened Polish independence and which the Polish government accordingly considered vital to resist with their national forces they would at once lend Poland all support in their power."

(14) The Russo-German non-aggression Pact

Annexation of Czechoslovakia by Germany meant in the words of Churchill "the liberation of twenty five German divisions which threatened the Western front, in addition to which it will open for triumphant Nazis the road to the Black Sea. It is not Czechoslovakia which is menaced but also the freedom and domocracy of all the nations." In the Munich agreement Anglo-French Powers ignored the Soviet Union which was not even consulted. Protracted negotiations between the Soviet Union, Britain and France regarding giving protection to Poland the next possible target of German aggression failed. That Russia and Germany should come closer and sign a non-aggression pact appeared to be strange. On 23rd August 1939 German delegate Ribbentrop flew to Moscow and signed a Ten Year Pact of Non-aggression and Neutrality under which the signatories agreed to refrain from any act of aggression against each other and to remain neutral in case any of them was involved in war with a third Power. Hitler knew that Anglo-French military action was possible in the event of German invasion of Poland. So in order to avoid the stab in the back from the Soviet Union he concluded the non-aggression pact with Stalin. Perhaps Hitler also hoped that Russo-German non-aggression pact would force England and France to repudiate their pledges of protection to Poland as they had done a year earlier in the case of Czechoslovakia. In such an event, he would be able to annex Poland without going to war or at least a major war. On the other hand anti-communist stance of England and France who regarded the Axis Powers as fitting bulwark against the Soviet Union, also motivated Stalin to conclude the Pact. On 31st August 1939 when this non-aggression pact was submitted to the Supreme Soviet for ratification, M.Molotov stated that "the Western Powers had plotted to involve us in war with Germany without being willing to see the Soviet Union strengthened." Stalin thought that the war on the issue of Poland, between two groups i.e. Germany and Italy on the one side and Britain and France on the other would exhaust them and would leave the Soviet Union in a dominant position in the European continent. These were the considerations which impelled Germany and the Soviet Union to conclude the pact.

(15) German Ultimatum to Lithuania for surrender of Memel

After the annexation of Czechoslovakia, Hitler gave an ultimatum to Lithuania. Germany demanded the surrender of Memel and the surrounding districts. The German armed forces occupied this region on 21 March 1939 and the port of Memel was remilitarised by Hitler.

(16) The Italo-German Pact of Steel

Hitler neglected no precautionary measures that night make Germany's victory in war humanly certain. On 7th May 1939 after a conference in Milan Germany and Italy announced that they would transform the Rome-Berlin Axis into a formal military alliance. This was followed by the conclusion of the so-called Pact of Steel between Germany and Italy. According to the pact, attack on either of the partners, meant an attack on both. It provided for consultations between the two countries whenever their interests were threatened. The pact also provided for coordination of the economies of the two countries for war-time purposes and a fight to finish in case of war expressly prohibiting the conclusion of a separate peace or armistice by any one of them.

(17) German Attack on Poland and Out-break of the Second World War

After the Munich Pact and rather inspired by it, Germany had demanded from Poland the city of Danzig and the creation of a German highway across the corridor. But this was rejected. In the month of January 1939 Ribbentrop the German delegate personally went to Warsaw but the Polish government refused to consider the German demand. The proposal was repeated by Hitler on March 26, but Poland did not yield on the basis of Anglo-French guarantee to protect Poland. Hitler's patience was getting exhausted. He raised the bogey of persecution of Germans in Poland and he declared that it was his right and duty to go to their rescue. However, in the shadows of an impending war, British Prime Minister Chamberlain sent a personal letter to Hitler on 22 August 1939 writing that "no great mistake could be made and that Britain would fight if Poland were attacked." In reply to Chamberlain, Hitler insisted that Danzig and the corridor must be returned to Germany and if the German forces had to wage war for this cause, the responsibility of the war would rest on Britain and not on Germany. During the afternoon of 31st August, the Polish government informed British government that Polish ambassador in Berlin had been authorised to tell German authorities that Poland had accepted German demands for negotiations. The same evening M. Lipski the Polish ambassador met

Herr von Ribbentrop and delivered his government's message to him. Hitler declined to accept Poland's invitation to discuss the German proposals. German government thereupon broadcasted their proposals at night on 31 August. M. Lipski tried to contact his government but failed to do so because the telephone wires were cut between Warsaw and Berlin.

Early in the morning of 1st September 1939 German army invaded Poland. The same night the British and the French ambassadors in Berlin handed separate but almost identical notes to Ribbentrop saying that England and France would fight for Poland unless German government withdrew all troops from Poland. Germany paid no heed to threat of war and continued military operations.

A last minute attempt to avert a world war was made by Mussolini. On 31 August Mussolini offered to call a conference to discuss the general revision of peace treaties and he proposed an armistice. A communique issued by Stefani the Official Italian News Agency on the night of 4th September stated that England and France agreed to Mussolini's proposal on the condition that Germany should evacuate Poland. But Hitler was adamant. The die was cast. On 3rd September 1939 Britain declared war on Germany at 11.15 A.M. and France did so at 5 P.M. Thus Hitler's hope for another Munich was smashed.

12

THE SECOND WORLD WAR

OUTLINE:

(A) Causes of the Second World War.

(B) Course of the Second World War.

(C) Consequences of the War.

(A) Causes Of The Second World War

When the British Prime Minister Chamberlain reached the London airport after signing Munich Pact in September 1938, he while alighting down the plane waved the historic sentence — "I bring you peace with honour". Sir Winston Churchill who was present there, retorted "Britain and France had to choose between dishonour and war. They chose dishonour; they will have war". The statesmen of the world regarded Churchill as a far-sighted politician and a shrewd diplomat but he proved to be a prophet too. The international community which was promised in 1919 "a new world where mistakes of the past would not be repeated and where brute force would not be allowed to sit on the throne of justice", was sadly disappointed to see world on the brink of another world war. The ingenuity of mankind had in 1919 devised a machinery for arbitration, conciliation and adjudication of international disputes in order to save the succeeding generations from the scourge of war but the human nature as it was, the world community could not escape war for long and this time it was to be more devastating and ferocious. The following were the factors which made the outbreak of war inevitable:

(1) Resentment against the Treaty of Versailles

The treaty of Versailles was ostensibly based on the idealism of US President Wilson's Fourteen Points. But, through its war guilt clause, its territorial adjustments and economic clauses it sought to cripple Germany. German army was reduced to the size of less than the armed forces of Belgium. The major terms of the 440 articles of the Treaty of Versailles aimed to prevent Germany from ever again becoming a Great Power. In the newly created states were included German minorities. This factor accounted for German aggression in future under the pretext of protecting the German minorities from the persecution by the alien rule. The liberal ideals of Western democracies were imposed upon the German nation. It could not satisfy the imagination of the German people because the Weimar republic was contemptuously looked upon as a part of the "Diktas" of Versailles. Thus, the way was paved for the rise of Hitler who capitalized on the difficulties created by the world depression of the thirties and took fullest advantage of winning the confidence of the people by showing opposition to the treaty of Versailles. On the other hand the economic clauses of the treaty were designed to make Germany pay for the damages caused by her aggression on the Allies. According to the treaty she lost 15 per cent of her arable land, and 12 per cent of industrial area. Above all the war-torn Germany was saddled with heavy reparation payments which were far beyond her capacity. Germany was able to pay only through huge loans from the United States. All these transactions regarding war debts and reparations damaged the economy of Germany during the post-Versailles era. German sentiment was hardened against the unequal peace imposed upon her. Commenting on the injustice inherent in the treaty of Versailles, E.H.Carr has aptly remarked thus: "Nearly every treaty which brings a war to an end is in one sense, a dictated peace; for a defeated power seldom accepts the consequences of its defeat willingly. But in the Treaty of Versailles the element of dictation was more apparent than in any previous peace treaty of modern times". The President of German Republic condemned the terms of the treaty as "unfulfillable, unbearable and ruinous". In the same vein the President of National Republic said. "Our enemies have laid before us a treaty which surpasses by far the fears of our great pessimists". Commenting on treaty the chairman of Armistice Commission had said. "The Treaty of Versailles is the work of the devil". The Allies betrayed Germany and did not scruplously adhere to the Wilson's Fourteen Points which were fourteen disappointments. There is no doubt that the treaty of Versailles contained the seeds of a future war and the German nation felt that

the treaty was not morally binding on it. The people of Germany under Hitler were seeking an opportunity to rupudiate the treaty and settle old scores with the Allies.

(2) Failure of the League's System of Collective Security

The League of Nations was created with an ambitious aspiration to eliminate war as an instrument of national policy. But this world organisation received a mortal blow at the very outset due to the refusal of the United States to become a member of the League. The leading members of the League of Nations demonstrated a callous infidelity to the spirit of collective security. The covenant of the League was either ignored or evaded. The article 10 and article 16 of the League covenant were misinterpreted by the leading members of the League and as such the collective security system was diluted. Economic sanctions were useless against a determined aggressor and application of military sanctions against a Great Power needed a willing international co-operation of all other Great Powers. There was conspicuous lack of unanimity among the members of the League Council in case of imposition of sanctions on a powerful aggressor state. For example, in case of Japanese invasion of Manchuria in 1931, the responsible members of the League were silent spectators and refrained from imposing military sanctions upon her. Commenting on League's inaction and apathy in case of Japanese conquest of Manchuria, Gathorne Hardy said "The shock, therefore, which the incident administered to the whole system of collective security was tremendous and well-nigh fatal and the only question on which the opinion can be divided, is as to whether the responsibility for this lies wholly at the door of Japan or whether it must be shared by those who planned a system which the world is incapable of working. There are, indeed, persons who think that application of sanctions was practical but the difficulties were so great and the prospects of plunging the world in war so formidable that the inaction of the members of the League must be considered pardonable if not wholly justified." According to Mackintosh "Both Italy and Germany concluded that there was little risk in making treaties and carrying out aggressions, since the League Powers seemed loth to act in concert. Japan called the bluff of the League and proved to the world that even a slight danger of war was enough to cool the ardour of its supporters". The League system of collective security failed to maintain peace and provide guarantee against aggression. The result was extremely disastrous for the world. Japanese conquest of Manchuria was followed by Italian aggression on Ethiopia and military involvement of Italy and Germany in Spanish civil war. Hitler annexed Austria and Czechoslovakia with

impunity. All these acts of aggression ultimately precipitated the out-break of the Second World War. The League became just a defunct body and it ceased to be a deterrent force. In this context Gathorne Hardly has aptly observed thus "The power of the League whether real or imaginary would probably have been adequate as a deterrent, if the nation contemplating aggression had reasons to fear it in the earlier stages of its plans". Each member state of the League sought to turn it into an instrument of its national policy. Thus, no coherent approach to the international disputes was possible and this paved way for a spree of acts aggression by the Axis Powers and plunged the world into the most devastating war of human history.

(3) Unsuccessful Efforts for Disarmament

The Treaty of Versailles eventually, proved to be a twenty years armistice as Marshall Fock, the Allied Supreme Commander Foresaw in 1919. The failure of the League system of collective security undermined the possibility of disarmament. A definite guarantee of peace provided in the Treaty of Versailles was the provisions regarding disarmament of Germany. On 9th March 1935 Hitler officially notified the foreign governments about the existence of the German air force. This date is an important date in post-war history since it marked the first open violation of the military clauses of the Treaty of Versailles by Germany. On 16th March 1935 Germany unilaterally denounced the military clauses of the treaty. She introduced conscription and on 7th March 1936 Hitler declared Germany's remilitarisation of the Rhineland. It may be recalled in retrospect that Germany had already boycotted the World Disarmament Conference convened under the auspices of the League of Nations because France contested Germany's right to rearm herself as a sovereign nation, on the ground of Germany's obligations under the Treaty of Versailles. When Hitler flagrantly repudiated the Treaty of Versailles by introducing conscription in 1935, Sir Winston Churchill said "the final safeguard of a long peace was cast away". According to article 8 of the Covenant the member states including the victorious allies were expected to take steps for the "reduction of national armaments to the lowest point consistent with national safety". Since the member states of the League had no faith in the system of collective security guaranteed by the League, each nation entered into competition for rearmament, so that the words 'the lowest point consistent with national safety' came to mean that each nation should be more heavily armed than its potential enemy. The totalitarian states raised the slogan of "guns before butter". After the rise of Hitler it was virtually impossible for all the countries to

undertake genuine efforts for general disarmament. Commenting on the failure of disarmament talks Prof. Schuman has aptly remarked thus "By the beginning of 1937 all treaties imposing quantitative restrictions on the three Great Naval Powers were at an end. Britain and Germany had agreed (June 18, 1935) that German navy should be 35 per cent as large as the British. Anglo-Soviet negotiations for a naval pact came to nothing. The US proceeded to strengthen the fortification of its bases in the Western Pacific. By March 1937 the British government had announced plans for constructing 238000 tons of new battleships. The U.S. followed suit and Japan struggled desperately to keep pace with her wealthier rivals in a naval race which was far costlier and more dangerous than that which preceded 1914. Germany armed for the day of glory and her neighbours armed desperately in self-defence. Each Power sought safety in matching its potential enemies, regiment for regiment, bombing plane for bombing plane, battleship for battleship. In this there could be no security but only the promise of disaster. The letters of failure, written large over the portals of successive disarmament conferences during the two decades after Versailles, became letters of impending catastrophe for the Western World".

(4) The Policy of Appeasement and Pacifism

During the post-Versailles era the policy makers of Downing Street and Quaid'orsay demonstrated a strange lack of appreciation of the dangers which threatened the world peace due to the rise of Nazi Germany and Fascist Italy. They considered that Hitler and Mussolini had real cause of grievance and that they could be satisfied by concessions. They failed to realise that nothing short of capitulation could satisfy them. The pacifist desire of statesmen in England and France led them to think that the policy of appeasement would help to maintain peace and that the 'Dictators' once satiated would leave others alone. This was a gross miscalculation by the statesmen of Western democracies. On the other hand Britain and France began to regard Germany and Italy as fitting bulwark against Bolshevism. Italy was allowed to grab Abyssinia while Germany was allowed to rearm, to remilitarise the Rhineland, to annex Austria and to partition and finally occupy the entire territory of Czechoslovakia. On the other hand, in order to lull the Western democracies and to give fillip to the imperialist conquests, Hitler and Mussolini tactfully launched an organised propaganda regarding their anti-Bolshevist stance. This anti-communist posture of Nazi Germany and Fascist Italy was a manoeuvre to cover up their aggressive designs. The Non-aggression pact between Germany and the Soviet Union in 1939 belied the anti-communist

posture of Germany which was only chauvinist and imperialist. Hitler successfully played up in the thirties the anti-communist stance which resulted in the formation of the policy of appeasement by Britain and France. But many critics thought that the effusions of Nazi leaders in their denuciation of Bolshevism amounted to a calculated bluff and gigantic piece of political fraud. No wonder that Britain and France were the victims of this fraud. Unfortunately the necessity of building up a Grand Alliance of Britain, France and the Soviet Union was overlooked till the thunderstorm of war actually broke out and engulfed the entire world.

(5) Ideological Factor

One of the main reasons which prompted the Western countries to adopt policy of appeasement was their fear of communism. The Soviet Union was considered by the Western Powers as enemy number one. The rise of Hitler encouraged some of the pro-fascist politicians in western democracies to encourage the Nazi aggression as a counterpoise to Bolshevik expansion. But unfortunately the western democracies failed to understand the simple truth that it was impossible to set limits to Fascist aggression and tyranny. Fascism and Nazism glorified the war. The aggressive wars of Nazi Germany and Fascist-Italy were directed not only against the Soviet Union but also against Britain and France whose feebleness facilitated the growth of Axis Powers. The Second World War was the outcome of the follies of the victors, the miscalculations of the democracies and the economic blizzard of the thirties which helped the rise of Nazism. After the seizure of Austria, Czechoslovakia and port of Memel, Hitler saw Danzig and Polish corridor with an eye of covetousness. He raised the cry of persecution of the Germans in Danzig by the Polish government. German attack on Poland was imminent and in order to provide security to Poland, England started negotiations with the Soviet Union. On 17th April 1939 the Soviet Union suggested that guarantee against imminent German attack on Poland should be extended jointly by Britain, France and the USSR and that such a guarantee should be given to all countries from the Baltic to Black sea. The British and the French were so sceptical of the Russian motives that they did not respond to the Soviet proposal. This was due to the ideological differences. Basically the hatred for Bolshevism prevented the formation of a Grand Alliance between England, France and the Soviet Union.

(6) The Dissatisfaction of National Minorities

During the First World War the Allies had committed themselves to the principle of self-determination. But at the Paris Peace

Conference the Allied Powers did not scruplously follow this principle. In this context Robert Ergang has aptly remarked thus, "Its application was conditioned by such factors as economic necessity, military defence, religious and political traditions and the punishment of defeated nations". According to the principle of national self-determination for which the First World War was fought by the Allies, Austria should have been given right to unite with Germany. But according to the Treaty of Versailles Union of Austria with Germany was forbidden and on the other hand thousands of Germans were put under foreign rule. For example, the German people living in Danzig, the Saar and Sudeten district of Czechoslovakia were separated from Germany. A large number of Germans were living in Austria. So the German minorities in these areas were in ferment and demanded great autonomy within the state. They also insisted that Germany should liberate those areas in which they were living. This served as a convenient pretext for Germany to annex Austria, Sudetenland and subsequently Poland which kindled the fires of the Second World War.

(7) Staunch Nationalism

The horrors and the destruction of the First World War convinced the people and the statesmen of various countries that if another calamity of similar nature was to be averted conflicting national ambitions should give way to a system of international control. This feeling was greatly reinforced by the President Wilson of the United States who advocated a pacific international order based on co-operation and the promotion of common interest. The League of Nations was established as an instrument of internationalism. But the dream could not be fulfilled. The peace settlement at Paris was made primarily along national interests and the New Europe was reconstructed on strictly national lines. The victorious nations were guided by nothing except their own interests where as the vanquished ridiculed internationalism as being impracticable. Commenting on the victors' apathy to international understanding General Smuts has observed thus "The promise of a new life, the victory of great human ideals for which the peoples have shed their blood without stint, the fulfilment of their aspirations towards a new international order and a fairer better world are not written in this treaty". This comment conclusively shows that the Allied Powers compromised with Wilson's idealism and they manoeuvred to promote their national interests in the formation of the peace treaty at Paris Conference (1919). On the other hand in Germany and Italy the people worshipped the state as an end in itself. In these countries the dictators rode to power on a wave of popular nationalist enthu-

siasm. To retain themselves in power, it was necessary that enthusiasm must be sustained and for this purpose they resorted to aggression against other countries. The aggressive nationalism manifested itself in imperialist conquests by Nazi Germany and Fascist Italy. These Axis states dynamited the League system of collective security and paralysed international collaboration under the auspices of the League of Nations for pacific settlement of disputes. Commenting on aggressive character of Nazism in Germany Schuman says "The inner dynamics of German Fascism made war abroad a necessity for peace and prosperity at home". Thus, staunch nationalism resulted in low tone of international morality.

(8) Differences between France and Britain

During the post-Versailles era Britain and France who fought as allies in the First World War, did not hold identical views on the problem of reparations, future of Germany, the League of Nations, the system of collective security and the problem of disarmament. Britain believed in the theory of balance of power on theEuropean continent. This balance of power was upset as a result of the Paris Peace Settlement of 1919. France emerged as a strong country where as Germany was made as weak as possible. In the post-war period England was interested in the economic recovery of Germany so that the latter might become her customer. In sharp contrast to this, France was interested in perpetuating the economic ruination of Germany because strong Germany with viable economy was a menace to her security. On 11th January 1923, French troops occupied Ruhr valley because the Reparation Commission had declared Germany in voluntary default. In this commission the British member had opposed the proposed French military occupation of Ruhr valley of Germany. On the other hand France wanted to see Germany militarily crippled whereas Britain believed that a militarily strong Germany could be a fitting bulwark against Bolshevism. When Hitler unilaterally denounced the military clauses of the Treaty of Versailles by introducing conscription on 16th March 1935, France took strong exception to Hitler's action. At Stressa Conference Britain joined France and Italy in the much orchestrated chorus of condemnation of Hitler's unilateral violation of the Versailles treaty. But in order to conciliate German feelings Britain entered into a Naval Agreement with Germany on 18th June 1935. Under this agreement German navy was limited to 35% of British naval strength. The duplicity of British policy is clear. Britain connived at the German repudiation of the military clauses of treaty of Versailles. She recognised the German right to ignore the naval restrictions upto 35% of British naval strength. This attitude

of Britain gave further encouragement to Hitler towards preparedness for major military offensive. So Anglo-French differences on international issues tarnished the image of these democracies and Hitler capitalised on their lack of solidarity.

(9) Economic Needs and Material Interests of European Powers

The post-Versailles era was marked by struggle for raw materials, markets for exports and colonies for accommodating increasing population of European states. Germany was mortified at the results of her defeat in the First World War where as Italy was disappointed with fruits of her victory in the war. At Paris Peace Conference (1919) Italy intended to have Fiume but due to the opposition by the Allies, she did not succeed in her objective. Italy felt duped at Paris in 1919 as she thought that she should have obtained all those territories which had been promised in the secret Treaty of London (1915). Germany was crippled economically and she was deprived of her overseas colonies. The third equally dissatisfied state was Japan. These three states in relation to their industrialisation and the rate of increase of their population were poorer in natural resources. So they urgently needed colonies for importing raw materials and export of their goods. During the period of pacification (1925-1929) these countries found markets for their finished goods and also could import raw materials. But the world depression damaged their economies. Almost all the countries resorted to imposition of high tariffs to save their indigenous industries and everywhere the slogan was raised "Buy at home". The international trade came to a stand still due to the economic blizzard of the thirties. Germany, Italy and Japan suffered heavily due to high tariff walls and embargoes imposed by the Western democracies. Taking advantage of the economic difficulties of the Western countries, Japan attacked Manchuria in 1931. Japan's attack on Manchuria was a test case for the system of collective security under the auspices of the League. The inaction of the League in case of Japan's aggression encouraged Mussolini to invade Abyssinia. Later on Germany resorted to a spree of acts of aggression which culminated in the Second World War.

(10) Emergence of Rome — Berlin — Tokyo Axis

The post-war period witnessed the rise of Fascist Italy, Nazi Germany and militarist Japan. These totalitarian states came closer to one another and harboured a deep sense of resentment against Britain France and the United States. After successful military adventure in Abyssinia, Mussolini was drawn towards

Hitler who immediately recognised Italy's interests in Abyssinia. Sir Winston Churchill in his book "History of the Second World War" has aptly remarked thus "The battle for peace which could during 1935 have been won; was now almost lost. Mussolini had triumphed in Abyssinia and had successfully defied the League of Nations and specially Great Britain. He was now bitterly estranged from us and joined hands with Hitler. The Rome-Berlin Axis was in being." On October 21, 1936 Ciano on behalf of Italy and Neurath on behalf of Germany signed a protocol for Italo-German co-operation. Mussolini described it as an Axis round which European Powers might work together. In 1937 Mussolini joined the Anti-Comintern Pact which Germany had signed with Japan on 25th November 1936. The pact was obviously directed against the Soviet Union. This combination of totalitarian states was an ominous development on the international scene. The statesmen in Britain and France wrongly welcomed the anti-communist stance of these totalitarian states and purused the policy of appeasement towards their acts of aggression. The Western Powers entertained the wrong notion that territorial expansion of these totalitarian states would be a counterpoise to Bolshevik menace. England and France were lulled into complacency and became the victim of political blackmail. At the eleventh hour the statesmen of these democracies realised that hunger of these totalitarian states for territorial expansion was unsatiable. The dragon whom they had so fondly fed during the thirties, now threatened to devour them. The situation went out of control when Hitler adopted intransigent and bellicose attitude towards Poland and this triggered the outbreak of the Second World War with all the devastating consequences for humanity.

(B) Course Of The Second World War

(1) German Invasion of Poland and First Phase of War

On September 1, 1939 Hitler invaded Poland. Without a declaration of war the German planes were found bombarding Poland. On September 2, 1939 Mussolini proposed a conference for peaceful settlemnt of dispute. Britain and France offered to participate if the German troops were withdrawn from Poland. Hitler was not willing to withdraw German troops. On 3rd September 1939 a joint Anglo-French ultimatum was given to Germany, stating that unless the German troops were withdrawn from Poland, a state of war existed between them and Germany. Poland could not get immediate help. Polish infantry and cavalry were no match for Hitler's army and within a fortnight most of western provinces of Poland were occupied by German troops. Warsaw was virtually surrounded. The Soviet Union attacked Poland on 17th September 1939 and occupied

its eastern provinces. Ultimately Poland surrendered on 27th September. The next day Poland was partitioned between Germany and the Soviet Union. Germany got the Polish speaking industrial areas of West Poland whereas Soviet Union got agrarian parts of Polish territory in the east of Poland.

(2) Expansion of the Soviet Union

In order to create a ring of buffer states between Russia and Germany, efforts were made by the Soviet government to conclude pacts of mutual assistance with Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania. After the conclusion of pacts with these Baltic Republics, the Soviet Union embarked on the policy of territorial expansion. The Red Army occupied Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania by June 1940. On June 26, 1940 the Soviet Union demanded that the province of Bessarbia should be ceded by Rumania. The Soviet troops began to occupy Bessarbia and northern Bukovina the next day. In order to strengthen her defences in the Baltic Sea the Soviet Union sent her naval forces there. On the other hand she was worried about land and sea approaches to Leningrad via Finland. In October 1939 the Soviet Union demanded of Finland the territory which would strengthen the position of Leningrad. Negotiations failed to serve the purpose and in November 1939 the Soviet Union attacked Finland and defeated her. An armistice was signed on 12 March 1940. Russia acquired more territory than what she originally demanded. Due to this attack the Soviet Union was expelled from the League of Nations.

(3) Suspension of Hostilities for Eight Months

After the German attack on Poland, no military action was taken by Hitler for eight months in Western Europe. This period was called by some persons as the 'period of phony war', or by Chamberlain as the twilight war or by the German press as "the sitting war". This period was utilised by both the sides to strengthen their military position. Great Britain and France strengthened their diplomatic position by concluding on October 19, 1940 a mutual assistance pact with Turkey. Within a week of the British declaration of war Canada, New Zealand, Australia, and the Union of South Africa also declared war on Germany.

(4) German Attack on Denmark and Norway

After the lull of eight months Germany invaded Denmark and Norway on 9th April 1940. Denmark was easily occupied by German forces. By 10th April 1940 Germany obtained control of whole Norway and there was cease-fire with the flight of King Haakon of

Norway to London. Germany thus, got strategic advantage and was in a better position to launch aerial attacks on Britain. She also acquired a large portion of the gold reserves of Denmark and Norway and large quantities of munitions and food-stuffs.

(5) German Invasion of Luxemburg, Belgium and Holland

Encouraged by his victories in the military operations against Denmark and Norway, Hitler launched a major military offensive against, Luxemburg, Belgium and Holland in May 1940. Germany occupied Luxemburg without resistance and by 15th May 1940 Holland was subjugated and her forces surrendered. The high government dignitaries of Holland fled to London. The Hague the capital fell to the Nazi army. During the course of hostilities Germany occupied the districts of Eupen Malmedy and Moresnet in Belgium and on 28th May 1940 Belgium finally surrendered.

(6) Battle of France

After the subjugation of Holland and Belgium, Britain was directly exposed to the German attack. But to the good fortune of England, the German High Command decided to destroy France before launching an attack on Britain. On June 5, 1940 the decisive battle for France was fought. Realising the weak position of France, Italy entered the war on the German side on June 10, 1940. Paris fell to the Nazis on June 14. French Premier Reynaud resigned and was replaced by Marshall Petain. Realising the futility of further resistance Marshall Petain expressed his readiness to accept the terms of armistice. In the same railway coach at Compaigne in which M. Fock and Weygand had accepted the terms of armistice by Germany in 1918, Hitler and Ribbentrop received the French armistice delegation on 21st June 1940. On 22nd June 1940 the document was signed and two-days later the Italo-French armistice convention was also signed. According to the terms of armistice more than half of the French territory was occupied by German forces and her war machinery was crippled and economy shattered. All the German prisoners in France were released. After the armistice, the third Republic of France came to an end. An independent government was established at Vichy under the leadership of Marshall Petain to administer the unoccupied territory. On July 9, 1940 the French Parliament met and voted a resolution conferring full powers on Petain. France became a dictatorial state under Petain. Soon a group of Frenchmen under General Charles de Gaulle grew up to oppose the Petain regime and offered resistance to German control of their land. General de Gaulle fled to London alongwith his associates and set up a Provisional Committee to conduct movement

for the liberation of France. Thus, there came into existence two governments one in France under Marshall Petain and other in exile in London under the leadership of Charles de Gaulle.

(7) Battle of Britain

On June 18, 1940, Winston Churchill said "The battle of France is over, the battle of Britain is about to begin. Let us therefore address ourselves to our duty, so bear ourselves that if the British Commonwealth and Empire last for a thousand years, men will still say 'this was their finest hour". That after the fall of France, Britain would be the next target of German attack was not a matter of doubt. Hitler was in full control of the land between the Baltic and the Adriatic seas. Britain was an island separated from the European Continent by the English Channel which was a formidable barrier to German armed forces. To cross the British Channel and launch a successful invasion of England, Germany needed thousands of suitable landing crafts but unfortunately Hitler did not possess them. Mr.Churchill who had become the Prime Minister of Britain on the resignation of Mr.Chamberlain on 10th May 1940, had been trying to prepare the British nation for every eventuality. On 13th May 1940 he appealed to the nation in his famous speech in the British parliament. He said "I have nothing to offer but blood, toils, tears and sweat, my only policy is to wage war, by sea, land and air and only aim is victory, victory inspite of all terror for without victory there is no survival". On 14 th July 1940 Churchill declared "But we are not fighting for ourselves alone. Should the invader come to Britain, there will be no placid lying down of the people in submission before him. We shall defend every village, every town, and every city. We would rather see London in ruins and ashes than that it should be tamely and abjectly enslaved". On 18th June 1940 the German bombers inaugurated a system of daily air raids over the British territory. The British war machine retaliated immediately.

(8) Entry of the United States into War

The growing power of Hitler convinced the Americans that their own security was linked to Allied War fortunes and that Hitler in full of control of European continent would proceed to the conquest of America. On September 16, 1940 Congress passed the Compulsory Military Service and Training law whereby conscription was introduced for the first time during the time of peace in the history of the country. Before the close of 1940 Congress approved an expenditure of 12000,000,000 dollars for defence. President Roosevelt introduced British Aid Bill in the Congress which passed

it. Now the President was given emergency powers to make America the 'Arsenal of Democracy'. Under this Act the President could take any military step in the defence of the USA. This Act did not specifically signify the US entry into the war. In pursuance of the spirit of this Act in July 1941 all Japanese assets were frozen and all business between the two countries was stopped. On 14th August 1941 President Roosevelt and Prime Minister Churchill jointly issued a statement of their war aims and of the principles of democracy and it came to be known as the Atlantic Charter. Both the countries sought no territorial expansion and believed in the principle of national self-determination. Both the leaders expressed their view that all the nations should have equal opportunity to have access to raw materials which were needed for their prosperity. Both the nations laid emphasis on labour welfare and social security. After the final destruction of the Nazi Germany they hoped to see such an international order in which all nations would live in peace within their boundaries and would have freedom of navigation. These were the high lights of the Atlantic Charter. In October 1941 all German and Italian ships and financial assets in the USA were taken over. In December 1941 the USA became a belligerent state on the side of Allies when her own interests in the Hawaiian islands were subjected to air raids by Japan.

(9) Break in Anglo-German Hostilities

The British made history in the battle of Britain which began on August 8,1940 by their stubborn defence. The British coastal towns were exposed to massive air attacks in which about 1500 German war planes took part. The docks were in flames. England was saved as the Royal Air Force faced bravely Germany's aerial attacks, and finally won the air battle. The Royal Air Force shot-down hundreds of German war planes. The year 1941 opened with four million Englishmen under arms ready to meet any invader. Hitler found Britain a hard nut to crack. He succeeded neither in dampening the British morale nor in eliminating the British air force. The failure of the German attempt to beat Britain to surrender unconditionally upset Hitler's time table for the first time and he decided to open a new front in the Balkans. Britain was left still undefeated.

(10) Spread of War into the Balkans

Germany's army entered Rumania and instantly occupied that country. On 28th October 1940 Mussolini ordered his troops in Albania to attack Greece. But his hope of victory was dashed to ground when the Greek armies drove the Italians back into Albania.

In March 1941 Bulgaria joined the Axis Powers by signing an agreement with Germany and Italy and the capital was swamped by Nazi troops. In March 1941 Yogoslavia entered into an agreement with Hitler. Under this agreement she pledged to be neutral in any European war. In April 1941 entire country of Yugoslavia was conquered by Nazi forces. On 27th April 1941 Nazi army defeated Greece and occupied Athens and King George II fled to Crete. On 1st June 1941 Crete capitulated and thus German army was in possession of a valuable base of operations against the British Mediterranean fleet.

(11) The German Invasion of Russia and the Beginning of the Second Phase of the War

Although Nazi Germany and the Soviet Union had signed the Non-aggression Pact in August 1939, each partner was apprehensive of war from the other and they expected no lasting peace. Now the Balkan countries were conquered by Hitler and the occupation of Crete gave him the key to Mediterranean. Now he was tempted to launch an attack on the Soviet Union. Hitler's military enterprise in Russia proved to be the bloodiest and most colossal operation in history. The Soviet Union offered the most stubborn resistance, and fought with exemplary valour and endured staggering losses in men and material. The German troops advanced like a whirlwind and within six months by December 1941 they occupied 5 lakhs square miles of Soviet territory. By 17th October 1941 the German soldiers were within 31 miles of Moscow and on 16th November they reached within fifteen miles of Moscow. The bitter cold and the martyr zeal of the Russian citizens made Nazi victory impossible and in December the German army beat ignoble retreat with heavy losses in men and material. Dr.Langsam has aptly remarked thus, "They had surrounded but had not captured Leningrad; they had come within 31 miles of Moscow but had not taken Moscow, and they had not annihilated the Russian armies". The Soviet guerillas behind the German invading armies menaced the enemy's line of communication and the Nazi armies were made to suffer from hunger and starvation. Bennes has rightly observed "Space, time, weather and Russian foresight and military skill all contributed to prevent the decisive victory which the Germans sought. In 1941 the Soviet armies punctured the myth of Nazi military invincibility".

(12) Out-break of the War in the Far East and the Beginning of the Third Phase of War

In December 1941 the United States declared war upon Japan and commenced it with full fury. Since the out-break of the Second

World War in September 1939, Japan had succeeded in annexing Korea, in establishing a puppet regime in Manchuria and in having a predominant position in China. She had conquered several important towns of China such as Hankow, Canton, Nanking, Shanghai, Peiping and Tientsin. Cordell Hull the Secretary of State of USA had given warning to Japan that any change in the status quo in south-east Asia by Japan would not be accepted by the government of the United States. But Japan paid no heed to the warning of the USA and continued her imperialist conquests in China and regions of south-east Asia. On 26th September 1940 the French were forced to admit the Japanese armed forces into Indo-China. President Roosevelt imposed an embargo on the export of all scrap steel and iron to Japan. This step caused great resentment in Japan and war with the U.S.A. seemed inevitable. On 27th September 1940 Japan signed a Ten-Year Military Alliance with Germany and Italy. This Triple Alliance contained the following important provisions:

1. Japan recognised the leadership of Germany and Italy in the establishment of new order in Europe.
2. Germany and Italy recognised the leadership of Japan in the establishment of new order in Greater East Asia.
3. All the three partners undertook to assist one another with economic political and military means when one of the three contracting powers was attacked by a Power at present not involved in the European war or in Sino-Japanese conflict.

This alliance was indeed directly against the U.S.A. On 13th April 1941 Japan signed a Five Year Pact of Non-aggression and Neutrality with the Soviet Union. Japan knew that the war with the United States was inevitable. In the event of war with the U.S.A., Japan wanted that the Soviet Union should not stab in the back and this necessitated the conclusion of non-aggression pact with Russia.

On July 25, 1941 Britain and America declared Japanese assets frozen. Japan demanded recognition of her conquests in China by the U.S.A. and restoration of normal trade relations. On the other hand the United States demanded the recognition of the independence of all states, non-interference in each others' affairs and change by peaceful means.

America desired to come to an understanding with Japan and sent her proposals to Japan on 26th November 1941: (1) Japan should recognise the integrity of Indo-China. (2) She should withdraw her forces from Indo-China and China and recognise the government of Chiang-Kai-Shek. The U.S.A. in return would :

(1) Remove restrictions on American exports to Japan; (2) and offer favourable trade balance. The United States also proposed a joint declaration recognising the principles of non-aggression, international co-operation and equality of opportunity in trade in the Pacific.

These proposals were rejected by Japan. She without declaration of war suddenly launched an attack upon Pearl Harbour in the Hawaii Islands on 7th December 1941.

(i) Reaction of Japan's Attack on Pearl Harbour: The United States took thirty-two hours to declare war upon Japan. Declarations of war upon Japan also came from eight Latin American States. On 8th December 1941 Britain and Canada entered the Far Eastern War on the side of the United States. China issued declaration of war against Germany, Italy and Japan. On 11th December Germany and Italy the allies of Japan declared war on the U.S.A. With the involvement of the United States, Japan, Latin America and China, the Second World War became a global struggle.

On the one side there were the United States, the Soviet Union, Britain, China and a large number of small states, while on the other side there were three great Axis Powers viz. Germany, Italy and Japan together with their puppet regimes.

(ii) The Far Eastern Theatre of War: At Pearl Harbour half the capital ships of the U.S.A. were put out of action. Allies suffered heavily in naval operations. On 10th December 1941 two warships of Britain, the Prince of Wales and the 'Repulse' were sunk by Japanese aerial attacks. Within a few months Japan swept over Hongkong Guam, the Philippines, Siam, Malaya and Singapore like a whirlwind. Japanese army also invaded Burma and threatened the security of India.

Quite a vast area of land and sea comprising well over fifty crores people passed under the control of Japan. Australia was also threatened but immediately American troops and supplies were rushed to Fiji islands, New Caledonia and New Zealand to guard the routes to Australia.

(13) Defeat of Germany and Italy in Europe and Beginning of the Fourth Phase of War

Upto the autumn 1942 the German armies continued their forward march for the conquest of Europe. But in the closing months of 1942, Hitler's armies were halted and in the succeeding years they were driven out of their conquered lands and were ultimately made to surrender before the combined strength of the United Nations a

combination of twenty six states which put down their signatures on a declaration on January 1, 1942 promising to use their full resources against the Axis Powers. There was a lot of fighting in Africa in 1942 and 1943. Abyssinia was conquered by the Allied Powers and Emperor Haile Selassie was restored to the throne. The Italian Somaliland was also conquered by the Allies. The German and Italian forces attacked Egypt which was ably defended by the British troops. Later on the British forces turned out the Germans and Italians from Libya.

An Italian squadron was defeated by British naval forces in the battle of Cape Matapan near the Greek Coast. Many a time the island of Malta was attacked by Italy's forces but their attacks were suc cessfully repulsed by the British army. In November 1942 the American and British troops occupied the French colony of Algeria. A new French government was set up and a large number of French soldiers joined the Allies. In 1943 the German and the Italian troops were routed from North Africa. The Allies attacked the mainland of Italy. On 24th July 1943 the Fascist Grand Council demanded Mussolini's resignation. Next day he was called to the palace by the King and was dismissed and arrested. Badoglio was appointed as premier and he at once issued a decree dissolving the Fascist Party. On August 1, 1943, the air attacks were resumed and the air and naval forces of the Allies began to prepare the way for a landing in Italy. On September 3, 1943 Italy surrendered unconditionally. On the same day the Germans took over Rome. However, the Allied forces entered Rome on June 4, 1944 and thus Rome became the first of Europe's capitals to be liberated from the Nazis. On May 2, 1945 all the German troops in Italy laid down their arms.

(a) The Great Russian Offensive and the Retreat of German Army: On February 3, 1943 the starving German soldiers surrendered and they suffered heavy losses at Stalingrad. In May, 1944 the Crimean Peninsula was taken back from the Germans. In the meantime on April 10, 1944 the Black Sea Port of Odessa fell to the Russians and by the middle of 1944 all the German troops were routed from the territory of Russia.

(b) Battle for the Liberation of France: The Big Three, Churchill, Roosevelt and Stalin and their military staffs met in a Conference at Teheran from 28th November to December 1943 and chalked out a military strategy to secure liberation of France and defeat Germany. The Allied Powers commenced military operations on 6th June 1944. The Allied troops pressed the German forces from the south and north France and the French sabotaged the German

defences from within. Their lines of communication had been disrupted. German troops were demoralised. The Allied troops were marching towards Paris and its fall was imminent. On August 23, 1944 the German commander in Paris sought an armistice and on August 25 Paris fell to the Allies. Thus, after four years of German occupation, the French capital was liberated and the same day General de Gaule returned to Paris.

(c) Fight for the Liberation of Germany's Satellite States: In September 1944 the Allied troops were engaged in fighting with the German troops for the liberation of Belgium, Luxemburg and Holland. The Red army succeeded in liberating Poland. Germans were expelled from Latvia, Estonia and Lithuania. On September 13, 1944 Rumania broke away from the Axis camp and accepted the armistice terms offered by the Soviet Union and two days later declared war on Germany. Bulgaria followed the example of Rumania. Yugoslavia also followed in the footsteps of Bulgaria and Rumania and her army under the command of Marshall Tito cooperated with the allies in expelling the Germans from the Balkan territories.

On 20th, January 1945 the German troops surrendered in Hungary. Greece and Czechoslovakia were also liberated by the Allied army.

(d) Battle with Germany: By the end of 1944 German armies had been forced back relentlessly within the boundaries of German state. Demoralisation had spread in the Nazi army The country was in a state of siege. Allied victory was imminent. At this juncture Hitler made the last desperate attempt to fight. On December 16, 1944 the Germans launched a heavy counter offensive in the Ardennes but the attack was repulsed with heavy losses to both sides. On 12, January 1945 some 30,00,000 Russians penetrated far deeper into the German territory. In February 1945 Stalin, Roosevelt and Churchill met in a conference at Yalta and prepared a plan for destruction of Germany. On 7th March Cologne fell and by the middle of April the Ruhr industrial area was encircled. By April 1945 the Red army captured all the Baltic states and had conquered the whole of Poland. The Red Army came within the striking distance of Berlin. Simultaneously the Allied forces captured all cities west of the Rhine river. On 29th April 1945 the German army surrendered and on 30th April 1945 Hitler was reported to have committed suicide after naming Admiral Doenitz as his successor. On May 2, 1945 the Red Army captured Berlin. On 7th May 1945 at 2.41 A.M. Admiral Doenitz signed a simple document of uncondi-

tional surrender in the presence of American, Russian, French and British military authorities. On 8th May, 1945 the war in Europe was formally over and Allied Victory was celebrated.

(14) Fifth Phase of War and Defeat of Japan

In order to halt the march of the Japanese troops into the regions of South East Asia, General Mac Arthur was made the Supreme Commander in the Pacific and Lord Mountbatten was given the command of South East Asia with his head quarters at Delhi. Lord Mountbatten routed the Japanese from Burma. The Philippines was captured by General Mac Arthur and the Japanese army evacuated the country. On April 5, 1945 the Soviet Union informed Japan that she was denouncing the Neutrality Pact of 1941 as Japan had aided Germany against the Soviet Union and was fighting the United States and Britain which were the allies of Russia. In the meantime the United States had manufactured an atom bomb. A successful explosion of the nuclear device was made in New Mexico. Roosevelt and Churchill made the last attempt to secure the end of hostilities before resort to the use of atom bombs. On July 26, 1945 the United States, Britain and China issued a declaration from Potsdam where an Allied Conference was being held. This declaration contained the following terms for peace with Japan.

(1) Japanese sovereignty would be limited to Honshu, Hokkaido, do, Kyushu, Shikoku and minor islands; (2) There would be allied military occupation of Japanese territory till democratic government was established there; (3) Japan would proclaim her unconditional surrender; (4) Japanese armed forces would be disarmed.

These terms were offered in the form of an ultimatum "Either accept them in toto or get ready to face prompt and utter destruction". The Japanese government ignored the ultimatum and on 29th July 1945 Tokyo announced that the terms were unacceptable to the Japanese government. On 6th August 1945 the first atom bomb was dropped on Hiroshima. The destruction was incalculable but unfortunately the Japanese did not surrender. On 8th August 1945 the Soviet Union declared war on Japan. On 9th August a second atom bomb was dropped on Nagasaki with devastating effect. The entire Japanese nation was demoralised. On August 10, 1945 Japan agreed to accept the terms of July 26, provided that prerogatives of the Emperor would not be impaired. The Allies replied that the Japanese Emperor would be retained. On 14 August Japan surrendered unconditionally and accepted the Allied demands. Thus war in the Far East came to an end.

(C) Consequences Of The War

The greatest and the most devatating war in human history the so-called Second World War lasted nearly six years and came to an end in Europe with the unconditional surrender of Germany on 7th May 1945 and in Asia with that of the government of Japan on 14th August 1945. In this war there was colossal loss of life and property. The Second World War led to various consequences which were of great significance for the future history of mankind.

(1) Unprecedented Loss of Life and Property

While the total losses of the second World War were incalculable, the casualties had been estimated at about two and half crores dead and three and half crores wounded. The direct and immediate military expenditure amounted to 350 billion dollars for the USA and 1000 billion dollars for other belligerent states. Millions of young men died as cattle on both sides. Their premature death added to the miseries and privations of millions of bereaved families.

(2) Race for Accumulation of Nuclear Weapons

Even more tragic was the fact that one of the greatest triumphs of modern science, fissioning of the atom had been achieved in Germany in 1939 on the eve of the outbreak of the World War II. A race thereupon had begun between the scientists of Germany on the one side and those of the Allied countries on the other in the manufacture of an atom bomb. On 16th July 1945 the American scientists successfully exploded the world's first atom bomb at Almagordo Air Base (New Mexico). On 6th August they dropped an atom bomb on Hiroshima and three days later on Nagasaki with disastrous results for the inhabitants of these Japanese cities. The invention of atom bomb had introduced an element of mistrust between the United States and the Soviet Union. After the end of the World War II the USA and the Soviet Union began to differ on international issues and the war-time co-operation began to give way to mutual suspicion. A race for acquisition of nuclear arms began between the two countries and this added new dimensions to the balance of power in the world.

(3) Destruction of Axis Powers

The Three Axis Powers viz. Germany, Italy and Japan were completely annihilated and the Allies imposed their terms of peace on them.

(a) Potsdam Agreement with Germany: The war in Europe had ended with the signing of the armistice on May 7th 1945 by German General Jodl. The United States, Britain, France and the Soviet

Union confirmed that Germany as it existed on 31st December 1937 should be divided into four zones where by each of three allies - the Soviet Union the U.K. and the USA was allotted 40,000 square miles, and France acquired 20,000 square miles. Berlin was also divided into four urban zones to be occupied by the forces of these four countries and administered by an Inter-Allied Governing Authority. An Allied Control Council consisting of the four commanders-in-chief was set up to exercise supreme authority in Germany. Germany was to be disarmed, demilitarised and denazified. In order to eliminate Germany's war potential, the production of war materials was prohibited. The Soviet Union was entitled to realise her claim to reparation from the zone of Germany under her occupation. The U.S., U.K. and France were to realise their share of reparation from Western zone of Germany. Provision was made for the trial of war criminals. An International Military Tribunal was established by the Big Four. By 18th October 1945 twenty-four German leaders had been indicted with hatching a plot against humanity and world peace under the guidance of Hitler.

The trials were held at Nuremberg and by the end of 1946 twelve persons were sentenced to death, three to life imprisonment and four to prison terms ranging from ten to twenty years. Entire German navy was equally distributed among Britain, the USA and USSR. The German Merchant Marines were surrendered to the USA, UK and the USSR.

Thus, according to Potsdam agreement Germany was militarily and economically crippled. Her West zone came under the influence of the USA, UK and France where as the East zone came under the sway of the Soviet Union. In 1948 delegates were chosen from American, British and French zones and from non-Russian sectors of Berlin to constitute the Constituent Assembly and the Bonn Constitution of 1949 was adopted. It was framed on the same lines as the Weimar Constitution of 1919. The Russians also framed a constitution for their own zone of Germany. Thus, Germany was caught in the power struggle between the Soviet Union and the Anglo-American bloc. Each side wanted Germany as a bulwark against the other. In May 1952 the USA, Britain and other Western countries entered into an agreement with West Germany by which the Federal Republic of Germany got autonomy in foreign and domestic affairs. West Germany was also put under the protection of the NATO. The Eastern zone of Germany under Soviet occupation was given independence and it came to be called German Democratic Republic which is a pro-Soviet regime. Thus, Germany was eventually partitioned.

(b) Agreement with Italy: The treaty with Italy contained 90 articles and 17 annexes. Italy was to give to the French small districts in the regions of Little St. Bernard, Mont Thabor, Mont Ceins, Tenda and Briga. Italy gave certain islands along with the Dalmatian coast to Yugoslavia. She recognised the independence of Albania and Ethiopia. She was to submit to the demilitarisation of frontiers with France and Yugoslavia. Her army was reduced to 250,000 troops. Her air force was reduced to 200 fighters and reconnaisance and transport aircrafts to 150.

(c) Japanese Peace Treaty (1951): At San Francisco Conference held from September 4 to September 8, 1951 a peace treaty with Japan was signed. (i) According to this treaty Japan recognised the independence of Korea and she renounced all rights to Formosa, the Kurile Islands, that part of Sakhalin which belonged to her since 1905, the Pacific territories governed by her under the Mandate system of the League of Nations, Spratly and Paracel Islands. Japan agreed to abide by the UN charter; (ii) The Allied Powers undertook to regulate their relations with Japan according to the UN charter; (iii) All Allied occupation forces were to be withdrawn from Japan within three months of coming into force of the treaty; (iv) Japan recognised all treaties concluded by the Allies for ending the World War II; (v) She gave up all special rights in China, (vi) She agreed to accord to all the signatory states the most favoured nation treatment in trade and commerce, (vii) Japan was given free choice to conclude peace treaty with Communist China or with Kuomintang. The Soviet Union and her satellite states did not sign the peace treaty at San Francisco. As permitted by the Japanese peace treaty, Japan and USA entered into a defence pact which was signed at San Francisco immediately after the peace treaty with Japan was signed there.

(4) England as a Second Rate Power

England emerged from the war as a second rate world power. If the United States had not come to the rescue of Britain, the latter would have been annihilated by Nazi Germany and Fascist Italy. The increasing dependence of Britain on the resources of the United States during the course of hostilities conclusively prove that Great Britain's position was vulnerable as well as untenable without American support. No wonder that Britain emerged as a second rate power from the war. This was a plain truth for Englishmen who are proud of the past glorious history of their country.

(5) Emergence of the United States and the Soviet Union as Super Powers

The World War I and the World War II terminated the state of American isolation. American resources in men and material constituted a decisive factor for the victory of the Allies in the Second World War. After the end of the war, America became the leader of the free world and took all the possible steps to stem the tide of communist expansion. On the other hand the Soviet Union gave ample evidence of her military might which smashed the war machinery of Nazi Germany. The Soviet performance in the Second World War showed that the Communist regime in Russia had greatly accelerated the pace of industrial production. In certain industries the Soviet Union had overtaken the United States and this rapid progress was due to the regimentation which characterises the Soviet political system. Within twenty-five years following the Bolshevik revolution Russia was transformed from predominantly agricultural country into a highly industrialized state. This posed a serious challenge to the United States which was haunted by the spread of communism.

(6) Polarization of the World into Communist Bloc and Capitalist Bloc and Cold War

After the end of the Second World War, the United States began to view the Soviet moves of communist expansion with grave concern and anxiety. There was disappearance of the war-time co-operation between the Super Powers. Moscow violated the Yalta agreement, blocked the working of the UNO and established puppet communist regimes in East European countries such as Poland, Hungary, Rumania, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia and East Germany.

Russia presented heavy demands to Turkey and she refused to withdraw her troops from Iran. In Asia, Manchuria, Mongolia and North Korea were dominated by communists. The World communist movement gained momentum both in Europe and Asia and there were formidable prospects of communist expansion in Western countries. All these developments were causing deep concern and anxiety in the political circles of the United States. In order to stem the tide of communism, US President Truman enunciated his policy which is popularly known as Truman doctrine. He declared "The US must be willing to help free people to maintain their free institutions and their national integrity against aggressive movements that seek to impose upon them totalitarian regimes". At the request of President Truman the US Congress sanctioned 100 million dollars

as military aid to Turkey and 300 million dollars as military and economic aid to Greece. This aid enabled Greece and Turkey to stand on their own legs and communist takeover was averted. Apart from giving economic aid, the United States began to form a net-work of military alliances. On 30th August 1947 nineteen South American Republics signed the Inter-America Treaty of Reciprocal Assistance at Rio-de-Janeiro. According to this treaty the signatories agreed that an attack by any state against any American State would be considered as an attack on all the signatory states. The most far-reaching step in the direction of collective defence and security of Western World against communist aggression was taken by the United States in 1949. In March 1949, the USA, UK, France, Belgium, Canada, Denmark, Iceland, Italy, Luxemburg, Netherlands, Norway, and Portugal signed in Washington a treaty for collective defence. Greece and Turkey adhered to this treaty in February 1952 and West Germany in May 1955. This treaty is known as North Atlantic Treaty Organisation. The net work of military alliances was extended to South East Asia. On initiative of the United States, the representatives of UK, France, Australia, Newzealand, the Philippines, Pakistan and Thailand met in Manila and put down their signatures on 8th September 1954 on South East Asia Collective Defence Treaty known as South East Asiatic Treaty Organisation (SEATO). In order to meet the threat of NATO, the Soviet Union concluded the Warsaw Pact with her satellite states such as Poland, Czechoslovakia, Rumania, Hungary, Bulgaria, Albania and German Democratic Republic. Yugoslavia and China remained out of this military alliance. With the conclusion of Warsaw Pact the world has been polarised into two Power blocs and their perceptions of international affairs are diametrically opposed to each other because of ideological differences between the member states of these two blocs. Due to the presence of hostile blocs, the cold war i.e., the war of words occurs. There had been hot exchanges between the delegates of the Super Powers at the world forum like the U.N.O., and there were campaigns of villification, offensive propaganda through press, hurling of polemics on each other, efforts to indoctrinate the delegates of the hostile bloc countries and dissemination of political literature designed to establish the superiority of a particular ideology. All these tactics have intensified the cold war between the Super Powers. Due to the cold war the climate of international peace is vitiated and prospects for detente between the Super Powers become remote. Thus, cold war has been a main hurdle in the way of world peace.

(7) Establishment of the UNO

The previous world organisation viz. the League of Nations became a defunct body and it was replaced by the United Nations Organisation which came into being on 24th October 1945. On 25th April 1945 a conference was called at San Francisco to prepare the United Nations Charter. After deliberations for two months during which there were heated discussions on questions such as the powers of Big Five, future amendments to the charter etc., the Charter was agreed upon and signed on 26th June 1945 by the representatives of 44 countries. The UN General Assembly met for the first time in London on 10th January 1946, the twenty sixth anniversary of the formation of the League of Nations. The Charter of the UN is committed to the maintenance of world peace and international co-operation.

(8) National Movements for Liberation

The World War II ushered in an era of liberation from the foreign yoke. The people of subject nations in Asia and Africa intensified their struggle for independence and many former colonies attained freedom. India, Pakistan, Burma, Ceylon, Indonesia, Indo-China, Libya, Syria, Lebanon and many other countries attained independence. The successful national movements in these countries served as inspiring examples for the people of various other colonies which were suffering under the heels of alien domination. Thus, the Second World War triggered a process of decolonisation which culminated in the emergence of various independent and sovereign states.

(9) New Shape of the British Common-wealth of Nations

After the Second World War various African and Asian countries attained freedom and these countries which were former British colonies, wanted to be members of the British Commonwealth of Nations. At the request of India the word British was removed and this organisation came to be known as Commonwealth of Nations and on the other hand an oath of allegiance to British Crown was not to be taken by the member states. Thus, multi-lingual, multi-racial and multi-religious character of the common wealth brought about a wide spectrum of diversity. The Common-wealth is not a military group but it is designed to promote international understanding and trade and cultural contacts among its members.

13

THE UNITED NATIONS ORGANISATION

OUTLINE :

(A) Establishment of the UNO

(B) Functions of the Organs of the UNO

(C) Social and Humanitarian Work of the Specialised Agencies of the UNO

(D) The Role of the United Nations in the Maintenance of World Peace

(E) The Difficulties in the Way of the Functioning of the UNO and its Drawbacks

(F) The UNO as an Improvement upon the League of Nations

(A) Establishment Of The UNO

While the Second World War was going on, the "Big Three" — Roosevelt, Churchill and Stalin had given considerable thought to the problems of the coming peace and issued statements which without possessing the moving quality of the American President Woodrow Wilson's speeches before the close of the First World War reassureed the war-battered humanity of peace and freedom. While the Allied commanders marshalled their power and resources to defeat Nazi Germany, the statesmen and diplomats were busy in examining the weaknesses of the existing system of international relations and how it could be corrected. U.S. Secretary of State Crodell Hull in his Memoir had stated "From the moment when Hitler's invasion of Poland revealed the bankruptcy of all existing methods to preserve the peace, it became evident to us in the State

Department that we must begin almost immediately to plan creation of a new system". The statesmen of the West began to realise that there was something fundamentally defective with the existing system of international relations and international organisations and that the bitter fruits of the two World Wars, the world-wide economic depression, mass extermination on a large scale and extinction of human freedom, should if not out of wisdom at least out of necessity lead to the establishment of a stronger and effective international order after the war.

(1) The Atlantic Charter

The first step in this direction was taken when on 14th August 1941 the American President Roosevelt and British Prime Minister Churchill met aboard on an American cruiser in mid Atlantic Ocean and issued a declaration of principles known as 'the Atlantic Charter'. They pledged themselves to an idealist programme of international peace and justice to the repudiation of territorial aggrandizement and to the right of every country to choose its own form of government. The Charter stated" They believe that all the nations of the world for realistic as well as spiritual reasons must come to the abandonment of the use of force. Since no future peace can be maintained if land, sea and air armaments continue to be employed by nations which threaten or may threaten aggression outside their frontiers, they believe, pending the establishment of a wider permanent system of general security, that the disarmament of such nations is essential. They likewise aid and encourage all other practical measures which will lighten for peace-loving nations the crushing burden of armaments." Both the leaders pledged "to endeavour to further the enjoyment by all states great or small, victor or vanquished of access on equal terms to the trade and to the raw materials of the world which are needed for their economic prosperity". The Atlantic Charter also stated that both the leaders pledged to work for durable peace. "After the final destruction of the Nazi tyranny they hope to see established a peace which will efford to all nations the means of dwelling in safety within their boundaries and which will afford assurance that all the men in all lands may live out their lives in freedom from fear and want". The President Franklin, D. Roosevelt in a speech guaranteed to the world four freedoms viz. freedom of speech and religion and freedom from want and fear. To assure permanent peace, the Charter guaranteed freedom of the seas and security based on disarmament.

(2) The U.N. Declaration

On January 1, 1942, the delegates of twenty six governments

in Washington pledged solidarity against the Axis Powers and declared that each government would pledge itself to employ its full resources military or economic for the destruction of the Axis Powers and that each government would not make a separate armistice or peace with the Axis Powers. These delegates also adhered to the principles of the Atlantic Charter. This declaration by twenty six governments was designated as United Nations Declaration.

(3) Moscow Conference

The next war-time conference was held in Moscow during October 1943 and was attended by the U.S. Secretary of State Cordell Hull, British Foreign Secretary Eden and the Russian Foreign Minister M. Molotov. After eleven days of discussions, the conference decided to make no separate peace and promised punishment for the atrocities committed by the Germans. The Powers issued a joint declaration on November 1, 1943 pledging" unremitting prosecution of the war until the unconditional surrender of the enemy was achieved and favouring the establishment of a world organisation as soon as possible."

(4) Cairo Conference

In November 1943, President Roosevelt and Churchill met Chiang Kai Shek at Cairo in Egypt to plan the defeat of Japan. They issued a joint declaration demanding the unconditional surrender of Japan. It was also decided that Japan would be stripped of all her territories seized by her during the two World Wars. All the Chinese territories seized by Japan would be restored to China. The Allied Powers also promised independence to Korea in due course.

(5) The Teheran Conference

From Cairo, Roosevelt and Churchill went to Teheran the capital city of Iran. and met the Soviet Premier Stalin there. They and their Chiefs of Staff drew up joint plans for achieving final victory over Nazi Germany. The Allies pledged to support the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Iran and promised to work together in peace as they had been doing during the war. In the joint declaration they promised that "large and small nations would be invited to join a world organisation."

(6) Bretton Woods Conference

In July 1944 forty four countries met at Bretton Woods in U.S. to prepare plans for uniting the world economically through free trade and international facilities for exchange of currencies. The International Monetary Fund was created in order to ease bottlenecks in international exchange and thus clear international trade-

balances. International Bank of Reconstruction and Development was established to finance the national projects for reconstruction. Both the agencies were initially financed by the U.S.A.

(7) Dumbarton Oaks Conference

The delegates of the U.S.A. the Soviet Union, Britain and China met at Dumbarton Oaks Washington from 21st August to October 7, 1944 and in this conference the foundation of the entire structure of the United Nations was laid. In this conference it was decided that the Major Powers should exercise veto in Security Council. The decisions of this conference served as the basis for the draft of the charter of the United Nations. The Big three at Dumbarton Oaks agreed that a conference of the United Nations should be called at San Francisco in April 1945 to prepare the final charter of the general international organisation along the lines proposed at Dumbarton Oaks.

(8) The Yalta Conference

In February 1945, Roosevelt, Churchill and Stalin met in the Yalta Conference for the last time. The conference made important decisions regarding the establishment of a new international organisation. In this conference the Soviet Union acquired substantial gains. The Soviet Union got Kurile Islands. On the other hand Southern Sakhalin was acquired by Russia and Port Arthur was leased out to her as a naval base. Joint control of the Soviet Union and Kuomintang China was to be established over Manchurian and Chinese Eastern Railway. This conference settled the initial reparation charge from Germany which was to pay 20 billion dollars. At Yalte the three Allied Powers agreed to destroy German militarism and eliminate Nazism from Germany. Germany was to be divided into occupation zones by the victorious powers. The Allies agreed on the veto power to be exercised by the permanent members of the Security Council of the U.N.O. It was agreed that a conference of the United Nations would be called at San Francisco on 25 April 1945 to prepare a charter of the world organisation.

(9) The San Francisco Conference

In accordance with the Yalta schedule the conference of the U.N. met at San Francisco on April 25 1945. This conference was attended by the delegates of forty six governments. Four additional states were invited subsequently. The dominating influence was exercised by the Big Four viz the United States, the Soviet Union, Britain and Nationalist China. These Big Four were joined by France and thereby became Big Five. However, smaller countries

made their influence felt and succeeded in broadening and democratizing the U.N. Charter. A number of amendments and additions were made in the proposals accepted in the Dumbarton Oaks Conference. After deliberations for two months during which there were heated discussions on issues such as the powers of the Big Five, future amendments to the UN Charter etc. the Charter was agreed upon and signed on 26th June 1945 by fifty nations. Poland signed the charter on October 15, 1945 and there by the number of original members rose to fifty one. The UN Charter became effective only on October 24, 1945.

(10) The Dissolution of the League of Nations

When the UNO came formally into existence on 24th October, 1945, the League of Nations was also in existence, at least in form and law. The buildings and libraries of the Permanent Court of International Justice were available at Geneva and the Hague. Some of the judges still occupied their posts though only technically. The International Labour Organisation was operating at Geneva and some of the social and humanitarian activities of the league were being conducted at London, Washington and Geneva. After a good deal of discussions and deliberations the issue of the dissolution of the League was finally settled and the UN took over most of the economic and social activities of the League and acquired its buildings and other assets. On April 8, 1946 the General Assembly of the League met for the last time and passed a resolution declaring the dissolution of the League of Nations.

B. Functions Of The Organs Of The UNO

The UN Charter contains 111 articles grouped in 19 chapters and a preamble. The UN preamble runs thus "We the people of the United Nations determined to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war which twice in our lifetime has brought untold sorrow to mankind and to reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights, in dignity and worth of human person, in equal rights of man and woman and the nations large and small, and to establish conditions under which justice and respect for the obligations arising from treaties and other sources of international law can be maintained and to promote social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom and for these ends to practise tolerance and live together in peace with one another as good neighbours and to unite our strength to maintain international peace and security, and to ensure by the acceptance of principles and the institution of methods that armed force shall not be used save in the common interest and to employ international machinery for the promotion of economic and social

advancement of all peoples, have resolved to combine our efforts to accomplish these aims".

(1) Aims and Objectives of the UNO

The aims and objectives of the charter are manifest in its preamble. Chapter I of the Charter states the aims and principles of the UN. The UN was to become a centre for certain common aim of maintaining international peace and for taking action against aggression. To develop friendly relations among nations became one of its main purposes. The UN aims at solving international problems of economic, social, cultural or humanitarian character and also promoting and encouraging respect for human rights and for civil liberties. The UN aims at the achievement of international co-operation, peace and security. The UN Charter acknowledges the right of individual states to form regional arrangements for the maintenance of peace and security. All the efforts for maintenance peace and security by regional organisations should be consistent with the UN charter.

(2) The Organisation of the UN

(i) Membership : The United Nations organisation established ished its head quarters in the United States at New York, though some of its meetings and those of its auxiliary bodies had been held at Paris, the Hague and the palatial buildings of the defunct League of Nations at Geneva. Article 4 of the Charter states "Membership in the United Nations is open to all other peace-loving states which accept the obligations contained in the present charter and in the judgment of the organisation are able and willing to carry out these obligations." Additional members may be admitted by two third vote of the General Assembly upon a favourable recommendation of the Security Council. The total number of UN membership is at present 159. Article 6 of the UN Charter states that a member state which persistently violates the charter may be expelled by "the General Assembly upon the recommendation of the Security Council".

Article 7 describes the General Assembly the Security Council, the Economic and Social Council, the Trusteeship Council, the International Court of Justice and the Secretariat as the "Principal organs of the United Nations".

(ii) ***The General Assembly :*** The General Assembly consists of all lthe member states of the UN. Each state can send five delegates but can cast only one vote. The Assembly elects its own president for the session. On the other hand thirteen vice-presidents and chairmen of the seven standing committees are also elected by

the General Assembly. The Assembly must meet once a year in September and in such sessions as may be desired by the Secretary General at the request of the Security Council or of a majority of the members of the UNO. At each meeting the Assembly sets up six working committees viz. (i) political and security, (ii) economic and financial, (iii) social and humanitarian and cultural, (iv) trusteeship, (v) administrative and budgetary and (vi) legal. Every country is represented in each of these committees.

(a) Powers and Functions of General Assembly: The General Assembly may discuss any question on matter within the scope of the charter or relating to the powers and functions of any of its organs.

(i) It can consider the general principles of cooperation in the maintenance of world peace and security and can make recommendation with regard to such principles to the member states or to the Security Council or to both.

(ii) It may discuss the issue relating to the maintenance of world peace and security brought before it by any member state of the UN or by the Security Council or by a state which is not a member of the UNO according to article 35 of the charter.

(iii) It can call the attention of the Security Council to any situation which is likely to endanger international peace and security.

(iv) It can initiate studies and make recommendations for promoting international cooperation in the political, economic, social, cultural, educational and health fields.

(v) It receives and considers annual and special reports from the Security Council which shall include an account of measures to be taken to maintain international peace and security.

(vi) It also receives and considers reports from the other organs of the UNO.

(vii) It passes the budget of the organisation as well as of the specialised agencies referred in article 57 of the charter.

(viii) The General Assembly performs such functions with respect to international trusteeship system as are assigned to it under chapters XII and XIII of the charter.

(ix) It will have the right to propose amendments to the charter which must be adopted by two third majority vote. Such amendments should be ratified by a similar vote of the Security Council which must include the permanent members.

(x) The General Assembly elects all the members of the Economic and Social Council, some members of the Trusteeship Council, and ten non-permanent members of the Security Council. It also elects the judges of the International Court of Justice. The Secretary General is appointed by it on the recommendations of the Security Council.

(xi) The General Assembly initiates studies and makes recommendations for the development and codification of international law and for the protection of human rights and fundamental freedoms.

(xii) The General Assembly acts as an organ for peaceful settlement of international disputes. Many important questions such as the Korean independence were brought to the Assembly.

(xiii) The General Assembly in its 'Uniting for peace' Resolution passed in 1950 asserted its authority in cases where Security Council failed in its primary responsibility of imposing sanctions on the aggressor state. This resolution was passed by the Assembly against North Korea which had launched attack on South Korea. It was desired by the Western sponsors of "the Unite for Peace", resolution in 1950 to strengthen the General Assembly where there would be no problem of a Soviet veto. Under this resolution the Assembly was aathorised to consider an urgent matter requiring sanction which may be prevented in the Security Council by a veto.

(xiv) The General Assembly can supervise the work of the Secretariat. The Economic and Social Council, the Security Council and Trusteeship Council submit their report to the Assembly every year.

(ii) ***Security Council :*** Article 23 of the UN charter fixed the the number of the members of Security Council at eleven of whom five members such as USA, the Soviet Union, Britain, France, and Nationalist China were to be permanent members. The remaining non-permanent members were to be elected by the General Assembly for a term of two years. On 31 August 1965 the General Assembly by an amendment of the Charter increased the number of non-permanent members of the Security Council to ten. The intention of the framers of the charter in endowing the veto right to the Great Powers was to achieve Great Power concurrence on the important issue of international concern.

(a) The Powers and Functions of the Council : According to article 28 of the charter "the Security Council should be so organised

as to be able to function continuously". The President of the Council is to be elected for one month according to the alphabetical order of the names of its member states.

(i) Article 24 of the Charter confers on the Security Council "Primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security" but if it fails, the General Assembly is given power to take up the matter.

(ii) The Security Council can investigate any issue likely to jeopardize international peace and security.

(iii) For the settlement of international disputes, the Security Council will first of all seek a solution through negotiations, enquiry, mediation, conciliation, arbitration, adjudication, or resort to regional arrangements or any other peaceful means. In matters which do not constitute danger to peace, the Council's authority is only recommendatory similar to that of the General Assembly.

(iv) But if the situation is very serious, the Security Council under article 39 of the charter "shall determine the existence of any threat to peace, breach of peace or act of aggression". The Council after taking such a decision may take provisional measures to prevent deterioration of the situation without prejudice to either party in dispute.

(v) Under articles 41 and 42 of the Charter, the Council may decide diplomatic economic and military sanctions against the aggressor state. All the member states are obliged to carry out the decisions of the Council.

(vi) Any country whether a member or not has the right to draw the attention of the Security Council to any threat to peace or breach of peace or an act of aggression. Any country whether a member of the Security Council or not can be invited to participate without the right to vote in discussions regarding a dispute to which it is a party. This right is extended to a country which is not even a member of the UNO.

(vii) The Security Council has jurisdiction in such matters as the admission of new member states, selection of the Secretary General and the judges of the International Court.

(viii) The veto right is accorded to the five permanent members of the Security Council. Its absence would have prevented the inclusion of the USA and the Soviet Union in the UNO. If the Great Powers had not been accorded veto power, they would not have assumed the leadership of the world body. The

absence of the unanimity rule would have prevented the unity of Great Powers without which the peace of the world would have been endangered. The veto power ensures the cooperation of Great Powers which can guarantee the successful fulfilment of the commitments undertaken by the UNO. However abstention by the permanent member at the time of voting on any issue does not constitute veto. To avoid veto, the unite for peace resolution (Nov. 3, 1950) authorised the General Assembly to deal with urgent matters.

The veto has been used more frequently than it should have been used because the Big Five cooperation under the stress of World War has been followed by the mutual rivalries and distrust. The hot war has given way to cold war and it has adversely affected the world organisation. But the veto problem has rather become a symptom of disagreement. In case the permanent member state of the Security Council is a party in any dispute, it can paralyse the UN machinery by exercising its veto.

(ix) The Security Council can exercise all the functions of the UN relating to strategic areas including the approval of the terms of the trusteeship agreements and of their alteration and amendment. It can avail itself of the help of the Trusteeship Council to perform these functions of the UNO under the Trusteeship system relating to political, economic and social matters in the strategic areas.

(3) Economic and Social Council

The Economic and Social Council is regarded as a coordinator of the activities of the several specialised agencies which are created to undertake economic and social welfare activities. It has been placed under the control of the General Assembly to which it must submit its report.

(a) Composition, Powers and Functions of Economic and Social Council :

(i) It consists of 18 members elected by the Assembly. Each year the Assembly elects six members for a term of three years. A retiring member is eligible for immediate re-election.

(ii) The Economic and Social Council may initiate studies regarding economic, social, cultural, educational, health and related matters and make recommendations to the General Assembly and to the Specialised Agencies. These recommendations may concern promotion of human rights.

(iii) Another main function of this council is to assist the Security Council, when requested by the latter to do so in the direction of imposing economic sanctions on the aggressor state.

(iv) It may investigate any issue within its jurisdiction and make reports and recommendations to the General Assembly.

(v) It may call international conferences on any subject within its jurisdiction.

(vi) It can provide technical aid and advice to any nation.

(vii) It may assist the General Assembly, Security Council and Trusteeship Council in the matters which lie within its jurisdiction.

(viii) It works to promote the observance of fundamental freedoms and human rights.

(ix) The powers of the Council are those of study, investigation and recommendation. Its function is to facilitate voluntary cooperation. The member states of the UNO have pledged themselves under the charter to act according to its recommendations jointly or separately for the economic and social progress, higher standards of living and full employment, cultural and educational cooperation and protection of human rights and fundamental freedoms.

(4) Trusteeship Council

During the period after World War II the movement for colonial liberation gained momentum. Within two decades after the end of the World War II out of 800 million people living in the colonies more than 600 million people achieved their independence. Most of these people belonged to Asia and Africa. The UN expects the rest of the world to be liberated soon. The UN treats these areas under two systems — the trusteeship system and the non-self governing areas. The trusteeship system is a direct heritage of the Mandatory system of the League of Nations. The main objective of the Trusteeship Council is advancement in political, economic, social and educational fields leading to self government and independence of the trust territories. According to article 77 of UN Charter the Trusteeship system includes all those territories held as mandates under the League of Nations, territories taken away from the enemy countries and territories voluntarily placed under the system. Thus, the trusteeship system is applicable to all colonial areas. The mandates under the League and the territories detached from the enemy during the World War II became trust territories. Such territories are divided into strategic and non-strategic areas. The strategic

areas are under the control of the Security Council and the non-strategic areas are under the jurisdiction of the General Assembly and the Trusteeship Council. In the administration of such territories, a state is given authority and it is called trustee and territory given to the administering state is called trust territory.

(a) Important Functions of Trusteeship Council: The Trusteeship Council exercises supervision over the administration of trust territories through reports from the administering states, through petitions from the people of trust territories and periodic visits to these territories. According to article 88 of the UN charter each trustee state is required to submit the annual report for each territory under its jurisdiction. Such reports are submitted on the basis of a questionnaire prepared by the Trusteeship Council. This questionnaire is a truly remarkable document which throws light on the reforms introduced by the trustee states in the trust territories. These annual reports are defective in one way i.e., they contain only information supplied by the administering authorities. The Council cannot have an objective assessment of the state of affairs in the trust territories. In order to remedy this defect the Trusteeship Council is authorised to accept petitions from the people of the trust territories directly and not through the administering state as under League Mandates System. The Trusteeship Council has devised a scheme of rotation under which each trust territory is visited every third year. It avoids sending on such a mission the delegates in the Trusteeship Council of those states who administer the territories to be visited. Such missions give impartial and dispassionate assessment of the policies and actions of the administering states with regard to the advancement towards self-government, economic development and social progress in the trust territories. In many cases these missions make recommendations as to the measures that may help in the elimination of some of the shortcomings which are noticed in the administration of trust territories.

(5) The International Court of Justice

The International Court of Justice which replaced the Permanent Court of International Justice of the League was established by a statute which became a part of the UN charter. The court meets in the old building at the Hague. The members of the UNO are ipso facto parties to the statute of the International Court whereas under the League system membership was not compulsory.

(a) Structure of International Court of Justice: This court is composed of 15 judges elected by the General Assembly and the

Security Council for a term of nine years. The judges of the world court should be according the statute, persons of high moral character who possess the qualifications required in their respective countries for the highest judicial post. Judges retire in group of five every three years. Re-election is also permissible. The judges elect their president and vice-president and give decision by a majority vote. Nine judges counstitute the quorum and the President exercises his casting vote in case of a tie.

(b) Jurisdiction of the World Court: (i) The jurisdiction of the World court extends to those states which agree to submit to its decision . (ii) The countries which are not parties to the statute of the court can also have recourse of the court provided that they acccept the conditions laid by the Security Council for the disputes being referred to the court. (iii) Only states and not individuals may be parties in cases before the World Court. The jurisdiction of the court comprises all cases which the parties refer to it and all matters specially provided for in the UN charter. (iv) The court has power to consider disputes referred to it by the parties in one of three ways: (a) the parties may agree to submit their dispute to the court, (b) if both parties have accepted the compulsory jurisdiction of the court, (c) if the parites are signatories to a treaty which calls for reference to the court due to differences concerning the application of the treaty. (v) The World Court, whose function is to decide in accordance with international law such disputes as are referred to it, will apply international conventions, international customs as evidence of a general practice accepted as law, the general principles of law recognised by civilised countries, judicial decisions and the teachings of the most highly qualified judicial authorities in the world. (vi) Articles 96 of the charter states: "The General Assembly or the Security Council may request the International Court of Justice to give an advisory opinion on any legal question". Other organs of the UNO and the specialised agencies of the UN can also make such requests. The advisory opinion is not binding. (vii) The World Court inspite of its acknowledged merits is less impressive than its predecessor. Though optional clause makes decision of the court binding in certain matters for the states which sign it, yet most countries have accepted it with certain reservations which have weakened the court. Only 34 states so far have signed the optional clause while as many as forty five states had signed this clause in case of its predecessor i.e., the Permanent Court of International Justice an organ of the League of Nations. The court has demonstrated a tendency towards political rather than legal decisions. Yet another reason for the decline in the importance of world court is the fact that

very few member states of the UN are interested in the maintanence of status quo even though they are not interested in war. Recently the World Court gave ruling to the effect that U.S.A. should not give aid to the rebels of Nicaragua as it amounts to the violation of sovereignty of Nicaragua. But US government has flouted the verdict of the World Court and does not feel bound by its judgment. This has reduced the efficacy of the World Court in international relations.

(6) Secretariat

The Secretariat of the UN has been established under the rules mentioned in Chapter XV of the charter. According to article 97 of the charter "the Secretariat shall comprise a Secretary General and such staff as the organisation may require". The personnel of the UN Secretariat is recruited from different countries of the world. According to article 100, the Secretary General and his staff will not receive instructions from any other authority external to the organisation in the discharge of their duties. In the Charter the member states had committed themselves to respect the international character of the responsibilities of the Secretary General and his staff. The appointment of the staff of the Secretariat is made by the Secretary General under the rules prescribed by the General Assembly. In appointing the staff the Secretary General is expected to pay due regard to wide geographical base. The important condition in the appointment of staff will be the necessity of securing highest standard of efficiency, competence and integrity.

(a) Structure of Secretariat: The Secretariat is organised on functional basis. Till 1954 the Secretariat consisted of an executive office of the Secretary General and six departments and two services under Assistant Secretary General. In 1953 the Secretariat was reorganised after a resolution passed by the General Assembly. The posts of Assistant Secretary General and Director were abolished. They were replaced by under-secretaries. This reform was designed to concentrate more authority in the hands of Secretary General.

(b) The Functions of the Secretariat: (1) The Secretariat prepares materials necessary for the delegates of member states to use in their discussion. (2) The Staff of secretariat arrange for recording the proceedings in different languages. (3) In the UN journal summary of discussions is published. (4) The department of public information makes arrangement for publishing books, journals, and news of the UNO. (5) The record room of the UN preserves the proceedings of all the organs and specialised agencies of the UNO. (6) The Charter directs the member states to register their treaties or

agreements with the UN Secretariat which arranges for their publication. (7) The UN Secretariat staff is also engaged in the scientitic research and study. (8) The UN budget is prepared in the Secretariat and it is placed before the General Assembly by the Secretary General. Not an iota of world's poverty is reflected in the world body's ways. In 1946 the UN budget was 19.3 million dollars. By 1974-75 the UN budget stood at 540.5 million dollars. The staff alone costs 75.4 million dollars.

(c) UN Secretary General : The Secretary General is appointed by the UN General Assembly on the recommendations of the Security Council. He is the chief administrative officer of the organisation. He has several political responsibilities. His appointment itself is the outcome of great political manoeuvre. The recommendation of the Security Council implies the concurrence of all the permanent member states. In political field the Secretary General can exercise his influence through various devices. The First Secretary General Trygve Lie used to encourage direct negotiations between the contending states in order to defuse tension. According article 99 the Secretary General can divert the attention of the Security Council to any matter which in his opinion may threaten the maintenance of world peace and security. Trygve Lie the first Secretary General took advantage of this clause to bring the situation of Korea to the attention of the Security Council. The Secretary General can make his influence felt in his annual report to the General Assembly, in preparing the agenda or in participating in the discussions in the Assembly. Trygve Lie was succeeded by Mr. Dag Hammerskjold as the Secretary General in 1953. Unfortunately he was killed in a plane crash on September 18, 1961 while on a mission to establish peace in Congo. He was succeeded by U. Thant who remained in office upto December 1971. On 22 December 1971 Kurt Waldheim of Austria was elected as the Secretary General. At present UN Secretary General is Javier Perez de Cuellar. It cannot be denied that the Secretary General through his annual report can create opinion in favour of peace. On him rests to a certain degree, the responsibility of advancing the principles of the UN Charter.

(C) Social And Humanitarian Work Of The Specialised Agencies Of The UNO

The Charter of the UNO provided for certain specialised agencies which are engaged in social economic, cultural, scientific, educational and humanitarian activities. All the specialised agencies have a secretariat, a deliberative body and an executive council. These specialised agencies are as follows.

(1) International Labour Organisation

In ILO each country sends four representatives, two of the government, one of labour and other representing the employers. Representatives from the same country may or may not agree on an issue and they can cast votes according to their free choice. Thus votes from the same country may be divided. The ILO had been established in 1919 and it has been inherited by the UN from the League of Nations. The annual conferences of ILO accept conventions to protect the interests of the labour class. Since 1919 it has promoted about hundred such conventions. The ILO also submits reports on different matters concerning labour problems. In 1959-60 an institute of labour was established at Geneva. ILO experts have been working in various countries in such fields as productivity, management development, social security, vocational guidance, vocational training, training for the blind, teaching techniques, workers, education, apprenticeship, industrial relations, industrial hygiene, mines safety, occupational classification, consumer cooperatives and industrial engineering and other labour welfare projects.

(2) International Bank for Reconstruction and Development

This bank came into existence as a result of the discussions at Bretton Wood Conference of 1944. Its shares are held by member states of the UNO in proportion to their wealth and trade. It is an international lending agency and its main role is to encourage productive investment. The bank is insufficiently financed. Its activities are influenced by political considerations. It is also adversely affected by cold war. In granting credit facilities to the developing nations it discriminates against communist countries with the exception of Yugoslavia which was granted loan after her break with the Soviet Union. Another financial body which came into existence as a result of discussions at Bretton Wood Conference of 1944 is the International Monetary Fund. It has a similar structure as the World Bank and is financed by the member states of the UNO.

(3) International Telecommunication Union (ITU)

The I.T.U. is carrying forward the work started by International Telegraph Union established in 1805. A conference of all member states of the UN meets each five years and it elects the Administrative Council of twenty five members. This council approves the budget, appoints its Secretary General, allocates radio frequencies and circulates necessary information.

(4) Universal Postal Union (UPU)

It grew out of the General Postal Union which was established in 1874. It meets every five years and elects an executive committee. Its main role is to fix maximum rates for mail. The international postal services include parcel, money orders, subscription to newspapers and magazines. Its headquarters is situated in Berne.

(5) International Civil Aviation Organisation (ICAO)

Its chief aim is to promote safety and progress in aviation. It has helped the coordination for international air transport. It arbitrates over air rights and when in 1952 Pakistan refused to accept India's right to have air communication with Afghanistan, the matter was reported to ICAO for arbitration. ICAO decided in favour of Indian and Pakistan had to allow Indian planes to pass over its territories.

(6) Food and Agricultural Organisation (FAO)

It holds its own conference after every two years and elects its own governing body. It is affiliated to the UN through an agreement with Economic and Social Council. The special problem of the FAO is 'hunger'. It provides technical assistance to different countries to grow more food, to control pests, to increase the yield of farms, fisheries and forests. It makes contribution to promote food production specially in the developing countries. The activities of FAO have brought the United Nations in active contact with millions of people.

(7) World Health Organisation (WHO)

The WHO was created by a conference called at New York in July 1946. This conference was attended by sixty one nations. The success of the health services of the League of Nations promoted the creation of this organisation. Its budget is approved by its General Body which also elects its executive council consisting of twenty four members. The General Body appoints its Director General on the nomination of the executive council. The WHO has launched world wide campaign against diseases such as T.B. malaria, small pox, syphilis and cancer. WHO has also aided the victims of earthquakes. For instance it helped the people of Morocco in 1960 when Agadir the town of Morocco was rocked by earthquake.

(8) World Meteorological Organisation

This specialised agency was created with the sole purpose of establisheing a net-work of weather stations and expeditious exchange of weather information. It has succeeded in standardizing weather observation and reporting.

(9) International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA)

It was established in July 1957 with considerable membership. Its main purpose is to conduct research in peaceful application of nuclear energy.

(10) United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation : (UNESCO)

The UNESCO came into being as a result of the deliberations in conference of the Allied governments in London in April 1944, The UNESCO earns its revenue from the direct contribution of its members. The General Conference meets once every two years. The actual day-to-day work is carried on by an Executive Board of twenty-four members. The preamble of the UNESCO constitution reads thus "Since wars begin in the minds of men, it is in the minds of men that defences of peace must be constructed". The UNESCO has too many projects and too little funds to materialise them. The major task before UNESCO includes education, natural sciences, spread of social sciences, cultural activities, exchange of experts, mass communication, relief services, and technical aid to developing countries. As early as 1957 the UNESCO implemented three major projects such as; (1) Extension of primary education throughout Latin America; (2) Research on the use of desert land; and (3) the promotion of understanding between Eastern and Western cultures. In the field of natural science, the UNESCO has promoted exchange of views, meetings and conferences. The most famous first World Congress of Ocean Scientists was held at New York under the joint auspices of the UNESCO and Committee of Oceanic Research of International Council of Scientific Union. The manifold activities of the UNESCO reflect multifaceted life of human race. Commenting on the achievements of the UNESCO, John Foster Dulles, US Secretary of State had remarked thus "The advancement by UNESCO of human welfare through education, science, and culture promotes international understanding which contributes to peace". In 1986 the United States withdrew from the UNESCO and Britain followed suit. Thus, this organisation is facing immense financial difficulties.

(11) United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD)

The establishment of the UNCTAD as forum for international consultation was a major step forward. The UNCTAD came into being in 1964 out of a Conference of trade and development held in Geneva. The purpose of this organisation is to narrow the gap between the rich and the poor nations. The rich nations have been adding 60 dollars to their per capita income annually where as the

corresponding figure for poor nations is only two dollars. The per capita income of the rich nations has gone up from 100 dollars to 1100 dollars while that of the poor nations from 100 dollars to only 120 dollars between 1850 and 1960. The backward countries have become dependent on advanced countries and are suppliers of raw materials. Enlightened self-interest of the rich nations demands that they should share their income with the poor nations. This widening economic gap and growing political tension in a world divided between haves and have nots would disturb world peace. The Algiers Charter of 77 nations, therefore, demanded that the international trade should be based on terms of equality and no strings should be attached to economic aid. The second UNCTAD held in New Delhi for some weeks (February, 1968) however produced modest results. India took advantage of the conference and concluded treaties of trade and mutual co-operation with Yugoslavia and UAR. In the subsequent UNCTAD conferences the developed nations have not conceded favourable trade to the developing nations. On the contrary the rich countries have erected tariff walls to protect their industries. The rich European countries have monopolised trade through European Economic Communityand this has resulted in the restrictions on the exports of the developing nations.

(12) United Nations International Children Emergency Fund (UNICEF)

United Nations International Children Emergency Fund was created on December 11, 1946. With the hope of the World's future resting on coming generations it was recognised that relief and rehabilitation of the children was an international responsibility. The main task of UNICEF is to provide food, milk, blankets and clothing to protect the lives of children in underdeveloped countries. UNICEF's mandate emphasised from the outset that its assistance would be given on the basis of one criterion i.e., need-regardless of race, creed, nationality, status or political belief. By early 1950 the organisation had secured relief supplies from 60 nations for 6 million children in 12 countries. Even though UNICEF's immediate task was relief and rehabilitation, it clearly recognised that its objective was to strengthen permanent child health and welfare programmes by enhancing the capacities of national governments. Over the years UNICEF's involvement in health care, emergency supplies and disease control earned for it the reputation of "Get it Done" agency.

The Noble Peace Prize awarded to UNICEF in 1965 for "promotion of brotherhood among nations also recognised that the child's

well being is inseparable from world peace." But these were only milestones in a continuing quest. 1979 the International Year of the Child gave further impetus to the improvement of the child's total well-being through accelerated concern and action globally. Today UNICEF's co-operation reaches 120 countries. Funded entirely by voluntary contributions it works in close partnership with national governments to integrate children's needs with the goals of national development. But as 40,000 children continued to die each day of easily preventable causes in developing world alone, there was need for a quantum jump in effectiveness. This imperative led to the launch of a child survival and development revolution in 1982. The goal was dramatic improvement in the health and well-being of children within a decade. The UNICEF has launched a movement by adopting four simple proven and low cost techniques for the survival of children. These techniques are: (1) Nutritional monitoring; (2) Oral rehydration therapy against diarrhoea dehydration; (3) Better infant feeding practices; and (4) Immunisation of all infants and pregnant women against deadly diseases. Today the emerging results and trends speak for themselves. Over 40 countries are moving towards UN goal of universal immunisation by 1990. Since 1985 the demand for vaccines has trebled. Thus, UNICEF has done pioneering work for last four-decades without concern for politics.

(D) The Role Of The United Nations In The Maintenance Of The World Peace

The UN charter eschews the use of force under all circumstances except in pursuance of the purposes of the charter. The peaceful settlement of international disputes and the establishment of collective security are taken by the charter as the basis for world peace and security. The role of the UNO in the maintenance of world peace is commendable though it has not succeeded in settling a number of international disputes. The following disputes were referred to the UN for settlement.

(1) Problem of Evacuation of Soviet Troops from Iran

The UN had to deal with the problem of Iran which was occupied by the Soviet Union, the United States and Britain, during the Second World War. When the war came to an end in 1945, Iran requested for the withdrawal of Allied troops. In September 1945, the Allies agreed to withdraw their troops by 2nd March 1946. By the agreed date, the British and American troops were withdrawn. But there was continued military presence of the Soviet Union in Iran. The Russians refused to allow Iranian troops to enter the

Russian occupied northern Iranian province to re-establish Iranian control. On 19th January, 1945 Iran complained to Security Council against Soviet military presence in the country and insisted that all the Soviet troops should be withdrawn. Ultimately the Soviet troops were withdrawn in May 1946. The consideration of Iran's problem in the Security Council helped Iranian government to resist the Russian pressure. If the question had not been referred to Security Council, the Soviet troops might not have been withdrawn.

(2) Indonesia

After the liberation of Indonesia from Japanese troops, the Indonesian nationalists set-up a republic and declared independence. So the Dutch government launched military attack on Indonesia. The matter was brought before the Security Council by the Indian representative and a ceasefire was arranged. Both the Dutch government and Indonesia accepted goods offices committee of Australia and Belgium. Australia on behalf of Indonesia and Belgium on behalf of the Dutch carried on negotiations for peace. In January 1948 an eighteen point settlement programme was accepted but this agreement was violated by the parties and there was further clash. The Security Council called for cease-fire and established UN committee to settle the issue. The Dutch government was asked by the Security Council to recognise the Independence of Indonesia which she did on 27th December 1949.

(3) Question of Withdrawal of Foreign Troops from Syria and Lebanon

In February 1946 Syria and Lebanon lodged complaint with Security Council regarding the continued presence of the British and French troops in these two countries. The USA proposed a resolution expressing hope that Britain would withdraw her troops as soon as possible. The proposal was vetoed by the Soviet Union but its moral effect was not lost. The French evacuated Syria within two months where as a few months later Britain withdrew her troops from Lebanon.

(4) Hyderabad

After Independence Hyderabad unlike other princely states refused to join either India or Pakistan. On 21st August 1949 Hyderabad complained to Security Council about an imminent invasion by India. Hyderabad was supported by Pakistan. On September 9, India undertook police action against the state and soon the matter was taken up by the Security Council. India told the Security Council that since Hyderabad was not an independent

state, it had no right to bring the case before the Security Council. Pakistan pleaded the case of Hyderabad in the Security Council which took no further action.

(5) Egypt

In 1947 Egypt brought a complaint before the Security Council about the presence of the British troops in her territory. According to Anglo-Egyptian treaty (1936) Britain had right to maintain her troops in the Suez canal area. But the government of Egypt contended that the UN Charter had made the agreement invalid and the military presence of Britain on soil of Egypt constituted a threat to peace. No resolution on this issue could get the required seven votes and the Council took no further action. The Anglo-Egyptian relations continued to deteriorate and nationalisation of Suez canal in 1956 led to the opening of hostilities between the two countries.

(6) Greece

British troops were in Greece at the end of the Second World War and were supporting the conservative provisional government. The Soviet Union challenged the presence of British forces and contended that Britain was interfering in the internal affairs of Greece and the military presence of Britain was threat to peace. The matter was referred to the Security Council which simply took notice of the views expressed. The Greek question became serious when the neighbouring countries helped the guerillas against the Greek government. The Security Council appointed a commission of investigation. On the Greek question the UK and the United States were on one side where as the Soviet Union was on the other side. It was observed that the Security Council could be paralysed in the excercise of security functions by the veto. However the Greek case could not be regarded as a triumph for the UNO but it set a precedent for increased reliance on the General Assembly in future disputes in case Security Council is paralysed by exercise of veto power.

(7) Issue of the Blockade of Berlin

The dispute between the Soviet Union and Western Powers over the Berlin blockade was referred to the Security Council in September 1948. The Soviet Union vetoed the draft resolution. The General Assembly called upon the United States, Britain and France and the Soviet Union to settle the dispute by resort to negotiations. Subsequently the President of the Security Council received intimation from the USA. UK and France that restrictions on West Berlin were removed and the Council of Foreign Ministers of USA, UK, France and USSR would meet to consider all outstanding issues about Germany.

(8) Issue of Merger of Trieste

According to the Italian peace treaty after the end of the Second World War. Trieste was internationalised and the Security Council accepted responsibility for its government. In the meanwhile Trieste was occupied by joint Anglo-American and French troops in Zone 'A' where as the forces of Yugoslavia had occupied the Zone B of Trieste. In 1948 the USA and the UK expressed their desire to revise the treaty and handover the territory to Italy. In 1953 an Anglo-American plan to handover Zone A to Italy, was announced. Marshall Tito the head of Yugoslavia government threatened to march into Trieste. In the meanwhile Italy and Yugoslavia reached an amicable solution bywhich Italy occupied Zone 'A' and Yugoslavia occupied Zone 'B' of the disputed territory.

(9) Issue of Unilateral Declaration of Independence by Rhodesia

The policy of apartheid induced the white settlers of the British colony of Rhodesia in South Africa to make unilateral declaration of independance on 11th November 1965. The UN Trusteeship Council adopted a resolution urging Great Britain to "employ all necessary measures including military force to make Rhodesia observe standards of civilised behaviour in international relations". After an abortive meeting between the British Prime Minister Wilson and Rhodesian Prime Minister Ian Smith, the Security Council voted mandatory economic sanctions against Rhodesia on December 16, 1966. In May 1968 the United Nations imposed economic boycott on Rhodesia and the UN Security Council deplored the actions of Portugal and the Union of South Africa which had been rendering support to the rebel white regime of Ian Smith. The Africans criticised the resolution as weak. A second Wilson-Smith meeting aboard in the British warship in Gibralter Harbour proved to be as fruitless as the first one. Britain was against military intervention in Rhodesia. Thus, no effective measure could be taken against the rebel regime of Ian Smith.

(10) Kashmir Issue

Shortly after independence, Kashmir was invaded by armed tribesmen aided by regular Pakistani troops. Kashmir had acceded to India. India complained of Pakistan's unprovoked aggression and referred the issue to Security Council which appointed a commission to investigate into the matter. The commission recommended withdrawal of regular troops of Pakistan and cease-fire. The cease-fire line was fixed in July 1949. In April 1950 the Security Council appointed Sir Owen Dixon to bring about an agreement between the

two countries. After his failure he was succeeded by Frank Graham who was able to achieve very little. On the request of Pakistan the Security Council took up the Kashmir issue in January 1957. Krishna Menon the leader of Indian delegation told the Council that India had no intention of consenting to a plebiscite as in February 1954 the Constituent Assembly of Kashmir had finally ratified its accession to the Indian Union. On 24th January1957 the Security Council reiterated its appeal for a plebiscite and called upon the parties to maintain the status quo. The Indian government ignored this appeal and declared Kashmir an integral part of India. The Jarring mission appointed in 1957 by the Security Council was sent to find ways and means for an amicable solution. Pakistan's suggestion of temporary UN force for Kashmir backed by Western bloc was vetoed by the Soviet Union. The Jarring Mission failed to give any new proposal acceptable to both the parties. Throughout the dispute the UN under the influence of the Western bloc has refused to accept the legal position of India's claim to Kashmir. This attitude has influenced the UN proceedings throughout. In the first week of August 1965 Pakistan sent organised groups of infiltrators across the cease-fire line and in the same month mounted large-scale attack in the Chhamb Jaurian area violating the international border in an effort to cut-off India's link with Kashmir. Indian army went into action in Kashmir and in Lahore-Sialkot sector to foil Pakistan's designs. The UN Security Council in its efforts to bring about peace adopted a cease-fire resolution on September 22. The cease fire came into effect on September 23. In this dispute the Soviet Union has shown solidarity with India and she regards Kashmir as an integral part of India.

(11) Issue of Congo

In June 1960 Belgium granted independence to Congo. But immediately after independence a secessionist movement under Moise Tshombe was launched and as a result of this, Katanga a rich province of Congo seceded from Congo. The Prime Minister of Congo Patrice Lumumba opposed the secessionist movement and opposed Moise Tshombe who became the self-styled head of the government of Katanga. This state of affairs triggered a civil war and there was every possibility of foreign military intervention. Congo was engulfed in throes of disorder and her Prime Minister Patrice Lumumba was assassinated in cold blood. In order to bring about the unification of Congo, UN military force was sent there. A large number of Indian troops participated in the peace keeping operations of the UN military force in Congo. The UN Secretary General Dag Hammarskjold was killed in air crash while he was flying to Ndola in North

Rhodesia for peace talks inSeptember 1961. He was succeeded by U-Thant. The UN forces had to face considerable difficulty in effecting the unification of Congo by ending the secession of Katanga. However, under the direction of U-Thant the Secretary General Katanga the break-away province was incorporated into Congo through UN military action. Mr. Tshombe became the Prime Minister of Congo subsequently. The Soviet Union accused the USA and UK of complicity in the plot to saddle Mr. Tshombe to power and refused to bear the expenses incurred on the peace keeping operations of UN military force in Congo. However, after the elapse of a short time Mr. Tshombe was ousted and General Mobutu became the Head of government of Congo in 1966.

(12) Problem of Racial Discrimination in South Africa

In the first session of the General Assembly India complained that the government of the Union of South Africa had enacted certain discriminatory laws to the disadvantage of the people of Indian origin there. For example Asiatic Land Tenure and Representation Act of 1946 placed the people of Indian origin in a disadvantageous position. India requested the General Assembly to recommend that the government of South Africa should abandon the policy of apartheid and enact legislation in conformitywith the principles of UN Charter. South Africa contended that the matter lay within her domestic jurisdiction. This view was rejected bythe Assembly which called upon the parties to settle the matter peacefully. But the disputants failed to reach an agreement. On May 14, 1949 the General Assembly asked India, Pakistan and the Union of South Africa to hold a round table conference and explore the ways and means to settle the issue. But the differences continued to persist. The parliament of South Africa passed yet another stringent measure known as Group Areas Act. The sixth session of the General Assembly provided for the establishment of commission to help the disputants in solving the long standing controversy. The Assembly also called on the South African government to suspend the implementation of the Group Areas Act since it was based on the doctrine of racial discrimination. The seventh session of the UN General Assembly commenced in 1952 and it set up UN Good Offices Commission to arrange negotiations between India, Pakistan and the Union of South Africa but the commission did not succeed in its mission because the South African government insisted that the commission had no jurisdiction in the matter. In June 1955 the UN Secretary General designated ambassador Louis de Faro of Brazil to assist the parties. India and Pakistan agreed to co-operate but the South African Government declined to collaborate. In December

1955 and in November 1956 the General Assembly appealed to the parties to negotiate but the Union of South Africa refused to respond to the appeal. The Assembly recommended later the economic and trade boycott of South Africa. Unfortunately Britain and the United States have adopted partisan approach to question of imposition of comprehensive mandatory sanctions on the racist white regime of South Africa which has audacity to flout the world public opinion. However, the UNO has failed to force South Africa to dismantle the edifice of apartheid because of support of Western Powers to the White regime.

(13) The Korean Crisis

On June 25, 1950 the allegedly Russian trained troops of North Korea crossed the 38th parallel and attacked Republic of South Korea. The United States immediately brought the issue to the attention of the Security Council. On the same day the Security Council adopted a resolution noting "with grave concern the armed attack upon the Republic of Korea by forces from North Korea". The resolution stated that this action constituted a breach of the peace. The Council called for cessation of hostilities and urged North Korea to withdraw her armed forces to the 38th parallel. The Council appealed to all the member states to render every assistance to the UN in the execution of the resolution and to refrain from giving assistance to North Korea. This resolution had no effect upon North Korea and the hostilities commenced on a large scale. Between June 25 and July 7, 1950 the Security Council, adopted three resolutions and provided the framework for military sanctions. Under these resolutions the Council appealed to the member states of the UN to furnish" such assistance to the Republic of Korea as may be necessary to repel the armed attack and to restore international peace and security in the area". Under the third resolution adopted on July 7, 1950 the Security Council established a unified command under the USA authorising the US President to designate the supreme commander of the UN forces. This resolution requested the USA to report to the Council on the course of action taken under the unified command. Under the authority of these resolutions, a UN force of more than 35000 men from 15 countries and South Korea was created and was placed under the command of General Mac Arthur. The collective effort gained great momentum and by the end of 1950 the UN forces were well entrenched in North Korea and the resistance by North Korean forces was on the verge of collapse. China came forward to support North Korea which managed to offer resistance to the UN forces. However, the war continued for about three years and on July 27, 1953 an armistice was signed. Thus,

peace was restored in the country. Korea continued to be divided across the 38th parallel.

(14) Issue of Palestine

In 1947 the UN General Assembly at the request of the British government took up the issue of Palestine which was the former mandated territory given to Britain. The Assembly decided to divide Palestine between Arabs and Jews with an international control over Jerusalem. The Assembly adopted a resolution to end the British mandate by August 1948. On May 20, 1948 Count Folke Bernadott was appointed as UN mediator in Palestine. By May 15th the British troops were withdrawn and the state of Israeal into being. But the neighbouring Arabs states marched into Israel. The Security Council issued cease-fire order on 22nd May which was effected by the mediator. But the fighting again broke out and Mr. Bernadott the mediator of the UN was killed. He was replaced by Dr. Ralph Bunch. However, the clash between the Arabs and the Jews continued upto the end of the year 1948. In January 1949 a truce between them was established. The General Assembly directed the Trusteeship Council in December 1949 to take up the administration of Jerusalem, but unfortunately both Arabs and Jews refused to vacate their own part of the city. Thus, Arab-Israel tension still continues.

(15) Arabs-Israel War (1967)

On May 23, 1967 President Nasser of Egypt ordered the blockade of the Gulf of Aqaba. This resulted in the closure of the straits of Tiran for Israeli shipping. This step was taken in retaliation to Israel's aggressive designs on the Arabs. The situation in the area became very tense. On 31st May the United States initiated a resolution in the Security Council urging Israel and Arab states to comply with Secretary General U-Thant's appeal for restraint. On 5th June 1967 Israel's war planes made a surprise attack on Arab countries and started a full scale war on four fronts. (1)Gaza, (2) Sinai, (3) Jordan and (4) Syria. The UN Security Council unanimously approved a Soviet resolution demanding cease-fire and the same was accepted by Israel and Arab countries by June 9, 1967. In General Assembly two proposals were introduced to bring peace in West Asia. The first proposal was sponsored by 18 non-aligned countries including India and it called for unconditional withdrawal of Israel troops from occupied Arabs' territories such as Sinai peninsula, the gulf of Aqaba and Golan heights. The second proposal was initiated by 21 Latin American and Caribbean countries. It demanded that the Arabs should end their belligerency against

Israel. Both the resolutions could not be adopted as they failed to get required 2/3 majority in the Assembly. Ultimately on 22, November 1967 a compromise resolution sponsored by Britain was adopted by the Security Council which asked Israel to withdraw her forces from occupied Arab territories. The resolution also called for end of belligerency. Mr. Garner Jarring was appointed as UN mediator. But his mission to achieve durable peace and restoration of Arab territories failed. All that he could achieve was to arrange for an exchange of prisoners of war. On 21st March 1968 Israel attacked Jordan and in December 1968 Israel air force destroyed a number of airliners in Beirut airport. On both the occasions the Security Council simply condemned the acts of aggression.

(16) Arab Israel War (1973)

UAR and Syria in a bid to recover from Israel the territories lost during the previous war in 1967, launched a military offensive against Israel's armed forces stationed at Sinai in October 1973. As a result of this fresh flare up in the Middle East the Security Council in its emergency meeting on 22nd October, 1973 called upon "the parties to the present fighting to cease all firing" not later than 12 hours. The Security Council also appealed to the parties to accept its previous resolution under which both the parties should end belligerency and Israel should vacate occupied Arab territories. The Security Council also stressed the need for durable peace. But unfortunately the hostilities between Arab states and Israel have been continuing unabated. It has become increasingly clear that there could be no military solution of Arab-Israel conflict. Israel does not recongnise the right of Palestine Arabs for a separate homeland and she does not want to withdraw her forces from occupied Arab territories.

(17) Suez Crisis

On July 26, 1956 Suez canal was nationalised by Col. Nasser of Egypt. Britain and France brought the issue before the Security Council. In the meanwhile on 29th, October 1956 Israel attacked Egypt. Britain and France also decided to impose a military solution and attacked Egypt. The UN General Assembly met in an emergency session. It immediately ordered a cease-fire. In order to give effect to its resolution demanding cease-fire the Assembly created UN Emergency Force out of the contribution of ten nations including India. Peace was however restored with the help of UNEF. The UN influence and the Soviet threat of military intervention precluded the possibility of a major war on this issue.

(18) Civil War in Cyprus

Cyprus is an Island republic in eastern Mediterranean with a population of about 6 lakhs including 77% Greeks and 18% Turks. The trouble started in Cyprus with the demand raised by Greek Cypriots for union with Greece. The Arab nationals were opposed to this plan and so both the communities clashed in 1965. The UN General Assembly adopted a resolution calling upon all the states to refrain from interference in the internal affairs of Cyprus. The situation in Cyprus deteriorated again in November 1967. Ultimately three peace makers representing the USA, the UNO and NATO brought about an agreement in Cyprus. This agreement provided for withdrawal of Greek and Turkish expeditionary force from Cyprus, UN guarantee of territorial integrity and sovereignty of Cyprus and disarmament of all armed forces in Cyprus except for a 5000 strong police force. On July 16, 1974 President Makarios of Cyprus fled when a coup was staged against him. Turkey now intervened in favour of the Turkish Cypriots and landed her troops in Cyprus. The UN General Assembly adopted resolution asking for the withdrawal of all foreign troops. UN emergency force was stationed in Cyprus and Indian military officers participated in peace keeping operations there. President Makarios was able to regain his authority and refugees returned to their homes. In 1977 the Greeks and Turkish Cypriots had agreed to set up a federation in Cyprus.

(19) Indo-Pak War (1971)

In Bangla Desh Awami League contested elections in 1971 and won thumping majority but its leader Sheikh Mujib Rehman was not invited to form the government but on the contrary the government of Pakistan tried to suppress the liberation movement with iron hand. The Pakistani troops perpetrated untold atrocities on the people of Bangla Desh and thousands of the people migrated to India. The government of India insisted on the return of refugees and release of Sheikh Mujib Rehman. On December 3, 1971 Pakistan attacked India. On 5th December the United States introduced a resolution in Security Council demanding cease-fire and withdrawal of Indian troops. The Soviet Union vetoed this resolution and so the matter was referred to the General Assembly which called for cease-fire and withdrawal of Indian troops on 8th December 1971. Pakistani troops in Bangla desh surrendered on 16th December 1971 and India declared unilateral cease-fire. The Sovereign Republic of Bangladesh became a member of the UNO in 1972.

(E) The Difficulties In The Way Of The Functioning Of The UNO And Its Drawbacks

The very name United Nations has become a misnomer and a mockery for what should more appropriately be called the disunited nations. The planners of the United Nations Organisation thought of it as a successor to the League of Nations. Though the UN has localised many conflicts and has done pioneering work in social, cultural, scientific, economic and humanitarian fields, yet the organisation has certain weaknesses and difficulties. These may be summarised as follows :

(1) Misuse of Veto Power

The veto is of course only a sympton of Great Power disagreement. The veto was introduced because the idea was that the Great Powers had the responsibility of enforcing peace and as such there should be unanimity among Great Powers on any issue affecting world peace. The United States was the first to propose the introduction of veto in the Security Council. There is great possibility of veto being misused by the permanent members of Security Council. The entire UN machinery is paralysed if any permanent member of Security Council exercises veto against any resolution. In case any resolution is defeated in the Security Council due to exercise of veto, there is remote possibility of its being adopted by 2/3 majority of the members of the General Assembly because of the manoeuvres of the Great Power exercising veto. On certain occasions the permanent members of the Security Council have tried to pursue their national interests and exercise the veto to achieve them. Under President Truman the American government had announced that it would veto all candidates for the post of Secretary General except Trygve Lie. President Eisenhower also announced that the United States would use the veto to prevent the admission of People's Republic of China in the United Nations. By the end of 1960 out of the total number of 99 vetoes which had been cast the Soviet Union exercised veto for 92 times. On certain occasions the Great Powers have adopted partisan approach. For instance in case of Kashmir issue the United States, Britain and France had unduly supported Pakistan's position and failed to realise the legality of India's stand on Kashmir. Similarly, these Western countries have not exercised veto on various proposals demanding imposition of comprehensive mandatory sanctions on the government of Union of South Africa which is practising the policy of apartheid to the detriment of the coloured people. If any of the five permanent members is an aggressor or decides to favour or help an aggressor state no action can be

taken by the United Nations. Commenting on the privileged position of the permanent members of the Security Council, Lord Winster has aptly remarked thus "This organisation will be one for keeping small boys in order by prefects who are themselves exempt from the rules they administer." Commenting on the hegemony of Great Powers in the World body Dr. Murray has said" I strongly suspect that the first real strain on the new league will come when it attempts to give orders to some nation accustomed to freedom. It is a new provision that the Security Council should have the power to issue orders, while the fact that the Great Powers need not obey such orders will greatly weaken such moral authority as they might have had".

(2) The UNO not a Super State

The UNO is certainly not a super state or a world government. Every member state retains its sovereignty and consequently is not bound by the decisions taken by the United Nations. In 1986 the World Court gave ruling to the effect that the American aid to the rebels of the government of Nicaragua is against the UN Charter. The government of the United States under President Ronald Reagan declared that it was not bound to abide by the verdict of the world court. Similarly, the Soviet Union suppressed an uprising in Hungary by military force in 1956 in clear defiance of the UN Charter. On 21 August 1968 the Soviet troops together with the Allied troops of Warsaw pact countries entered the territory of Czechoslovakia and occupied the capital Prague in order to prevent the liberal leaders of the Czech communist party Mr. Dubeck the Secretary and Mr. Cernik the Prime Minister from carrying out a programme of liberalization which the Soviet Union deemed to be a challenge to the fundamental principles of communism. On August 23, the Soviet veto killed in Security Council a Western sponsored resolution condemning Soviet Union for her armed intervention in Czechoslovakia and calling for the withdrawal of foreign troops. These instances indicate that the great powers are immune from the clear implications of the charter which they can violate if their national interests so demand. Since 1980 Iran and Iraq have been waging war though the United Nations has appealed for a peaceful and negotiated settlement. Thus, great and small powers can thwart the appeals of the General Assembly or Security Council. In other words the UNO exercises a degree of influence and not a real power over the sovereign states and the Great Powers are placed in privileged position due to the veto power.

(3) Polarization of the World into Two Hostile Power Blocs

There is not much of harmony in the working of the United Nations because of the polarization of the world into two hostile power blocs viz. the Soviet bloc and American bloc. The result is that the problems before the United Nations are not discussed on their merits. For instance the Western countries adopted partisan approach in case of Kashmir problem and supported Pakistan's stand on Kashmir because Pakistan was a member of SEATO. The UNO has degenerated into a forum where wordy duels occur among the member states of these two blocs. The voting pattern of the member states of these blocs is influenced not by the principles and purposes of the UN charter but by the paramount consideration of the solidarity of the bloc. Thus, the world body has become cockpit of contending parties which hurl polemics against one another.

(4) Lack of Coercive Power

The UNO does not possess any coercive power to punish any aggressor state. Without the consent of powerful nations the UN cannot conduct any military operations against the aggressor state. If a Super Power is interested in any issue, the UN machinery may be used for conduct of military operations. For instance UN military force took action against North Korea because the United States did not like that South Korea might be taken over by the communists. In case of Korean crisis the motive behind the UN military action was prevention of spread of communism. However, in case of Pakistan's aggression on Kashmir.the UN never contemplated such a military action. The United Nations has no military forces of its own to come to help of any nation which becomes a victim of aggression.

In the words of Dr. Murray "The security clauses providing the new organisation with teeth of enormous size and instantaneous action have been generally applauded as putting the new charter on quite a different level of practical efficiency than the old Covenant and so it might well seem on first reading. But the reflection raises doubts and even suspicions. The only Powers which are likely to possess enormous forces to put the peace of the world in peril have armed themselves to the full and insist that the great Peace Organisation shall have no authority over them. They make certain general promises of good behaviour but remain free to do as they like. Meanwhile, we are expected to congratulate ourselves that the new League has teeth".

(5) Lack of Adequate Representation of Various Regions of the World

There is no proper representation of the various regions of the world in various organs and specialised agencies of the UNO although article 23 of the charter contains the formula of "equitable geographical distribution", as a means of ensuring adequate representation of various countries. No state of African continent is represented as a permanent member of Security Council. No African diplomat has yet been elevated to the post of the Secretary General of the United Nations. There is great representation of the member states of Western bloc in various organs and specialised agencies of the United Nations.

(6) Certain Defects in the Charter

There has been a lot of criticism of article 2 (7) which deals with the domestic jurisdiction which has not been properly defined by the framers of the UN charter. On the other hand the provisions in the charter with regard to pacific settlement of disputes are unsatisfactory. The appointment of the Secretary General is the result of political manoeuvres. There was prolonged deadlock after the retirement of Trygve Lie as Secretary General. The Soviet Union was prepared to leave the UNO without a Secretary General instead of agreeing to a candidate supported by other nations. In the case of appointment of Secretary General, article 23 of the charter which lays stress on equitable geographical distribution has been violated. Mostly the diplomats from European countries have been elevated to this high office.

(7) Financial Difficulties of the World Body

In 1986 the United States reduced her contribution to the budget of the United Nations and this has created a financial crisis for the organisation. The USA now finds the UN with its vastly increased membership rather difficult tó get on with, since the two-third majority required for important decisions by the General Assembly is difficult to get now. In 159 member General Assembly the voice of 101 non-aligned countries prevails. The United States and Britain have also withdrawn from the UNESCO. This unwelcome development has caused financial difficulties for this specialised agency of the UN.

(8) Change in Techniques of Diplomacy

It has been observed that the General Assembly and the Security Council have been used by the protagonists of the two blocs more for propaganda and denunciation than for constructive action.

More and more the UNO like its predecessor League of Nations is left idle and it is not properly used and important decisions are taken outside its walls. Shrimati Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit said on relinquishing the chair of Assembly President on 22nd September 1954, "Machinery in order to be useful must be kept running. If allowed to remain idle, it deteriorates".

(F) The UNO As An Improvement On The League Of Nations

The UNO like the League of Nations came into existence due to the desire of the peoples and politicians of the world to ensure peace on a permanent basis. There exist certain similarities between the two international organisations. World War I and its ravages prompted the establishment of the League of Nations to prevent the recurrence of war. A similar motive was responsible for the birth of the United Nations. The organisation of the League of Nations was based on a Council, an Assembly and a Secretariat. The UN Security Council Assembly and Secretariat, though not an exact replica, yet bear strong resemblance to the Council, Assembly and the Secretariat of the League. The Trusteeship system is indeed an improved version of the League's mandatory system. The ILO and the world court and some specialised agencies of the UN are virtually a continuation of the League's organs. Inspite of these similarities, the UNO is a definite improvement over the League of Nations in many respects.

(1) United Nations Symbolic of Unity of World Community

The name "United Nations" suggests something more organic than the League of Nations. Though the principle of sovereignty of states is retained in the charter yet it is likely that in near future the present world body may become a genuine United Nations by closer harmony and clear understanding among nations. The opening words of the Preamble of the UN charter" We the peoples of the United Nations" are also very important. It is quite possible that in the years to come these words may be invoked to emphasise the primacy of the world community as against the claims of sovereignty of one or more of the member states.

(2) UN not Incorporated into any Peace Treaty

The League of Nations was incorporated into the ill-fated Treaty of Versailles while the UN Charter is not a part of post-war treaties. Such separation reduces complications and precludes the possibility of criticism justified or unjustified levelled against the League of Nations. Such charges as "the League of Nations was the disreputed daughter of a dishonourable mother" cannot be levelled

against the United Nations. There is a definite advantage in separating an international instrument designed to terminate war.

(3) Permanent Representation of the Member States of the Security Council at UN Head Quarters

The UN charter is an improvement upon the League covenant in that it provides that each member state of the Security Council will be permanently represented at the UN Head Quarters. The League would have possibly functioned better if its Council had been in continuous session. No system of world organisation can function successfully until and unless there is continuous organised debate and policy making on a world level.

(4) Structure of UNO more Comprehensive than the League's Structure

The League of Nations had three principal organs viz. an Assembly a Council and a Secretariat, though the Permanent Court of International Justice and the International Labour Organisation were also attached to it. But the UNO on the other hand has all these organs but also an Economic and Social Council, a Trusteeship Council and the United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organisation. The Trusteeship Council is not entirely new but it has replaced League's Permanent Mandate Commission. But Economic and Social Council is an entirely new organisation and it is the result of the realisation of the fact that the peace in the world cannot possibly be maintained until and unless it is based on economic and social justice. Thus, the UNO has gone one step further than its predecessor viz. the League in that it aims at preparing a more solid ground on which peaceful international relations are to be based. Moreover, the UNESCO which is a definite advancement upon the League's Committee on intellectual cooperation, aims at creating a psychological basis for the world peace and international understanding.

(5) Membership of UNO more Broad-Based than that of the League

The League was not universal in character. At the outset the United States whose President played the dominant role in its formation did not join it. Germany joined the League in 1926 and left it in 1933. The Soviet Union became its member in 1934 and was expelled in 1940. Thus, the League auffered from lack of universality. There was no time when all the major powers became its members. But in case of the UNO the position is just the reverse. All the Big Powers who sponsored the idea are the members of the UN.

It is fortunate in having within its fold the leaders of two power blocs the United States and the Soviet Union which meet very often on a common platform to discuss the problems of peace and war. At present there are as many as 159 members of the UNO which is truly universal in character unlike its predecessor.

(6) Distinction between the UN Charter and the League Covenant on the Issue of Renunciation of Membership

Under the League Covenant the membership was voluntary and any member state could withdraw after a two years notice. This is what actually happened. Italy Germany and Japan renounced their membership in the pursuit of their imperialist designs and the League could take no action against these Axis Powers. But the UN Charter makes no provision for withdrawal of membership. It can therefore be argued that legally speaking withdrawal of membership is not permissible. It is however difficult to predict what action the UN would take if such a case happens.

(7) Distinction between the UNO and the League in Procedure of Arriving at a Decision.

In the League of Nations both the Assembly and the Council acted on the principle of unanimity. The decision of the Council or Assembly was not binding upon the member states if it was taken by a simple majority. The UN charter has dicarded the rule of unanimity of all members at least in the General Assembly. The unanimity rule has been retained in the Security Council where decision can be taken by the majority of its member states which should necessarily include all the five permanent members whose concurrence is essential for the execution of any resolution.

(8) Distinction in Respect of Initiative in Matters of War and Peace

The League of Nations could not take initiative in the matters of war and peace but it could discuss a problem only when it was brought to its notice by any one of the member states. This weakness has been removed in the UN Charter. Now the Security Council itself can take initiative in such matters as can adversely affect the world peace. In fact it is obligatory for the UN Secretary General "to bring to the attention of the Security Council any such matter as he thinks is likely to threaten international peace and security". Thus, the present world body is not at the mercy of the disputants.

(9) Superiority of the UN in Field of Sanctions and Enforcement Action

The UN is an improvement upon the League as regards the

sanctions and enforcement action. Under the present system the primary sanctions are no doubt economic but the Security Council can take any action by air, sea or land forces if it feels that the economic sanctions would be inadequate. In such an eventuality the Security Council can urge the members to contribute military forces. The military action of the UN in helping South Koreawhen she became a victim of aggression by North Korea on June 25, 1950 constitutes a land mark in the development of this international organisation. UN peace keeping operations in Congo and Cyprus are praiseworthy. In sharp contrast to this the League had failed to take military action against any aggressor state which flouted its covenant with inpunity.

From this analysis of the UN charter it cannot be asserted that the UN is the perfect mechanism of world peace or that it is something wholly new. On the contrary the organisation of the United Nations owes much to the League of Nations. It may however be contended that the UN is only a mechanism to a certain end which cannot be attained until and unless those who run it are in right earnest. The ultimate solution lies in improving the human nature which is the spring of all human action and which is responsible for international tension and cold war. The World community is faced with an unhappy dilemma; "United Nations or no nations at all". The wisdom of mankind consists in making the present international organisation a success. In the words of Dolivet "The UN is potentially and actually much stronger than the League of Nations and in its strength lies the future hope of mankind".

14

FOREIGN POLICY OF THE USA, RUSSIA AND GREAT BRITAIN (1900-1945)

OUTLINE

(A) Foreign Policy of the United States between 1900 and 1945.

(B) Foreign Policy of Russia (1900-45)

(C) Britain's Foreign Policy (1900-45)

(A) Foreign Policy Of The United States Between 1900 And 1945

The United States was itself a colony of Great Britain and had to attain independence by a hard struggle against imperialism. But war of Americans against Britain for winning freedom, would not have been crowned with success but for the temporary loss of British supremacy in the sea on account of a combination of European powers against Britain. The 'balance of power situation' in European Continent resulted in the independence of the United States. This view is expressed by Fredrick Hartmann in his book entitled "The Relations of Nations".

(1) Objectives of American Foreign Policy Prior to the Outbreak of the First World War

(a) Maintenance of Neutrality: In his farewell address American President Washington remarked thus: "Europe has a set of primary interests which to us have none or a very remote relation.

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Hence she must be engaged in frequent controversies, the causes of which are essentially foreign to our concerns. Hence, therefore, it must be unwise for us to implicate ourselves by artificial ties in the ordinary vicissitudes of her politics or the ordinary combinations and collisions of her friendships or enmities. Our detached and distant situation invites and enables us to pursue a different course ... It is our true policy to steer clear of permanent alliances with any portion of the foreign world". It had been an endeavour of the government of the United States to refrain from entanglement in the political affairs of Europe. After the outbreak of the First World War President Wilson declared on 4th August 1914, America's neutrality and two weeks later he appealed to Americans to be "impartial in thought as well as in action". Most Americans welcomed President Wilson's proclamation of official neutrality viewing the Old World's resort to bloodshed as something horrible and deplorable. Commenting on the US non-involvement in the hostilities, the Chicago Herald wrote: "Peace-loving citizens of this country will now rise-up and tender a hearty vote of thanks to Columbus for having discovered America". For three years the United States maintained strict neutrality in the armed conflict her role being only the selling of arms and ammunition to the belligerent states of Europe. But this neutral posture could not be sustained for long.

(b) Monroe Doctrine: American foreign policy was marked by the most famous 'Monroe doctrine'. US President Monroe enunciated his Monroe Doctrine in these words "The American continents by free and independent condition which they have assumed and maintained are henceforth not to be considered as subjects for future colonisation by any European Powers..... The United States had not intervened and never would intervene in wars in Europe, but they could not, on the other hand, in the interest of their own peace and happiness allow the allied European Powers to extend their political system to any part of America and try to intervene in the independence of the South American Republics. We should consider any attempt on their part to extend their system to any portion of this hemisphere as dangerous to our peace and safety".

The Monroe doctrine was a discreet policy which the United States had followed in her own interest more or less consistently for more than a century.

The United States emerged as a powerful nation after the civil war of 1861-65 and she began to assert herself not only in the affairs of American hemisphere but also in world affairs. She applied the Monroe doctrine against France in Mexico and consequently France

withdrew her forces from Mexico. In 1895 the United States adopted a stiff attitude towards Britain with regard to her boundary dispute with Venezuela and the latter was compelled to submit the issue to arbitration. In 1898 the United States waged war against Spain on the issue of Cuba. The United States inflicted crushing defeat on Spain and by the Treaty of Paris, Spain agreed to give to the United States the Philippines Islands.

(c) US Policy of Open Door: Yet another hall-mark of American policy was the policy of Open Door. The USA pursued the policy of Open Door in China. She believed in the maintenance of territorial integrity of China so that she and other countries might have equal opportunity of trade with China. Various European countries accepted this policy of Open Door with regard to China. However in 1900 the Chinese, launched a movement known as 'Boxer Rising' which aimed at the end of exploitation of the Chinese at the hands of foreigners. However in order to sustain the policy of 'Open Door' the United States joined hands with other countries to crush this uprising.

(2) Circumstances Leading to US Entry into the First World War

When the First World War broke out in 1914, President Wilson adopted an attitude of watchful waiting. In 1915 Germany started her naval operations against the Allies. Germany proclaimed that "from February 18, 1915 she would destroy every enemy craft found in the waters about the British Isles without regard to the safety of those aboard and that even neutral ships might accidentally suffer a like fate". President Wilson at once replied that in case this unprecedented action should occur and result in the loss of American vessels or lives, he would hold Germany to "strict accountability". Nevertheless in March 1915 an American citizen was drowned by the torpedoing of the British steamer Falaba. In May 1915 an American tanker named 'the Gunflight' was attacked by German naval forces. A few days later the British Liner named the Lusitania carrying some military supplies from New York was destroyed by German submarines. As a result of this attack 1200 men on board including 128 Americans lost their lives. This incident sparked off great controversy about American neutrality and led to the outburst of great resentment in the United States. Criticising US government's neutrality a news paper 'The New York Nation' wrote "It is a deed for which a Hun would blush, a Turk be ashamed and Barbary pirate apologize". The paper further added "The torpedo that sank the Lusitania also sank Germany in the opinion of mankind". President Wilson demanded

that German government should cease her lawless practices and make all possible reparation for the damages inflicted. In reply to President's demand Germany declared that the liners in future would not be sunk by her submarines without warning and without the safety of the lives of non-combatants. But unfortunately on 24th March 1916 the lives of Americans were once again put in jeopardy by the torpedoing without warning of the unarmed French steamer named Sussex. Since it was a clear violation of the pledge given by Germany, President Wilson sent an ultimatum to Germany to the effect that unless such attacks stopped the United States would not keep diplomatic ties with her. Germany feeling the intensity of American opinion renewed her pledge and for next nine months the two countries were on better terms.

On January 31, 1917 German government informed the US that henceforth in disregard of the pledge given after the sinking of French vessel Sussex, she would sink neutral as well as belligerent ships in certain waters near the British Isles and in the Mediterranean. At once Wilson the US President broke off diplomatic relations. By April 1, 1917 eight American ships had been sunk with the loss of forty eight lives. On 2nd April Wilson called special session of US Congress and on 6th April a declaration of war against Germany was voted upon. The United States believed that in case Germany conquered entire Europe, she could pose serious threat to American security.

On 2nd April 1917 President Wilson defined the war aims of the USA in these words "The world must be made safe for democracy; its peace must be planted upon the foundations of political liberty. We have no selfish ends to serve. We desire no conquest no domination. We seek no war indemnities for ourselves no material compensation for the sacrifices we shall freely make. We are one of the champions of rights of mankind."

(3) America's War Time Declarations

(*Note:* For detailed study Chapter 4 'B' may please be referred)

(4) United States and Paris Peace Settlement:

After the end of the First World War President Wilson set out for Europe to participate in Paris Peace Conference in January 1919. Wherever he went he was welcomed as the saviour of mankind and as a prophet from the New World to redress the grievances of the old. But unfortunately when the veteran Allied statesmen set-down to deliberate the peace provisions, the scene changed. Commenting on the atmosphere in Paris and the shape of peace settlement Arthur Meier Schlesinger of Harvard University had aptly re-

marked thus "The very atmosphere of Paris reeked with fear and hatred of Germany. People could not forget the bitter conditions she had inflicted on Russia and Rumania, only nine months before and knew fully well that if the Germans had triumphed on the western front they would have been no less merciless. Moreover the Allied governments had never in their hearts accepted Wilson's war aims and since they had borne the brunt of the conflict and suffered most of the losses, they had no intention of letting him dictate the terms. Another stumbling block was that the broad principles enunciated in the 14- Points often lent themselves to differing or even conflicting interpretations in concrete instances, a fact, of which the President's antagonists took prompt advantage. Some countries notably England, France, Italy, Japan and Rumania had driven advance bargains through secret arrangement and every nation had its own special necessities, jealousies, and aspirations". Thus peace conference was called upon to undertake a mighty task in very unfavourable circumstances. However, Germany was forced to sign the most humiliating and the most unjust treaty of Versailles on 28th June 1919. On 10th July 1919 President Wilson submitted it to the US Senate for ratification. Here Wilson's diplomacy was subjected to a heavy ordeal. A storm of opposition burst forth. For this he was responsible to certain extent. He had prepared the Americans to wage a war against Germany because the submarine warfare was against the international law because democracy was in the throes of rout and because a new world order was required to save civilisation from 'the scourge of war'. These arguments did not appeal to Americans. When the war was over, the Americans felt that they had fought for no good cause, that their victory was meaningless and that they had been manoeuvred into a non-Amerian war by the British diplomats. So having failed to make clear that the war was waged for a vital American interest, President Wilson had no way of proving to the nation that his settlement of war really concerned the United States. When the senators debated the Treaty of Versailles with its covenant, they realised that the proposed League of Nations imposed upon the United States the unprecedented commitment to help enforce the peace of Europe. In exchange for this help, the United States was to receive nothing. The result, was that the treaty of Versailles was rejected by the Senate. In the elections of 1920 the Republican candidate Harding emerged successful. President Harding in this inaugural address in 1921 enunciated the guiding principles of his administration in the world affairs in these words. "We seek no part in directing the destinies of the world. We are ready to associate ourselves with the nations of the world great and small

for conference and counsel, for the suggestion of plans of mediation conciliation and arbitration; but every commitment must be made in the exercise of our national sovereignty."

(5) The United States and the League of Nations:

Although the US Senate rejected the League of Nations, the government of the USA began to send its observers to participate in the discussions of League's various committees without right to vote. American observers were attached to the League's committees on traffic in women and children, opium trade and health. Numerous American experts in law, science and medicine gave their services to the League in their individual capacities. After 1924 Washington openly began to send representatives to participate fully in the League conferences when her national interests demanded. Although the United States was not a member of the League of Nations, she became a member of the International Labour Organisation (I.L.O.) in 1934. I.L.O. was as closely connected with the League as the Permanent Court of International Justice. Before the end of 1931 America had adhered to as many as 13 agreements signed by the League, maintained five permanent officials in Geneva and even sent a delegate to work with the League Council during the Manchurian episode.

(6) The United States and Disarmament

The accumulation of armaments led to the outbreak of the first World War which brought untold sufferings upon mankind. In the interest of world peace, the government of United States began to develop interest in the disarmament talks.

(*Note:* For detailed study Chapter No.8'E' may please be referred)

(7) The United States and Problem of Reparation and Inter-Allied Debts

(*Note:* For detailed study, chapter No.6 'D' and 'E' may please be referred)

(8) The United States and Pact of Paris

At the instance of U.S. Secretary of State Kellogg, draft of a treaty was prepared in Paris in 1928 "to out-law war as an instrument of national policy and to bind the countries to resolve their disputes by pacific means". It came to be called Pact of Paris or Kellogg-Briand Pact. The United States sincerely supported this pact and in collaboration with British Premier Ramsay Macdonald she declared in October, 1929 — "Both our governments resolve to

accept the Peace Pact not only as a declaration of good intentions but as a positive obligation to direct national policy in accordance with its pledge".

(9) Relations of the United States with China between the two World Wars

In spite of the weak position of China in international affairs, the United States treated her with diplomatic courtesies and respect. American commercial and missionary interests expanded in China. The USA, was a staunch advocate of 'open door' in China and supported territorial integrity and political sovereignty of China. At Washington Conference convened in 1921-22 Nine Power Treaty was signed. Under this treaty the policy of open door towards China received international recognition. During the year 1927 when the Nationalist troops were advancing towards North China, US Secretary of State Kellogg announced America's strict neutrality in the internal affairs of China. After the Kuomintang achieved a degree of unity in China, the USA recognised its government on 25th July 1928 and concluded a treaty restoring tariff autonomy to China, In 1929 hostilities started in Manchuria between the Soviet Union and China. America reminded both of them of their obligations under the Pact of Paris and appealed to them to adopt pacific means to settle their dispute. This appeal was approved by all the major Powers which were signatories to the Pact of Paris and also by China and Russia who gave assurance that they would not resort to force except in self-defence.

In order to strengthen China against Japanese inroads, the US had been assisting China with money and material. The United States asserted the right to protect her legitimate interests in China and pursue the policy of the open door when the Japanese foreign office issued the famous Amau statement on 17th April 1934 claiming for Japan the right to act single-handed in the maintenance of peace and order in the Far East. Due to Japan's aggressive designs in China and South East Asia, US ambassador Mr.Grew in Japan advised the home government to undertake huge programme of rearmament as the only deterrent to the Japanese imperialists. The US government promptly responded and increased the strength of the army and the USA was not willing to be involved in Sino-Japanese conflict. US Congress passed the Neutrality Act in 1935. When Japan started hostilities against China in 1937, the USA granted a credit of 25 million dollars to China to facilitate the exportation of American products specially the arms and ammunition. On September 25, 1940 the Export Import Bank announced

another loan of 25 million dollars to China and thereby enabled her to resist Japan's aggression.

(10) Relations Between the United States and Japan

As long as the United States and Japan were Powers of secondary importance in the Far East, they behaved well and accepted the policy of 'open door' in China and opposed the rise of Russia in the Far East. The Sino-Japanese war of 1894-95 and the Russo-Japanese war of 1905 left Japan the most predominant state in the Far East. Japan now began to pursue the imperialist policy vigorously in the Pacific region. The United States was deeply concerned about possible Japanese invasion of the Philippines. During the course of hostilities during the First World War Japan presented before China the famous Twenty one Demands. The American Secretary of State Bryan notified on 11th May 1915 both Japan and China that the US could not recognise any agreement or understanding which had been reached between the governments of China and Japan impairing the treaty rights of US or her citizens in China, the political or territorial integrity of China or the policy of open door relative to China. When America declared war upon Germany in April 1917, she tried to come to an understanding with Japan and the result was the Lansing - Ishii agreement of November 1917.

Within a week after the signature of this agreement President Wilson made it clear that the US had no intention of leaving China at the mercy of Japan and that Japan's pursuance of her special interest should not jeopardize territorial integrity of China. At Paris Peace Conference (1919) President Wilson fought for the protection of China. The American delegation opposed the Japanese demand for the German colonies north of the Equator and due to pressures exercised on Japan, the latter was forced to accept the mandate system. In 1921 US President Harding called a conference at Washington in order to check the growing naval strength of Japan. In this conference the Four Power Pact signed between the US, the UK, France and Japan pronounced the end of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance of 1902. This pact obligated signatory states to respect each other's right in insular possessions in the Pacific and in case of dispute, to refer the matter to a joint conference for arbitration and conciliation. The Five Power Treaty applying to capital ships called for a ten year construction holiday. The ratio of capital ships between US, UK, Japan, France and Italy was fixed at 5:5:3.67:1.67 respectively. Yet another agreement which was signed in Washington Conference was the Nine Power Treaty which obliged Japan and

other signatory states to respect the sovereignty and territorial integrity of China and follow the policy of 'open door' in China. The Washington treaties seemed to inaugurate an era of friendly relations between Japan and the USA. In 1923 the United States extended huge financial assistance to the Japanese victims of earthquake of Yokohama. Despite the apparent relaxation of tension between the two countries Japan never abandoned her imperialist designs in Manchuria a province of China. Claude A. Buss has aptly remarked thus, "despite Japan's adherence to the Washington treaties, the Kellogg Pact, and the London Naval Treaty of 1930 and the influence of Shidehara liberalism in internal politics of Japan, the Japanese never abandoned their life line in Manchuria". In September 1931 Japan started hostilities in Manchuria and the US registered her protest. US Secretary of State Stimson urged England and France to take action to restrain Japanese aggression but the latter were found luke-warm. On 7th January 1932 Stimson made his pronouncement of the doctrine of non-recognition. However, Japan was reminded of her obligations under the Nine Power Treaty of 1922 and the Pact of Paris. Japan paid no attention to US appeal and established her control over Manchuria. In July 1937 Japan again opened hostilities against China. President Roosevelt in a speech at Chicago denounced Japan by saying that nations resorting to war for selfish purposes should be quarantined.

(11) American Interests and Policies Relating to Philippines

Towards the close of nineteenth century the United States began to evince keen interest in the Far Eastern region. As a result of war with Spain she had acquired the Philippines in August 1898. The annexation of the Philippines together with the acquisition of Hawaii and the Panama Canal Zone symbolised the growing American power in the Pacific. In 1909 the US rejected the 'open door' for the Philippines and adopted a policy of free trade. The US enjoyed the monopoly of import and export trade in the Philippines. The economy of the country was entirely controlled by the Americans whose immigration there became a matter of concern and anxiety for the Philippines Nationalists. After the end of the First World War the government of the Philippines inspired by President Wilson's ideal of self-determination, sent a special mission to Washington. Wilson assured the mission that independence would soon be granted to the people of the Philippines. When President Wilson was succeeded by Republican President Harding in the election of 1920, the legislators of the Republic party which controlled the US Congress, opposed the grant of complete independence to the Philippines. President Harding appointed an investigation commission

under General Wood and Cameron Forbes in order to assess the political situation of the island. The commission reached the Philippines in 1920 and it reported that the people of the country lacked political maturity and that there was an irreconcilable diversity of opinion on the conditions of independence. The commission also stated that it would be premature to grant independence because the island was not ready economically and militarily for independence. President Coolidge who succeeded Harding, also was opposed to complete independence for the Philippines. However the nationalists continued their struggle for freedom. On 24th March 1934 US Congress passed the Tydings — Mc Duffie Law under which certain measure of autonomy was given to the people of the Philippines though the government of the USA retained the supreme authority there. However on July 4, 1946 after four hundred years of Spanish rule and nearly fifty years of US domination, the Philippines became independent. The promise of independence was given in the Tydings Mc Duffie Act which also provided for the protection of American business in the island. Manuel Rox became the first President of the Republic of Philippines.

(12) US and Latin America

Quite early in 19th century the United States had realised the necessity of preventing European interference in the affairs of the New World. The Americans wanted that the days when the wars of the European Powers were fought on American soil, should go:

(a) Monroe Doctrine: On 2nd December 1923 President Monroe enunciated Monroe doctrine. In his address to Congress he proclaimed that American continents "were henceforth not to be considered as subjects for colonisation by European Powers" and the United States of America would not permit any extension of their system in any portion of American hemisphere. This came to be known as Monroe Doctrine and laid down the principle "America for Americans".

(b) President Wilson's Constructive Approach Towards Latin America: The policy of the United States towards her Latin American neighbours after 1893 was one of 'dollar diplomacy' which led to strained relations among the republics of Latin America. So in order to cultivate friendly relations with the republics of Latin America President Wilson made a significant policy statement in March 1913. He declared "One of chief objects of my administration will be to cultivate the friendship and deserve the confidence of our sister republics of Central and South America and to promote in every proper and honourable way the interests which are common to the

peoples of the two Continents ... The US has nothing to seek in Central or South America except the lasting interests of the people of the two Continents, the security of the governments intended for the people and for no special group or interest". In October 1913 Wilson specifically stated thus, "the US will never again seek one additional foot of territory by conquest". These statements earned for the United States the confidence and good will of the sister republics all over the Southern Continent and Central America.

(c) The Liquidation of Imperialism in Latin America: Samuel ıel Flag Bemis in his book entitled "The Latin American Policy of the United States" has written thus, "the auspicious outcome of the World War of 1914-18 and its diplomatic aftermath in the Far East and the Pacific- the Washington treaties of February 1922 marked the beginning of a new chapter in the Latin American policy of the United States, the liquidation of imperialism". On the auspicious occasion of the centenary celebrations of independence of Brazil in 1922, US Secretary of States Hughes declared "We sincerely desire the independence, the unimpaired sovereignty and political integrity and the constantly increasing prosperity of the peoples of Latin America. We have our domestic problems incident to expanding life of a free people but there is no imperialistic sentiment among us to cast even a shadow across the pathway of our progress. We covet no territory; we seek no conquest; the liberty we cherish for ourselves we desire for others; we sincerely desire to see throughout this hemisphere an abiding peace, the reign of justice and the diffusion of the blessings of a beneficient co-operation". This statement amply reflected the foreign policy of the republican party government of the United States. The first step in the liquidation of imperialism was taken as early as June 1921 when American military Governor in Dominican Republic announced an eight month's period of preparation to fulfil the required conditions and complete all necessary arrangements for the independence of the Republic.

US Secretary Hughes next turned to the problem of Central America. In 1922-23 various conferences were convened in Washington under the chairmanship of Hughes to deal with the affairs of Central America. As a result of the deliberations of these conferences as many as twelve treaties between the five republics of Central America viz. Guatemala, El Salvodor, Costa Rice, Hondura and Nicaragua were concluded. These treaties dealt with such subjects as promotion of peace and solidarity among these republics, disarmament, free trade, promotion of education, labour welfare, social welfare, finances, transportation and reciprocal rights of citizenship. But the significant achievement of these conferences was

the adoption of a convention to which the US was a party, for the submission of disputes which had proved insoluble through diplomatic channels, to an impartial and independent Commission of Inquiry. The signatories to this convention undertook to refrain from hostilities till the report of the commission of inquiry was received. After 1927 the old policy of 'dollar diplomacy' was abandoned and announcements to this effect were made by the US diplomats on several occasions. Various Latin American countries signed the Pact of Paris in 1928 and renounced war as an instrument of national policy. The Secretary of State Kellogg said before the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations on December 11, 1928: "Even without this treaty, does anybody believe that the present governments of Europe are in a position to attack any one of the South American countries and impose upon them their form of government?" In 1929 a conference was convened at Washington and it worked out two treaties: (1) General Convention of Inter-American Conciliation, and (2) The General Treaty of Inter-American Arbitration.

(d) Latin America and Doctrine of Pan-Americanism: In its relations with Latin American States, the US was guided by the doctrine of Pan Americanism. Commenting on the implications of this doctrine J.F. Rippy says that Pan Americanism meant "a movement designed to promote peace, security, trade relations and general prosperity among the independent states of America". In pursuance of the doctrine of Pan-Americanism, the United States took positive steps to conciliate the Latin American states. Protectorate over the Carribean island was given up by the US. At Montevideo President Roosevelt declared that "the definite policy of the US from now is opposed to armed intervention". At Buenos Aires in 1936, the United States concluded various treaties showing friendship and co-operation with Latin America. In 1939 at Panama and in 1940 at Havana the US agreed with other American States to take common action in case of attack by any European belligerent state. Further the US gave financial aid to several Latin American states. All these efforts were fruitful and when the US possessions in the Far East were attacked by Japan, other American states expressed their solidarity and joined the Second World War on the side of Allied Powers and severed diplomatic relations with Axis Powers. In January 1942 the foreign ministers of Latin American States and the US met at Rio de Janeiro and declared that an act of aggression against one American state was aggression against all. From 1942 to 1945 the United States and Latin American States acted in concert with each other.

(13) US Entry in the Second World War

(*Note* : For detailed study Chapter No.12 (B) may please be referred).

(14) The United States and the Establishment of the UNO

(*Note* : For detailed study Chapter No.13 (A) may please be referred).

(B) Foreign Policy Of Russia (1900-45)

On the eve of 20th century Russia was suffering from autocratic monarchy degenerate clergy and corrupt nobility. In 1894 Czar Nocholas II the son of Czar Alexander III ascended the throne but he was not only ill-equipped and ill-educated but also he lacked the vigour and energy of his predecessor. In his reign the reactionary elements such as nobles and clergymen sought to keep the people in thraldom. The peasantry was neglected, education was given shabby treatment and the Czarist secret police perpetrated atrocities on the revolutionaries and the intelligentsia. The queen Czarina under the spell of a Siberian monk Rasputin indulged in the unwarranted interference in the matters of state. The labour class was subjected to ruthless exploitation. The rural population though liberated from serfdom lived a hand to mouth existence. The civil liberties of the people were infringed by the excesses of the government. By the end of 19th century Russian society represented a grim spectacle of Czarist repression, and degenerate and corrupt bureaucracy and nobility. The vast majority of labourers and peasants had no opportunity to ventilate their grievances. The national parliament i.e., Duma never truly represented the people. In the external affairs Russia suffered several set-backs which tarnished her image. A brief review of Russia's external affairs from 1900 onwards is given as follows.

(1) War with Japan (1904-1905)

(*Note* : For detailed study Chapter No.2 (E) may please be referred).

(2) Anglo-Russian Convention 1907

S. B. Fay says "Anglo-Russian Entente settling the long standing sources of friction between the two countries in the Middle East was an obvious compliment to the Anglo-French Entente". It appeared to have been discussed between King Edward VII of England and M.Izvolski the foreign minister of Russia during the Russo-Japanese war (1904-05). Izvolski realised that Russia was greatly weakened by her war with Japan and that Franco-Russian alliance had consequently lost weight in the balance as compared with the

Triple Alliance. The following factors culminated in the conclusion of Anglo-Russian Convention (1907).

(i) Possibility of Renewal of War with Japan: Izvolski realised that Russia was subject to possible renewal of trouble with Japan. Russia indeed needed long years of peace to recover from the effects of war and only method to assure this was to make certain that Japan would remain quiet. It was believed that the natural bridge between Russia and Japan was England, Japan's ally since 1902. A rapprochement with England would facilitate a sincere reconciliation with Japan, fortify Russia's position as an ally of France and give a more solid basis to some what weakened Franco-Russian alliance.

(ii) Possibility of opening of Hostilities with England: The other danger for Russia was that trouble might start with Great Britain as a result of long standing conflict of interests in the Middle East. Commenting on British position in respect of Persian gulf Lord Lansdowne made the most momentus declaration on 15th May 1903. This declaration stated "Firstly we should protect and promote British trade in the Gulf. Secondly, we should not exclude the legitimate trade of others. Thirdly, we should regard the establishment of a naval base or a fortified port in the gulf by any other power as a very grave menace to British interests and we should certainly resist it by all the means at our disposal". This emphatic warning was further reinforced by Lord Curzon's naval demonstration in the Persian Gulf in November 1903. Russia's interests which clashed with those of Britain made the situation tense. The people still remembered the Crimean War, the explosive situation when the British fleet threatened the Dardanalles in 1878 and the Panjdeh incident which nearly led to the brink of war between the two countries. Recently the Dogger Bank affair and other incidents of Russo-Japanese war had inflamed the feelings of the people in both countries. Izvolski felt that a war with England would throw Russia into the arms of Germany and this would endanger the Franco-Russian alliance which was the foundation rock of Russian policy.

(iii) Gains of Anglo-Russian Rapprochement: On the other hand if Russia was able to wipe the slate clean of her rivalries and quarrels with Britain, this would greatly strengther her own international position. An entente with England would enable Russia to return to an active forward policy in the Balkans after being checkmated in the Far East as a result of war with Japan. Friendship with England would be welcomed by France. Anglo-Russian Entente and reconciliation with Japan might lead to the formation of a quadruple

combination which could outmatch the Triple Alliance and could check Austrian ambitions in Balkans and Germany's designs in Turkey. All these positive considerations impelled Russia to conclude an agreement with England. Both the countries sincerely desired an amicable settlement.

(iv) British Considerations Behind Anglo-Russian Convention: King Edward and Sir Edward Grey were also favourable to an understanding with Russia. Morocco crisis and growing naval power of Germany had filled them with suspicions about Germany's intentions and with a desire to remove the danger of Russian enmity in case of possible conflict with Germany.

(v) Negotiations for Anglo-Russian Convention: Sir Charles Hardings Permanent Under Secretary in England was exerting a strong pro-Russian influence on Sir Edward Grey the foreign secretary. In this matter he was actively supported by Sir Arthur Nicolson the British ambassador in Russia. Negotiations started soon after Izvolski became Russia's Foreign Minister in May 1906. In March 1907 a Russian fleet visited Portsmouth. On the invitation of the British government a deputation of Russian officers and sailors paid a visit to London and were entertained as guests of Admiralty. After the banquet there was a gala performance which had great political importance as it was attended by Sir John Fisher First Lord of Admiralty and Sir Edward Grey. However, after protracted negotiations the Anglo-Russian agreement was signed on 31st August 1907.

(vi) Provisions of Anglo-Russian Convention

(a) *Tibet:* Both Britain and Russia recognised the territorial integrity of Tibet under the suzerainty of China. They agreed not to interfere in the internal affairs of Tibet and they would not try to seek any concession in Tibet.

(b) *Afghanistan:* Britain promised not to annex the country to her empire and Russia recognised the territorial integrity of Afghanistan. Russia agreed that Afghanistan lay within British sphere of influence and that she would deal with Amir of Afghanistan through British authorities.

(c) *Persia:* Though the preamble of Anglo-Russian agreement piously declared that the two Great Powers mutually agreed to respect the integrity and independence of Persia, the agreement went to divide Persia into three regions. The northern region was to be Russian sphere of influence in which Britain would not seek any concession of political or commercial nature. The Southern region was to be the British sphere of influence in which Russia would not

try to seek any concession. Between these two lay a central neutral region including the head of Persian gulf in which neither Britain nor Russia was to seek any concession. Regarding these provisions the Shah of Persia was not consulted.

(vii) An Appraisal of Anglo-Russian Convention: In his memoirs Viscount Grey wrote "What was gained by England was real - What Russia gained was apparent". However, Prof. S. B. Fay does not share this view. According to him England lost independent action in Persia. Grey himself protested the activities of Russian agents in Persia. But Edward Grey was helpless to make his protests effective because Germany's hostile attitude towards Britain made him unwilling to take a really stiff attitude towards Russia or to recede from the Anglo-Russian agreement of 1907 lest he should thereby weaken the solidarity of the Triple Entente. Russian attitude to this agreement is well expressed by Sayonov in these words "The London Cabinet looks upon the Anglo-Russian Convention of 1907 as being important for Asiatic interests of England; but this convention possesses still greater importance for England from the point of view of the policy which is being pursued by England in Europe. The English engaged in the pursuit of political aims of vital importance in Europe may in case of necessity, be prepared to sacrifice certain interests in Asia in order to keep the convention alive which is of such importance to them. This is a circumstance which we can of course, exploit for ourselves as for instance in Persian affairs". The merits of the convention are well assessed by Prof. S. B. Fay. He says "Though Izvolski hoped that the Triple Entente would give him greater freedom of action in the Near East and Middle East and though the French counted on it in the same way in Morocco, so far as England was concerned it aimed at preservation of peace through the establishment of balance of power. It was insurance against the supposed danger of possible German aggression".

However according to Germany's view the Anglo-Russian convention was an ominous development. Though all the terms of the Anglo-Russian convention were made public and there was no military obligation of any kind between Britain and Russia, yet it did nevertheless complete the circle for a close political co-operation between France, Russia and England. The press of these countries now began to talk of new "Triple Entente".

(3) Russia's Entry into the First World War

(*Note*: For detailed study Chapter No.3 C may please be referred).

(4) Foreign Policy of Russia During the Rule of Lenin and Stalin

(*Note*: For detailed study Chapter No. 9 H and J may please be referred).

(C) Foreign Policy Of Britain (1900-45)

Britain's traditional policy generally speaking had for centuries, been one of 'splendid isolation'. By keeping her hands free she could maintain the balance of power in Europe between the continental groups and make English influence decisive in either scale. It was only at times when some one Power tried to become overwhelmingly strong or threatened to endanger British control of the Channel and her maritime supremacy that Britain intervened actively and decisively in European politics. In the years following the Franco-Prussian war (1870-71) England still adhered to her traditional policy. Three times Bismarck the Chancellor of Germany sounded her as to an alliance with Germany in September 1879, in November 1887 and in January 1889 but on all these occasions Bismarck's feelers could evoke no response from the British statesmen because Lord Salisbury feared that he could not get parliamentary approval for such a policy. When in 1893 Franco-Russian alliance was concluded England appeared to have come to the parting of the ways. Isolation though splendid was not always safe or comfortable. Though a match on the seas for either of the allied groups (Triple Alliance and Franco-Russian alliance), England was in danger of meeting unpleasant diplomatic defeats if Germany and France or Russia and France joined hands against her. By her dangerously weak position in Egypt, Britain was exposed to more or less united opposition of all the continental Powers. Commenting on the hollowness of socalled splendid isolation of England S. B. Fay said "Egypt was like a noose around the British neck, which any Great Power could tighten when it wanted to squeeze a diplomatic concession from the Mistress of Sea as France threatened to do so in connection with Siamese controversy and as Germany was felt to have done in connection with railway concessions in Turkey". So British policy of isolation from Continental affairs was inconsistent with her national interests. However, in these circumstances abandonement of policy of isolation was merely a question of time. She made several overtures to Germany to conclude an alliance but Kaiser William II was averse to any proposal of alliance with England due to his jealousy against Britain's naval strength and big empire. However during the first decade of the 20th century England ended her state of isolation and concluded the following treaties.

(1) Anglo-Japanese Alliance (1902)

(*Note* : For detailed study Chapter No.2 (D) may please be referred).

(2) Circumstances Leading to Anglo-French Entente (1904).

G. H. Stuart in his book entitled "French Foreign Policy" has pointed out that while the relations between England and Germany were drifting from bad to worse warmer airs began to blow between Great Britain and France. The idea of rapprochement was born on the day of Delcasse's appointment as French Foreign Minister in 1899. It was he who approved a treaty settling a long-standing dispute as to Anglo-French boundaries in Niger Valley. He made an amicable settlement with England at Fashoda. On 21st March 1899 Delcasse reached an agreement with England delimiting French and British spheres of influence in the region between the Upper Nile and the Congo.

(i) Exchange of Visits by the French and the British Chambers of Commerce: In 1900 British Chamber of Commerce proceeded for a visit to Paris. This visit was followed by the delegations of French Chamber of Commerce to England. Thus, cordial relations were restored to a certain extent.

(ii) State Visit of King Edward VII to France: The death of Queen Victoria in 1901 and the retirement of Lord Salisbury in 1902 opened the way for two men who were more enthusiastic than their predecessors for closer relations with France. Queen Victoria was succeeded by Edward VII while Lord Salisbury by Lord Lans downe. In the spring of 1903 King Edward VII paid a state visit to Paris for the first time. The royal visit terminated the acute estrangement between the two countries; which dated from the Fashoda crisis. At a state banquet at Elysee King Edward VII of England delivered his momentus speech. He said "It is scarcely necessary to tell you with what sincere pleasure I find myself once more in Paris. The days of hostilities between the two countries are, I am certain, happily at an end. I know of no two countries whose prosperity is more interdependent. The friendship of the two countries is my constant preoccupation and I count on you all who enjoy French hospitality in their magnificent city to aid me to reach this goal".

(iii) State Visit of President of France to England: Three months later President Loubet of France paid a state visit to England. He was lodged at St. James Palace. "I hope" declared the royal host, "that the welcome you have received today has convinced you of the true friendship, indeed I will say the affection which my country feels for France". The President said to the King Edward VII

the royal host "France preserves a precious memory of the visit which you paid at Paris. I am sure it will have most happy results". The king in reply to French President's farewell message stated "It is my most ardent wish that the rapprochement between the two countries may be lasting." Delcasse the French foreign minister had accompanied President Loubet on his visit and began the conservations which bore fruit within eight months in the conclusion of famous Anglo-French Entente.

(3) Provisions of Anglo-French Entente (1904)

On 8th April 1904 the famous Anglo-French Convention concerning Egypt and Morocco was signed. (a) France gave England a free hand in Egypt; (b) France declared that she had no intention of altering the political status of Morocco; (c) Britain recognised that Morocco lay in the French sphere of influence. Britain undertook that she would not obstruct any action taken by France for the purpose of introducing administrative, economic and military reforms in Morocco; (d) No fortifications were to be permitted on the Moroccan coast opposite Gibraltar; (e) In case England introduced changes in Egypt, France could do so in Morocco; (f) Both France and England agreed that a certain strip of Moorish territory adjacent to Mellila and Ceuta should come within the sphere of influence of Spain in case Sultan ceased to exercise control over it but the land on the right bank of Sebou would not be given to Spain; (g) The settlement of the New Foundland fishery dispute was a significant achievement of the two countries. France renounced her claims to the shore of New Foundland and she agreed to catch fish in the fishing season; (h) France got 14,000 square miles of territory and uninterrupted access from her territories in Niger to those in Lake Chad; (i) France recognised that all Siamese possessions on the west of neutral zone and the gulf of Siam including the Malaya Peninsula and adjacent island would come under British sphere of influence where as Britain recognised all Siamese territories on the east and south of the neutral zone as under French influence; and (j) The difficulties in Hebrides arising out of disputes as to land title and absence of jurisdiction over the native population were to be solved by a commission to be appointed by the consent of both the Powers.

(4) An Appraisal of Anglo-French Entente

M. Tardieu says "The English King was the initiator of the rapprochement. It was he who both conceived and facilitated it while many still believed that the moment was premature". Lord Cromer spoke of it as the work of very eminent diplomatists - His Majesty the King and Lord Lansdowne. J. A. Farrer in his book entitled "Eng-

land under Edward VII writes "That the main impulse came from the side of England and not from France grew to be a general opinion both in England and on the Continent and it was certainly greeted with more general enthusiasm in England than in France". However, the Anglo-French Entente of 1904 was an important development in the political affairs of Europe. Spain was particularly furious at the agreement between France and England relating to Morocco. However the French foreign minister Delcasse pacified Spain by providing that Spain would have proper share when Morocco was divided. It is wrong to assume that the Entente Cordiale of 1904 was in a way military alliance between Britain and France. It was merely a settlement of the outstanding disputes between the two countries leading to the cordiality of relations between them. Although the Anglo French Entente of 1904 did not commit the two parties to give military aid to each other yet certain circumstances brought them together. There was alarming growth of German navy. The Entente was tested in 1905-6, 1908 and 1911 when Moroccan crisis occurred. On all these occasions Britain supported France. France felt gratified with the provisions of the treaty pertaining to Morocco. In this context Delcasse said "Under our influence Morocco would be a source of strength for our North African empire. If subject to a foreign Power, our North African possessions would be permanently menaced and paralysed". Mr. Bulow the German Chancellor exercised a certain degree of caution in commenting on the treaty. He remarked "I can only say that we have no reason to suppose that this agreement is directed against any Power whatever. It seems to be an attempt to eliminate the points of differences between France and Great Britain by means of amicable understanding. We must protect our commercial interests in Morocco and we shall protect them". According to some critics the concurrence of Germany for the eventual partition of Morocco and recognition of Germany's interests in Morocco should have been incorporated in the treaty. In this context G. P. Gooch has aptly remarked thus ,"It is regrettable that the British Cabinet did not perceive or at any rate help France to perceive the wisdom of securing German consent by solatium. Though the secret treaties of 1904 reserved no share for Great Britain in the contingent partition of Morocco and though it has been argued that it was reasonable for contracting parties to make alternative arrangements in the event of Morocco collapsing from internal weakness, our share in the transaction which suggested double dealing involves the British government in partial responsibility for the crisis of 1905 and 1911". In 1905 and 1911 Germany challenged the French claims in Morocco

and fortunately the saner counsels prevailed and the conflict between the two countries which seemed almost imminent was averted.

(5) Anglo-Russian Convention (1907)

(*Note:* For detailed study Part B of this chapter pertaining to Foreign Policy of Russia may be referred).

(6) Britain and French Quest for Security

After the end of the First World War Germany was compelled to sign the most humiliating treaty of Versailles. Lloyd George the British premier played a significant role in the Paris Peace Conference. He was the leader of the Liberal Party whose slogans were 'Make Germany Pay Shilling for Shilling and Ton for Ton'. After the treaty of Versailles (1919) the most pressing problem was the French demand for security. Britain and France, though jointly won the war, were divided as regards the future of Germany during the post war period. Pursuing her traditional balance of power principle, England did not want to see the extra-ordinarily predominant position of France established in Europe. France, though a victorious Power was constantly fearful of the potential power of Germany and wanted to keep the latter in the state of perpetual impotency. But England was not interested to go to that extent. The economic exhaustion during the first World War demanded the speeding up of her international trade and since Germany was a good importer of Britain goods the economic recovery of Germany was quite essential. Britain regarded a strong Germany a counterpoise to the communism. Hence the political economic and military recovery of Germany was of prime importance to Britain. This was naturally contrary to the French interests. Britain was pursuing a double diplomacy. On one hand she tried to satisfy French demand for security and on the other hand she tried to encourage German rearmament. Britain signed the Draft Treaty of Mutual Assistance of 1922, the Geneva Protocol for the Pacific Settlement of International Disputes (1923). Britain's double dealing was manifest in Locarno Pact of 1925 under which she expressed willingless to guarantee the western frontier of Germany and not the eastern frontier. This meant that Britain would welcome German expansion in Eastern Europe. Britain's double dealing is clear from her reservations in the Pact of Paris of 1928. In 1935 Anglo-German Naval Agreement was concluded under which Germany was allowed to expand her naval strength upto 35% of British strength. This agreement was a clear violation of the treaty of Versailles. Thus, Britain was lukewarm in her support to France in latter's quest for security.

(7) Britain's Attitude Towards the Reparations and Inter-allied debts:

British attitude towards this issue was determined by the same considerations viz. the economic recovery of Germany and the fight against communism. The French occupation of Ruhr in 1923 following Germany's default in the payment of an instalment of reparation, was vehemently opposed by Britain. Britain was creditor as well as debtor country. In case reparations and inter-allied debts were cancelled Britain stood to lose nothing because the amount of debt which she was required to pay to the United States was more or less equal to the amount of reparation which she expected to receive from Germany.

(8) Britain's Attitude Towards the Communist Revolution: and Her Policy of Appeasement

The next important problem was that of the Communist Revolution of Russia. Communism was regarded by the western world as its deadliest enemy. By the year 1922 the West came to realise that the Soviet Union had come to stay. In February 1924, Britain extended her formal recognition to the communist regime in the Soviet Union. The Nazi revolution in Germany and Hitler's rise to power had been welcomed though reluctantly by Britain as Hitler promised to fight Soviet communism tooth and nail. Britain tried to bolster up Nazi Germany and Fascist Italy in Europe and militarist Japan in the Far East to throttle the Soviet Union. The fear of spread of communism was responsible for the policy of appeasement adopted by Britain. This fear explains British connivance at Germany's violation of treaty of Versailles, and Anglo-French non-intervention in Manchurian crisis and Italy's aggression against Abyssinia. Britain's inaction and apathy in case of Germany's conquest of Austria and Czechoslovakia demonstrated the height of appeasement which was dictated by the mortal fear of communism. Britain failed to realise that by following the policy of appeasement towards Axis Powers, she would be feeding the dragon which would at any time in future venture to devour her and jeopardize the international peace and security. Britain and France destroyed the international collaboration under the auspices of the League and failed to integrate their particular national interests into world-wide international interests. Britain also failed to realise the significance of a grand alliance between her, the Soviet Union and France. Schuman is of opinion that the peril of a holocaust would have been averted by coming to terms with Russia for this Grand Alliance to check-mate the Axis Powers. Unfortunately the statesmen of Britain seemed to

regard any extension of Soviet power as more dangerous to Britain than any extension of German power. From the view point of capitalist democracies, this was a sound theory in the long-run. But for the present England's survival was at stake. She found after the outbreak of the Second World War a new leader in Winston Churchill who valued Soviet friendship in a life and death struggle against Axis Powers.

(9) British Attitude Towards the League of Nations

From the very beginning Great Britain had not much interest in the League of Nations. She had little interest in the collective security system of the League and at her instance the entire force of Article 16 of the League covenant was watered down in 1921. She had no concern about the security of those states which lay beyond the orbit of her interests. She showed marked apathy towards the security of states of Little Entente viz. Czechoslovakia, Rumania and Yugoslavia. When Japan invaded Manchuria in 1931, Britain refrained from imposing sanctions upon her. Britain's inaction in case of Manchurian crisis destroyed collective security system of the League. Due to this inaction of the League, Mussolini was encouraged to embark on the policy of territorial expansion. He mounted an unprovoked attack on Abyssinia in 1935 and remained unpenalised by the League. It was due to Britain's negative attitude towards the League. The only real occasion when the League could be utilised in the English reckoning came only when Soviet Union invaded Finland in 1939-40. The League Assembly at the instance of Britain met and condemned and expelled Soviet Russia from the world organisation. Britain considered the League as a "fit machinery whose only use was loud noise and whose only production was pious resolutions couched in masterly language of diplomacy evolved after thousands of bitter and sweet experiences".

(10) Great Britain and Disarmament

(*Note* : For detailed study, Chapter No.8 (D) and (E) may please be referred).

(11) Great Britain's Entry into the Second World War

(*Note* : For detailed study Chapter No.12 (B) may please be referred).

15

POST-WAR EUROPE (1945-60)

OUTLINE:

(A) Partition of Germany and Emergence of Federal Republic of West Germany and German Democratic Republic.

(B) Berlin Problem Between the Super Powers.

(C) France After the Second World War.

(D) Efforts for Integration of Western Europe.

(E) Soviet Union and Eastern Europe.

(F) Integration Through Economic Cooperation in Europe.

(A) Partition Of Germany And Emergence Of Federal Republic Of West Germany And German Democratic Republic

The future of Germany was the most critical problem to be faced by the allies. It was the focal point of the cold war in Europe. In May 1945 Nazi Germany lay prostrate before the Allied Powers. In the Yalta Conference the partition of Germany was not envisaged. The objective of Allied occupation was a joint policy of denazification, demilitarisation and democratization. An Allied Control Council met in Berlin on June 15, 1945 and it decided to follow a joint policy. The whole of Germany was to be treated as single economic unit. By this time Germany was divided into four zones which were under Allied occupation. The Soviet zone extended from Oder-Neissee line to the Elbe; while the British zone was in north-west. On the other hand American zone was in South Germany and the French exercised control over a zone in the south-west of Germany. The formulation of a joint policy by the USA, UK; France and the Soviet Union was found increasingly difficult and various conferences held in 1946 and 1947 failed to reach any workable agreement.

Gradually it became obvious that the Soviet Union and Western countries were unable to pull together. In the West Germany democratic institutions began to take shape under the direction of the USA, UK and France whereas in the Soviet zone communist institutions flourished. The USA began to insist upon a policy of unifying the three western zones. The USA, UK and France complained about Russian policy of extorting reparation from defeated Germany. In January 1947 the USA and Britain had reached agreement to merge their area into 'Bizonia'. However, an agreement with France regarding a 'tri-zonal' unification was reached in 1948. It resulted in full unification of three zones into what is known as West Germany. A Constituent Assembly was called in September 1948. A federal system of government was created. In the general elections the Christian Democratic Party led by Konrad Adenauer formed the government of Federal Republic of West Germany.

In the Soviet zone which was in East Germany the Social Democratic party under Otto Grotewohl and communist party under the leadership of Wilhelm Paeik effected a merger in April 1946. Henceforth the communist party in East Germany known as the Socialist Unity Party which won the largest majority in East Germany formed the government.

The East-West conflict reached its climax in 1948 when the USA tried to use Federal Republic of West Germany as a counterpoise to the Soviet Union in a bid for supremacy in Europe. The Soviet Union was apprehensive of resurgence of German militarism under the patronage of the USA, the UK and France. Both the Super Powers failing to use force resorted to diplomatic manoeuvring which eventually resulted in partition of Germany. The Allied Control Council stopped functioning from March 1948 onwards because of lack of unanimity between the USA and the Soviet Union. In June 1948 the USA, UK, and France introduced a new currency in West Germany inspite of Soviet protest. The East German authorities under Soviet influence now blocked all traffic between East and West Berlin. The USA, the UK and France replied by maintaining supply through massive air lift. However, after a year the Soviet blockade was lifted. The net result was the emergence of Berlin as a divided city and the widening of gap between two Germanies.

(B) Berlin Problem Between The Super Powers

Blockade of Berlin

For more than twenty five years Berlin remained one of the most dangerous centres of tension between the Super Powers. Since

Berlin was split into East and West Berlin it became a focus of latent war danger. Berlin was divided because of deep distrust which the Western Powers felt about the designs of the Soviet Union in the post-war period. The Soviet Union also distrusted the USA, the UK and France. Both Russia and Western Powers were driven by hard necessity to prevent each other from dominating Germany. The result was the partition of Germany into two halves and the division of Berlin into East and West Berlin. The blockade of Berlin by the Soviet Union in 1948 was occasioned by the introduction of a new currency in the West Germany on 20th June 1948. The Soviet Union protested and declared that this step was a clear violation of the Potsdam agreement under which entire Germany was to be treated as a single economic unit. In order to prevent the flow of the new currency into West Berlin and Soviet controlled eastern zone of Germany, a blockade of all traffic was imposed by the Soviet authorities. A conference was held between the delegates of the four powers on 22 June 1948. No agreement could be reached as the Soviet Union insisted that Berlin currency should not differ from that of East zone and rejected the Four Power control of the Berlin currency. Russia introduced her own currency reforms immediately after this conference and applied the new East Zone currency to whole of Berlin. On 23 June 1948 Western Zone currency was introduced into West Berlin. The position taken by the USA, the UK and France was that they were in Berlin by dint of their right derived from to unconditional defeat of Germany and the agreements for the control of Berlin by the Four Powers. A right of access to West Berlin was implied because of the military presence of Western Powers there and uncontested use of certain highways and rail facilities. The Western countries felt that they had an obligation towards the welfare of the people of West Berlin. They expressed willingeness to negotiate the Berlin question but not under the duress of blockade. They did not like to be pushed out of Berlin by any such strategy as the Soviet Union was employing. The stand taken by the Soviet Union was that Berlin problem had been created on account of the violation of agreements on Germany and on Berlin by Western Powers. Contrary to these agreements the Western Powers had failed to demilitarize the Western Zone, withheld the reparation deliveries to Russia and had encouraged the movement for creating a separate government for West Germany instead of creating a United Germany. The Soviet Union further maintained that the right of the USA, the UK and France to remain in Berlin was linked with observance of the agreements among the four Powers on

Germany and the violation of these agreements had deprived the Western countries of their right to stay in Berlin, which was in Soviet zone. A conference was held in Moscow in August 1948 to discuss the Berlin question. When the attempt did not succeed, the matter was referred to the Security Council which however could not settle the issue. However, the UN General Assembly adopted a resolution appealing to the parties to settle the issue by negotiations. After the Soviet blockade of Berlin's land routes in 1948, the Allies overcame the difficulty by organising a gigantic airlift where by huge cargoes of food and fuel were flown to the beleaguered West Berliners. The Western Powers had no inclination to leave Berlin in the hands of the Soviet Union. On 16th April 1948 General Lucius D. Clay the American Military Governor in Germany had written to US government thus "We have lost Czechoslovakia. Norway is threatened. We retreat from Berlin. When Berlin falls, Western Germany will be next. If we mean to hold Europe against communism, we must not budge. We can take the humiliation and pressure short of war in Berlin without losing face. If we withdraw, our position in Europe is threatened. If America does not understand this now, does not know that the issue is cast, then it never will, and communism will run rampant. I believe that future of democracy requires us to stay". However, the Soviet Union realised that the Western Powers could not be bullied into surrendering Berlin. The West counteracted the blockade by airlift in a bold way and was prepared for war. However, after ten months the Soviet government lifted the blockade. On 4th May 1949 an agreement the so-called Jessup - Malik agreement was reached by which the Soviet Union consented to end her blockade of Berlin and the USA, the UK and France agreed to lift their restrictions on communications with East Germany which they imposed in reprisal for the blockade of Berlin. Russia now realised that the Western Powers would not withdraw from West Berlin under any circumstances short of war.

(2) Nine-Power Agreement with West Germany and Soviet Agreement with East Germany

On 3rd August 1954 the Nine Power Agreement on Germany and European Defence was signed in Paris. Under this agreement Allied occupation of West Germany was to be ended and the country was given full sovereignty but the Allies reserved right of access to West Berlin. The Soviet Union on her part in an agreement with East Germany on 20th August 1955 recognised the sovereignty of German Democratic Republic and restored for herself the control of traffic leading to East Berlin.

(3) Revival of Berlin Issue by Soviet Premier Nikita Khrushchev

In November 1958 Khrushchev the Soviet Premier declared that East Berlin would be transferred to German Democratic Republic and that the Western Powers would have to withdraw out of West Berlin. He pleaded that West Berlin should have a status of a free city which was to be guaranteed by the United Nations. The Soviet Premier suggested the replacement of Western forces by UN forces in West Berlin. The Soviet proposal was rejected by the Western Powers on the ground that West Berlin was closely linked with Federal Republic of West Germany and it could not exist as a separate entity. Moreover, the rights enjoyed by the Western Powers accrued to them from the Potsdam Agreement and they had right to stay in Berlin and would exercise their obligations to the people of West Berlin.

(4) Exodus from East Berlin and Erection of Berlin Wall

It was contended by the Soviet Union that West Berlin provided an easy escape route for the disgruntled East Germans. More than 3.5 million East Germans migrated to West Germany through West Berlin. In order to put a check on migration of the Germans of East Germany, the Soviet Union constructed a 35 mile-long wall between East Berlin and West Berlin. As a result of the sealing of the border between West Berlin and East Berlin in August 1962 all contacts between the people of West Berlin and East Germany including East Berlin stopped.

(5) The Quadripartite Agreement on Issue of Berlin

When Willy Brandt became the Chancellor of Federal Republic of West Germany, he tried his best to bring about a reconciliation between the two countries. After protracted negotiations the Quadripartite Agreement was signed on 3rd September 1971 by the delegates of the USA, UK, France and the Soviet Union.

(1) The most significant provision of this agreement was that though West Berlin would not be a constituent part of West Germany, yet the latter would be authorised to perform consular services for Berliners and to represent Berlin in international organisations. (2) The West Berliners would receive the same privilege as West Germans to visit East Berlin and East Germany. (3) The four powers agreed that there would be no use or threat of force in the area of Berlin and that disputes would be settled solely by peaceful means. (4) It was also agreed that the government of the USA, UK, France and the USSR would mutually respect their

individual and joint rights and responsibilities which remained unchanged. They also agreed not to take step to change the status quo in Berlin unilaterally. (5) The Soviet Union reaffirmed her stand that transit traffic by road, rail and waterways through the territory of East Germany (German Democratic Republic) between the Western sector of Berlin and West Germany would be unimpeded. This traffic of men and material was to be facilitated by adopting simple and expeditious devices. It was to receive preferential treatment. (6) The permanent residents of West Germany and West Berlin were to be allowed travel to German Democratic Republic and visit those areas for family, religious, cultural or commercial reasons or as tourists.

As a direct result of this Quadripartite Agreement, the Federal Republic of Germany and German Democratic Republic concluded an agreement on transit traffic passing towards German Democratic Republic between Federal Republic of Germany and West Berlin. Previously there was no formal agreement between West Germany (FRG) and East Germany; (GDR) on civilian traffic on those routes and this often resulted in mounting tension. Thus, long-standing Berlin problem was amicably solved.

(C) France After The Second World War

France after German occupation during the course of hostilities in the Second World War was ruled by the Vichy government headed by Marshall Petain, Laval and Darlan. But Free France continued to fight on the side of the Allied Powers under Charles de Gaulle whose leadership was unchallenged. Yet after the liberation of France from German domination and her adoption of the constitution of the "Fourth Republic, De Gaulle who had hoped for a strengthened executive was disappointed and resigned. During the post-war period there were three prominent parties such as communist party, the Rally of the French people (RFP) under Charles De Gaulle, and the MRP (Movement Republican Populaire). In the first election socialists, communists and MRP controlled 80 per cent of the votes. But the desire to exclude communists made the formation of stable government difficult. In the second post-war election held in 1951 French government remained in flux under the pressure of multi-party system.

(1) Charles de Gaulle's Return to Power

In May 1958 the situation took a dramatic turn in favour of De Gaulle. The army officers in Algeria fearing that French government under M. Pnerre would grant independence to French colony of Algeria suddenly took all authority in their hand and insisted that

General De Gaulle should be placed in power. France was now threatened with prospects of civil war, to avoid which General De Gaulle was accepted as Premier with emergency powers for six months. He drafted a new constitution in which executive was made very strong at the cost of legislature. The constitution was put to referendum in October 1958 and received popular consent both in France and in her colonies. Thus the Fourth Republic came to an end and General De Gaulle was elevated to the position of head of Fifth Republic which now came into existence. After solving the problem of Algeria successfully, De Gaulle again appealed to the people of France through a second referendum in 1962 for a further increase in the powers and prerogatives of French President. In this he again received over-whelming support from the French electorate. Thus, a very strong government under President De Gaulle was established in France.

(2) French Foreign Policy After World War II

In the post-war period French foreign policy was riddled with dilemmas. These dilemmas were the inevitable offshoot of the French desire to re-establish their hold on French colonies in Asia and Africa and the French inability to do so due to her economic and military weakness. In Europe France was not in favour of German revival and rearmament which the United States desired. In the words of Hartmann "The French were even divided in their estimates as to where the real danger of aggression in Europe lay. They were of two minds as to whether to fear the already armed Russians more than about to be armed Germans." France rejected the idea of the formation of European Defence Community (EDC) and insisted that Germany's military resurgence was implied in EDC. She was however forced due to American pressure to accept the proposal of Western European Unity (WEU). However French acceptance of W.E.U. paved the way for remilitarization of Germany. Within a short time West Germany was admitted to NATO membership and granted full sovereignty. France was no longer a Great Power during the post-war period. So she brought forward a number of proposals for West European integration. France also took advantage of the Marshall Plan under which the United States undertook to provide massive economic aid to non-communist European states ravaged by the Second World War. France also participated in the Organisation for European Economic Cooperation (OEEC). The Schuman plan resulted in the creation of the European Coal and Steel Community. French participation in these organisations enabled her to re-assert her voice among the Great Powers.

(3) Struggles for Independence in French Colonies

The acceleration of the national liberation movements during the post-war period jeopardized French colonial hold in Indo-China, Algeria, Morocco, Tunisia and other regions of her empire. In Indo-China the French attempt to hold on against the rising tide of Vietminh military offensive under the able leadership of the communist leader Ho-Chi-Minh resulted in a series of military catastrophes. The disaster mounted to a climax on May 7 1954 when French strong hold of Dien Bien Phu fell into communist hands. The French Premier Mendes-France who came to power in June 1954 decided to end the costly colonial war in Indo-China. He fixed a deadline of thirty days to resolve the Indo-China problems. However, the United States did not like that Indo-China should go into communist fold. A conference was convened at Geneva in July 1954. As a result of deliberations of Geneva Conference Indo-China was divided at the 17th parallel. The north Indo-China was entrusted to Communist leader Ho-Chi-Minh and the South was placed under the French controlled Bao Dai government. Agreements regarding the exchange of prisoners of war and the appointment of an International Commission comprising of India, Poland and Canada to supervise the execution of the provisions of Geneva agreement were arrived at. The Geneva agreement restored French prestige to a great extent. In 1954 France also agreed to a peaceful restoration of French colonies of Mahe, Pondicherry and Chandarnagar to the government of India. According to Treaty of Fez (1922) the French had established a protectorate over Morocco. After the Second World War Morocco demanded complete independence from French control. In order to crush the movement for national liberation France in 1953 removed Sultan Mohammad V who was very popular with his people. This unilateral step incensed the nationalists who insisted on his restoration. On the other hand in Tunisia where French protectorate was established according to the treaties of 1881 and 1883, the national movement under Habib Bourguiba became strongly anti-French. In 1952 eleven Afro-asian countries brought the problem of Tunisian independence to the notice of the Security Council and the General Assembly of the UNO. France asserted that the issue lay within her domestic jurisdiction and that the UN had no right to take up the matter. Each year the discussion was raised before the Assemblybut the UN did nothing to help Morocco and Tunisia except to express faith in the French intentions to grant self-government to these colonies. However, relentless pressures were mounted on France by the nationalists of Morocco and ultimately Sultan Muhammad V was restored to the throne in

1955. In the next year France granted independence to Tunisia and Morocco.

Following the nationalisation of Suez canal by Colonel Nasser of Egypt (26th July 1956) England and France brought the matter to Security Council. On October 29, 1956 Israel invaded Egypt and on the next day France and Britain joined the war on the side of Israel. On 5th November French and British paratroops landed in Egypt. This military adventure of France and Britain resulted in the victory of Egypt the victim of aggression; due to Soviet threat of military intervention and UN intervention. However, French participation in military operations against Egypt damaged her prestige in the Middle East.

However, the Algerian problem was hanging fire for quite a long time due to the determined armed insurrection of the Algerian people led by the nationalists. In May 1958 as a result of an army revolt in Algeria the Fourth Republic of France came to an end and the Fifth Republic with Charles De Gaulle as the French President came into being. De Gaulle sought a democratic solution. He proposed referendum for deciding the fate of Algeria. De Gaulle granted independence to Algeria when its people expressed their desire in favour of it through a referendum in 1962.

(4) Re-orientation of Foreign Policy of France under Charles De Gaulle

Charles De gaulle established a very strong government for the first time during post-World War II period. After settling the issue of Algerian independence he succeeded in increasing the powers and prerogatives of French Presidency through a referendum.

(1) Efforts to Attain Greatness

General De Gaulle decided to raise France to her previous status of greatness and visualised a Europe free from the tutelage of the USA. The challenge of the Franc to dollar was a concrete manifestation of the new policy of creating a third force in Europe. General De Gaulle was equally determined to invest his country with independent control of hydrogen bombs. French explosion of atom bomb in Sahara caused great discontent in the Arab World. The first hydrogen bomb explosion by France in Fangataufa Lagoon on 24 August 1968 expressed the determination of De Gaulle's government to gain full control of nuclear weapons. France under De Gaulle acquired an independent nuclear capability and she weakened ties with Britain and the U.S.A.

(2) No Close Cooperation with NATO

De Gaulle took a series of steps which diluted the effectiveness of French alliance with Western bloc. France did not seek close cooperation with NATO. Her fleet was no longer a part of NATO naval forces. Charles De Gaulle refused to allow the U.S.A. to use French territory for the installation of nuclear missiles. The French also failed to supply their share of the NATO troops. French insistence forced the NATO command to remove its forces from France. Thus De Gaulle made a definite bid to eliminate the US influence in French politics.

(3) France and European Common Market

The most successful of Europe's unification ventures was the European Common Market. France joined this organisation which envisaged a closer cooperation and coordination of fiscal policy. As counterweight, Britain and other European countries including Sweden, Denmark, Norway, Austria, Switzerland and Portugal organised a European Free Trade Area. French voice in European Common Market was predominant and France refused to admit Britain in that organisation. For Britain it was a blow which she did not expect from France. In May 1967 Britain applied for membership of European Common Market for the second time. But France under Charles de Gaulle rejected the application. He said in December 1967 that by rejecting British application France was in fact saving the European Common Market from a period of paralysis. However after De Gaulle's resignation on 27th April 1968 the way was open for British entry into ECM. Britain, Ireland, Norway and Denmark signed a treaty at Brussels to join ECM.

(4) Close Cooperation with West Germany

Under Charles de Gaulle France adhered to a policy of close cooperation with West Germany to produce a European Third Force.

On January 22, 1963 De Gaulle signed a treaty of friendship with West Germany. This treaty resulted in close coopertion between the two countries in diplomacy, defence, education and culture. The French policy under De Gaulle resulted to a large extent in the elimination of American patronage of non-communist countries in Europe.

(5) French Support for Membership of Peoples' Republic of China in the UNO

De Gaulle was not prepared to toe the US policy of recognising Nationalist China. He extended recognition to Peoples Republic of

China in February1964. De Gaulle pointed out that one of the main reasons of the weakness of the UN was the elimination of communist China from UN. He had therefore strongly supported Communist China's membership in UN. Whatever might be the reasons behind the French bid for European leadership, French posture in the external affairs under the leadership of Charles de Gaulle brought rich dividends to France and created a breach in the Western camp.

(D) Efforts For Integration Of Western Europe

In Western European countries the integration movement has long historic roots. Many statesmen and philosopher dreamt of the possibility of a United Europe. One may recall in retrospect the Grand Design of Henry IV, Immanuel Kant's dream of perpetual peace, Napoleon's vast military attempts at conquest and consolidation and more recently between 1914 and 1945 the Briand-Stresemann's efforts to create a United States of Europe. However, the most powerful stimulus to Western Europe's current unity activities has come from fear of Soviet Union and internal communist subversion which produced a panic after the communist coup in Czechoslovakia in March 1947. Yet another powerful stimulus to West European integration was the growth of a neutralist sentiment i.e., the desire to remain neutral between the USA and the Soviet Union. In West European countries, following the World War II, practical men of affairs and statesmen tried to build up political union. Such attempts were bolstered up by the USA and were consistent with the her policy of containment of world communism. It was particularly directed against the possibility of Soviet advance in Europe. European Powers also lacked atomic weapons in the period following the World War II or adequate strategic force which might work as a deterrent to Soviet Union. On the other hand the desire to end the age old Franco-German rivalry and to create a Western European unity on the basis of Franco-German cooperation in various fields served as another powerful motive for integration in Western Europe. Due to above considerations the following attempts were made to effect West European integration.

(1) Brussel Treaty and Western Union

Belgium, Holland and Luxemburg were eager to support movements for integration due to their small size and limited resources. On March 17, 1948 these Benelux countries (Belgium, Holland and Luxemburg) signed the Brussels Treaty with England and France. This treaty provided for collaboration among the signatories to resist any armed aggression in Europe. It also provided for economic

and social cooperation. According to this treaty an organisation was created at the head of which was the Permanent Consultative Council consisting of the five member states. The signatories also formed defence committees and a group of sub-committees to deal with social, economic, educational and cultural matters. The parties pledged to help each other in the event of unprovoked aggression. A permanent Secretariat was also set up. The military aspect of the Brussels Treaty Organisation was absorbed in NATO (North Atlantic Treaty Organisation). Therefore, its functions were confined to social and cultural matters. West European Union was created on May 5, 1955 by enlarging the Brussels Treaty Organisation. It was to include West Germany and Italy. The West European Union (WEU) was connected with the NATO and WEU army represented the contribution of WEU members to NATO. The Western European Union has a separate Secretariat and a standing armamant committee and an assembly consisting of representatives of the member states.

(2) North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO)

The second step in the widening coalition of the Western countries was taken within a short time after the communists shocked them by their seizure of Czechoslovakia. Aroused by the display of this brute force twelve nations mostly from the Atlantic seaboard viz Belgium, Canada, Denmark, France, Iceland, Italy, Luxemburg, the Netherlands, Norway, Portugal, Britain and the United States joined in a military alliance known as the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation or NATO. This treaty was signed on 4th April 1949 in Washington and was ratified by the national parliaments of all the member states. Greece and Turkey joined the organisation in 1952 and West Germany in 1955. The North Atlantic Council operates at two levels twice a year, at the level of ministers of the member states and at the level of national delegations to NATO, head quarters in Paris. NATO has a Secretary General. There is the Supreme Allied Commander in Europe (SACEUR). NATO in effect is a military alliance which is designed to meet the threat of communist expansion.

(3) The Council of Europe

Another allied development in the movement for Western European unity is the Council of Europe. At one time Sir Winston Churchill in a speech at Zurich in September 1946 had declared, "We must build up a kind of United States of Europe." England however was very much tied up with the United States and she had overseas commitments which prevented her from accepting a closer identifi-

cation of interests with Europe. She therefore backed out from the position suggested by Churchill's attitude. Nevertheless the European-minded diplomats went on with their ideas and organised a Congress of Europe which met at the Hague on 8th May1948. It was attended by 800 distinguished delegates including Sir Winston Churchill who served as honorary President and after discussions and deliberations this conference adopted a "Message to Europeans" which eloquently expressed their sentiments on Europe's desired goal. On the basis of the ideas contained in the message the foreign ministers of Belgium, France, Luxemburg the Netherlands and the United Kingdom in a meeting in London (June 1949) issued a statement publicly approving the formation of a Council of Europe. A Conference of Ambassadors met in London and drew upan agreement known as Statute of the Council of Europe which was officially approved on 9th May 1949 by the foreignministers of ten countries and it was later on ratified by the parliaments of the member countries viz. U.K., France, Denmark Norway, Sweden, Ireland, Italy, Belgium, Holland and Luxemburg. Four additional countries Greece, Turkey, Iceland and West Germany subsequently joined this organisation. Saarland became an associated member. The membership was confined to parliamentary democracies. The Head Quarters of the Council of Europe are in the "House of Europe" built in 1950 in the city of Strasburg.

(a) The Council of Europe and its Composition and Functions: The Council has three principal organs viz. the Committee of Ministers the Consultative Assembly and a Secretariat. The Committee of Ministers consists of the foreign ministers of the member states. They meet about three times in a year. The decisions of this Council are not binding on the member states. The Consultative Assembly has 132 members. The method of sending representatives is left to the member states. The method followed in Britain is to send an all-party delegation. The statute fixed the ratio of membership for each member state. The Council of Europe is supposed to confine itself to economic social and cultural matters. Problems of defence, war and peace are excluded frm its agenda.

The Council of Europe has proved to be a disappointment. Commenting on its performance Crowley says "It is certainly difficult to point to anything of importance it has accomplished". It has at best proved to be a debating society and a common meeting ground for the parliamentarians of member states. It is at best a forum of different shades of opinion and provides the development of the habit of consultation.

(4) European Defence Community

The plan of creating the European Defence Community was the French response to the insistence of the USA for rearmament of Germany. EDC plan was marked by the following features.

(1) This plan was an expression of the French opinion that in case the Germans were to bear arms, they must do so as a part of a European army. (2) According to the French opinion the troops in such an army should wear common uniform and were to be placed under a unified European command. (3) The troops were to be so integrated and intermingled that no one national army could be withdrawn for separate military operations. (4) The European Defence Community in all its military aspects was to be linked with NATO, whereas in its economic aspect it was to be linked with the European Coal and Steel Community. Thus, the possibility of an independent military revival by Germany after her rearmament was precluded, (5) Above all the control of the whole organisation (EDC) rested with the member states acting through the Council of Europe. After discussions and deliberations the draft treaty of EDC containing above provisions was signed on 27th May 1952 and it was submitted to several governments for the purpose of ratification. But the draft treaty was rejected by Britain because it put restrictions on the withdrawal of troops of member states for commitments elsewhere. British opposition resulted in French disinclination to join EDC However there were other reasons for French reservations with regard to EDC proposals. The NATO command insisted on single nation divisions where as the French insisted on multinational divisions which could not possibly be formed due to language difficulty. EDC was also criticised by certain political parties in France which looked upon their country as still a great imperial power and thought that she must retain her armed forces for stationing in overseas territories to promote imperial interests. Some statesmen thought that it was not an opportune time to join EDC since the country was heavily involved in Indo-China war and also faced serious troubles in the North African colonies. Moreover during 1953 the Franco-German dispute over the Saar became increasingly serious and the French argued that the ratification of the EDC draft treaty must be preceded by a Franco-German accord on Saar. Under these circumstances John Foster Dulles the Secretary of State of USA did more harm than good by declaring on 14th December 1953 that the United States would be compelled to make an agonising reappraisal" of her basic defence policy with regard to Europe if EDC proposals did not materialise. However, France did accept the draft treaty of EDC When premier Mendes-France

presented EDC draft treaty for ratification before the National Assembly without his personel comments in its favour, it was simply rejected by the French parliament by a vote of 319 to 264.

(5) The Western European Union (WEU)

The rejection of the EDC by the French was a serious blow to European unity. A variety of considerations compelled France to join Western European Union as a viable alternative to EDC These considerations are as discussed as follows:

(i) The French felt that they lacked adequate guarantees of continued military assistance by Britain and the US in the event of German rearmament. British Foreign Secretary Anthony Eden understood this French anxiety and initiated negotiations based on the Brussels treaty of 1948 and on the idea of an enlarged West European Union. His initiative provided a suitable way out of the impasse. (ii) After the French rejection of EDC draft treaty, the United States held out the threat of "going it alone with Germany". Since the US was bent on German rearmament, the French realised that they should accept it as a part of Western European Union for which the proposal was initiated by British Foreign Secretary Mr. Eden.

(a) London Conference : On 28th September 1954 a conference of nine powers the USA Britain, France, Canada, West Germany, Italy, Belgium, Netherlands and Luxemburg met in London. In this conference Britain put forward a set of proposals containing a new formula for Western European Union. According to these proposals the Allied occupation of Germany was to be ended, and she was to be allowed to acquire armaments and NATO membership was to be conferred on her. The French viewpoint about safeguard against Germany's rearmament was provided by the supervision of arms control stipulated in the treaty. These British proposals brought into existence Western European Union. The French Premier Mendes-France supported these proposals and the whole arrangement was to be coordinated by the Brussels Treaty Council. The Brussels Treaty Council was to be enlarged to include Italy and West Germany. However, Western European Union was to have an Assembly composed of parliamentary delegations of the member states. This Assembly would serve the purpose of expression of public opinion of the member states. It was provided in the treaty that the member states could withdraw their forces for meeting their overseas commitments. The connection between the NATO and WEU is maintained through the NATO. Supreme Allied Commander in Europe. The Supreme Allied Commander of NATO

military forces in Europe was authorised to deploy the WEU forces according to arrangements reached with eachmember of WEU. As a further measure of security against a possible revival of German militarism it was stipulated in the treaty that Germany was not to manufacture atomic, bacteriological and chemical weapons, long range missiles, large naval vessels and strategic bombers. West Germany consented the stationing of foreign troops in her territory to defend the free world.

(E) Soviet And Eastern Europe

(1) Communist Subversion in Rumania

In the post-World War II period most of East European countries fell under the influence of Soviet Communism. The rapid expansion of communism in Eastern Europe had taken the "Free World" by surprise. In 1945 King Michael of Rumania was persuaded to appoint a communist Prime Minister and it did not take much time for the communist party of Rumania to serve the King of Rumania with a coup de grace. The tension in the Western countries was heightened due to abrupt end of monarchy in Rumania where communist take-over was not consented by the people of that country.

(2) Establishment of Communist Regime in Poland

In Poland a Soviet type communist regime was established though in Yalta Conference it was agreed that all the liberated countries of Europe would be given full opportunity to choose their form of government without external interference. According to Yalta agreement, the exiled Polish government in London and the Soviet influenced Lublin government would be represented in the formation of a future government for Poland. However, after the liberation of Poland by the Allies a Coalition government was formed and ultimately the communist gained the upper hand and Poland also turned communist.

(3) Communist Penetration in Czechoslovakia

By 1947 various East European countries came under the sway of communism with the exception of Czechoslovakia whose government was converted to the Soviet pattern in 1948. The Soviet army had liberated Prague the capital of Czechoslovakia according to wartime agreement at Tehran and Yalta. In Czechoslovakia huge ownerless property existed due to the expulsion of Sudeten Germans and Nazi collaborators and extermination of the Jews by the Nazis. This unclaimed property was nationalised. This increased the strength of the communists. After 1945 three non-communist

parties formed a coalition government with communists. It worked satisfactorily for sometime. But the Marshall plan of the United States and her President demonstrated to the communists the determination of the West to step up the cold war and encourage assaults on the communist forces in all parts of the world. In 1948 the Czech communists could hardly afford a defeat which would mean a setback to the Soviet Union in the cold war. In February 1948 the non-communist ministers resigned protesting against replacement of some high police officers in Prague by pro-communist officials. After the exit of non-communist ministers, the power was ultimately seized by the communists in Czechoslovakia.

(4) Soviet — Yugoslavia Relations

In Yugoslavia Marshall Tito and his army of eight lakhs troops had acquired immense prestige during the Second World War by their single-handed struggle against Nazi aggression. However, Yugoslavia's programme for rapid industrialisation in the post-war period was cold shouldered by the Soviet Union. Yugoslav nationalism looked at Soviet internationalism as a great stumbling block in the realisation of its cherished goal of neutral and properous Yugoslavia. On 28th June 1948 the Cominform an organisation of Soviet Union for spread of communism expelled Yugoslavia's leaders. In 1955 Soviet Premier Khrushchev visited Yugoslavia in a bid to effect normalisation of relations between the two countries. He denounced Stalinist methods and dissolved Cominform. Efforts were made to cultivate friendly relations between the two countries when in 1956 Khrushchev visited Yugoslavia for the second time. But the renewed friendly ties suffered a serious set-back when in 1956 the Soviet troops stormed Budapest the capital of Hungary in order to install a pro-Soviet government there. Marshall Tito did not support the Soviet military action in Hungary. Marshall Tito not only challenged Soviet domination but also he kept himself outside the Warsaw Pact and Council for Mutual Economic Cooperation (COMECON) created by the Soviet Union in 1955. The War-saw pact was created for military cooperation among East European communist countries whereas COMECON was designed to effect economic cooperation among the East European countries. In 1968 the Soviet and Warsaw Pact troops intervened in Czechoslovakia in order to crush the liberal Czech leaders much as Dubeck and Mr. Ludvik Svoboda who wanted to introduce liberal democratic reforms. At this juncture Marshall Tito of Yugoslavia and Mao Tse Tung of China denounced the intervention of the Soviet Union and her satellite East European states in the internal affairs of Czechoslovakia. As a result of this reaction by Yugoslavia's government,

Tito was not invited to attend the Polish party congress in November 1968. However, the role of Marshall Tito was a precursor of movement of non-alignment in the world. This movement has world-wide dimensions and it got great impetus by Tito, Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru of India and Col. Nasser of Egypt. These three great political celebrities laid the foundation of non-aligned movement which has emerged as a great force for peace between the hostile power blocs.

(5) Soviet Union and Hungarian Crisis

Hungary was occupied by Germany's force in March 1944 and a pro-German government began to function there.

(i) Liberation of Hungary and Establishment of Communist Rule : By April 1945 Soviet troops routed all the German troops from Hungary. On 20th January 1945 Hungarian government, of General Miklos and Imre Nagi signed at Moscow an armistice with the Allies. Peace was restored in Hungary by peace treaty of 10th February 1946. The treaty came into force on 15th September 1946 and with that the Allied Control Commission ceased to function. Meanwhile since the country was occupied by Soviet army, the communist members of Miklos cabinet began to capture positions of importance in the administration. In January 1946 monarchy was abolished and on 1st February 1946 Hungarian National Assembly proclaimed Hungarian republic. Rakosi a communist leader demanded the Ministry of Internal Affairs for a communist and the government was pressurised to concede this demand. As a result of this, several opposition leaders were arrested in February 1947. The Communist party manoeuvred to get majority in general elections. By 1948 the opposition parties were liquidated. Industries were nationalised, state control was established over schools and strong action was taken against the Church and collectivization of agriculture was resorted. All these measures laid the foundation of communist rule in Hungary. In 1948 all church schools were nationalised and religious education was abolished. On 18th August 1949 a new constitution of a "Republic of Workers and Working Peasants" was adopted in Hungary.

(ii) Hungarian Crisis and Military Intervention by the Soviet Union: Hungarian revolution came in the wake of the destalinization movement which had been initiated at the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union on 14th February 1956 by the famous speech of A.I. Mikoyan, the First Deputy Premier of the Soviet Union. Mr. Nikita Khrushchev in his speech admitted that there were different roads to communism. By the middle of the year

1956 the movement of destalinization gained momentum. In Hungary all the stalinist elements in communist party and government were being sacked. The situation became explosive when Stalinist Matyas Rakosi the first Secretary of the Hungarian Communist Party was removed. Various political groups led by intellectuals and students began to ask for more freedom and in October 1956 various peaceful demonstrations took place in support of people's demand for more freedom. After the fall of Rakosi, there was great agitation against Stalinist leadership and eventually Mr. Nagy came to power in Hungary. What prompted Soviet Union to take military action in Hungary was the cold war between the Super Powers. The cold war on the issue of Berlin had intensified and the prospects of an armed Germany within the NATO alliance had stiffened Soviet attitude. John Foster Dulles the US Secretary of State refused to accept status quo in East Europe and threatened massive retaliation against the Soviet Union in order to liberate the Eastern Europe. The Soviet Union sent her troops in Hungary to suppress the violent demonstrations and anti-communist riots. The capital Budapest was spared but in other places fierce fighting ensued from 21st October to 23rd October 1956. Premier Nagi was put under the custody of State Security Police. On October 30 Premier Nagi broadened his cabinet by including certain representatives of older parties. On 29th October 1956 Israel invaded Egypt following the nationalisation of Suez Canal by the latter. England and France joined the war on the side of Israel. At this juncture the Soviet Union reversed her policy towards Hungary and took action to assert her authority. She threatened to join the war on the side of Egypt and due to this threat hostilities were terminated. On November 4, 1956 Soviet troops stormed Budapest the Capital of Hungary. The premier Nagi was overthrown and Janes Kadar the First Secretary of Hungarian communist party was installed in power by use of sheer brute force.

(iii) The Role of UNO in Hungarian Crisis : The Hungarian crisis soon became an international issue and was brought before the Security Council by joint Anglo-French and American effort. The Security Council resolution sponsored by the UK France and the USA invoked the UN charter under chapter VI dealing with settlement of dispute. But the government of Hungary claimed that since the matter lay within the domestic jurisdiction of Hungary, the UN Security Council had no right to intervene. This contention was supported by the Soviet delegate Mr. Sobolov. On 2nd November 1956 Nagi the Premier of Hungary appealed to Security Council to take action against Soviet military intervention. The Security

Council adopted a US sponsored resolution in which the USSR was asked to withdraw her armed forces from Hungary without delay. Despite the UN resolution the Soviet troops remained in Hungary and Nagi the premier was ousted. He took refuge in Yugoslav embassy. Pro-Soviet government under Janes Kadar was installed. The Security Council again considered a US sponsored resolution condemning Soviet military action in Hungary and urging the Soviet Union to refrain from military action in Hungary. Since the resolution was vetoed by the USSR the Security Council failed to take any action and the issue was referred to the General Assembly which under the US sponsored Unite for peace resolution was entitled to consider such questions. The General Assembly adopted as many as fourteen resolutions about different aspects of Hungarian problem. The General Assembly unequivocally condemned Soviet military action in Hungary. The Soviet Union succeeded in her objective to install a puppet government in Hungary and the movement for liberalism and democratic rights fizzled out. On June 16, 1958 Soviet Union announced that Imre Nagy the former Premier of Hungary and three of his colleagues had been sentenced to death at Budapest trial for complicity in the uprising in 1956. The UN General Assembly deplored this action as a further proof of Soviet disregard of Assembly's resolutions on Hungarian crisis.

The UN remained a spectator in this crisis and failed to take any action against the Soviet Union.

(6) Emergence of Cominform

The Russian reaction to the Marshall Plan was two-fold. One was Molotov Plan which was designed to effect economic cooperation among the East European communist countries and the other was the formation of a new Communist Information Bureau (COMINFORM) to replace the old Communist International (COMINTERN) which had been dissolved in 1943 as a concession to the war-time allies of the Soviet Union. The Communist Information Bureau was established at the Conference at Warsaw on 5th October 1947 in which the communist parties of Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, Rumania, Hungary, Poland, USSR, France, Czechoslovakia and Italy participated. Its chief objective was to coordinate the policies of the communist parties of the member states against the Marshall plan. It also aimed at the expansion of the world communist movement and promote the solidarity of the working class of the world.

The Cominform carried forth its message through its journal "For a Lasting Peace. For a People's Democracy". The communist parties all over the world were the hand-maid of the Cominform and

faithfully executed the line of action suggested by this organisation. The object of each communist party was to overthrow capitalism and the communists resorted to fair and foul means to attain it. They had no faith in constitutional and peaceful means.

(7) East European Mutual Assistance Treaty (WARSAW PACT)

Another step the Soviet Union took to counteract the growing strength of the USA and her allies, was the conclusion of the East European Mutual Assitance Treaty. Eight Communist countries the Soviet Union, Poland, Czechoslovakia, East Germany, Rumania, Hungary, Bulgaria and Albania conferred from May 11 to 13, 1955 in Warsaw and their deliberations resulted in the conclusion of a treaty of friendship, cooperation and mutual assistance between them. The treaty provided for a unified military command for the armed forces of all these countries except East Germany whose participation would be examined later. The treaty contained the following provisions:

(i) Article 4 of the eight nation treaty stipulated that in the event of an armed attack in Europe on one or more states that are signatories of the treaty by any country or group of countries, each party to this treaty shall in exercise of the right to individual or collective self-defence in accordance with article 51 of the UN charter render the signatory state or states so attacked immediate assistance.

(ii) Article 9 of this Warsaw Pact was of special importance in that it provided for the accession of other states irrespective of their social systems. In other words any country whether communist or non-communist could join the Warsaw Pact.

(iii) The treaty was to remain in force for twenty years.

(iv) The signatories of the treaty provided for a joint command of their forces. Marshall Ivan Koniev of the Soviet Union was appointed Commander-in-Chief of the joint armed forces contributed by the participating countries. A joint military staff consisting of Koniev the commander-in-Chief and the representatives of the General Staffs of all the participating countries was set up.

(v) The government and communist party leaders from the Soviet Union, all the Soviet bloc countries and China met in Moscow in May 1958 within the framework of the political consultative Committee of the Warsaw Treaty Organisation and they arrived at following decisions. The armed forces of Albania, Bulgaria Czechoslovakia, Poland, Rumania and the Soviet Union would announce

reduction of their respective armed forces consistent with their national safety.

(a) In the near future all the Soviet forces stationed in Rumania would be withdrawn.

(b) During the current year the Soviet troops stationed in Hungary would be reduced.

The delegates also published the text of draft for non-aggression pact between the Warsaw Treaty Organisation and North Atlantic Treaty Organisation.

But due to deep-rooted differences between the Soviet bloc and American bloc, the proposed non-aggression pact did not materialise and East-West tension continued to escalate. A meeting of the Defence Ministers of the Warsaw Treaty countries discussed in September 1961 the question of increasing their armed strength to face the powerful North Atlantic Military bloc.

In order to strengthen her hold over the communist countries and also to propagate the doctrines of communism the Soviet Union setup various organisations such as World Peace Council, the World Federation of Democratic Youth, the World Federation of Trade Unions, and the International Students Union.

(F) Integration Through Economic Cooperation In Europe

(1) Economic Cooperation Among West European Countries

It was felt in the United States that Western Europe could not hope to get on its feet economically and politically without being fully united. The US repeatedly urged the Western European Powers to move further and faster along the road to military political and economic integration so as to stem the tide of communist expansion. In order to give fillip to military and political integration, economic cooperation was initiated in Western European countries, so that the edifice of the 'Free World' might be built on firm foundation. This initiative led to the formation of following major organisations.

(2) Orgnaisation for European Economic Cooperation

A concrete step in the direction of economic cooperation among West European countries was the formation of the Organisation for European Economic Cooperation (OEEC) on 6th April 1948. It was established to administer the Marshall plan aid, to coordinate investment programme, and to facilitate the increase of trade among the West European countries. This organisation had no jurisdiction over problems of trade policy involving non-European

countries outside Sterling Area. Although the USA and Canada participated as associate members, they were not full members of the OEEC and there was no provision for membership of other countries outside Europe such as Australia and Japan, Originally OEEC was to continue upto 1952 but later on its life was extended indefinitely.

(a) Composition and Fuctions of OEEC: The OEEC functioned through a Council on which all members and the United States and Canada were represented. This Council appointed the Secretary General and two Deputy Secretaries who were to be responsible to it. The Council had its own Secretariat and a huge staff had been provided to work under the Secretary General. The main functions of OEEC were: (1) to prepare and implement measures necessary to achieve aims and objectives of the organisation and to facilitate, promote and coordinate the individual actions of the member states, (2) to give the government of the USA adequate information regarding European Recovery Programme and (3) at the request of the interested parties to help in the process of negotiations of such international agreements as might be necessary for the better execution of European Recovery Programme. The OEEC succeeded in reducing trade barriers, in publishing reports on particular industries and also in promoting collaboration in the matters of internal financial stability, trade and use of resources.

(ii) European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC) : The next step in the direction of economic integration of West European countries was the formation of European Coal and Steel Community. On May 9, 1950 M Robert Schuman the Foreign Minister of France proposed the creation of single authority to supervise and control the production of steel and coal of West European countries. This proposal was described by the press as the "Schuman Plan". France invited UK, West Germany, Italy, Belgium, Holland and Luxemburg for conference for the implementation of the Schuman Plan. While other countries accepted the invitation, Great Britain refused to associate herself with the proposed plan. However, after the protracted negotiations a treaty for setting up European Coal and Steel Community was signed on 18th April 1951.

The treaty which was to last for 50 years provided for the creation of a common market by the abolition of export and import duties, subsidies and other restrictive practices on the movement of coal and steel between the participating states. The ESSC was operated by its institutions such as the High Authority composed of nine members, the Assembly composed of delegates elected an-

nuually by the national parliaments of the member states, the 6 member Council composed of one member from the government of each member country and the Court composed of seven judges.

The Soviet Union presented to France in September 1951 a strongly worded note denouncing the formation of ECSC as the restoration of the military industrial potential of West Germany but France rejected the allegation as unworthy of consideration.

The treaty establishing the ECSC was ratified by the parliaments of all the six member states and on July 25, 1952 it came into force. The inaugural meeting was held at Luxemburg on 10th August. The United States soon established close working relations with the High Authority of the organization. The British government also expressed its intention to establish the closest possible association with ECSC and to this effect an agreement was signed on 21 December 1954. This was indeed a notable achievement of the European Union movement.

(iii) European Economic Community (EEC) : Two organisations viz. Organization of European Economic Cooperation (OEEC) and European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC) proved very useful. On 20th May 1955 the three Benelux countries viz. Belgium Netherlands and Luxemburg proposed to the governments of the members states of ECSC further European economic integration. The Prime Ministers and Foreign Ministers of France, West Germany, Italy, Belgium, Holland and Luxemburg met in Paris from 18th February to 20, 1957 to finalise the draft of a treaty establishing a European Common Market. Another draft treaty was prepared for setting up European Atomic Energy Community. On March 25, 1957 these treaties were signed in Rome, and they came into force on January 1, 1958. Thus, European Economic Community (Common-Market) and the European Atomic Energy Community (EURATOM) came into being.

The aims of the European Common Market were to promote the harmonious economic development of the community, steady and balanced expansion, economic stability, higher standard of living and closer economic ties among the member states, through the creation of a common market and through gradual rapprochement of economic policies of the member states. The tariff and other restrictive practices were to be abolished on the movement of goods within the Community. A common tariff and uniform commercial policy were to be applied to non-signatory states. Barriers to free movement of persons, services, and capital within the common market area were to be eliminated. A common agricultural policy was to

be framed and unfair competition was to be eliminated. A European Social Fund was to be created to increase employment opportunities and to contribute to the raising of living standards of the people of member states. A European Investment Bank designed to facilitate economic expansion was to be set up. The institutional structure of EEC is marked by its principal organs such as Executive Commission, the Council of Ministers, the European Assembly and the Court of Justice. In addition however an economic and social committee advises the Council of Ministers and the Executive Commission.

Impressed by the economic developments of the Common Market countries British Prime Minister announced in the House of Commons on July 31, 1961 the decision to apply for full membership. The British negotiator Edward Heath expressed England's readiness to subscribe fully to the aims and objectives of the common market. Britain actually joined the European Common Market in 1973. Charles de Gaulle the President of France was instrumental in resisting British entry into the Common Market. After his exit from power in France, the way was paved for British entry into the Common Market.

(2) Molotov Plan and Council of Mutual Economic Assistance (COMECON)

(i) Soviet Move to Bring About Economic Integration of East European States : The first move in the direction of economic integration of East European countries was Molotov Plan. This plan was designed to counteract the influence of the Marshall Plan initiated by the USA for European economic recovery. The Soviet Union entertained misgivings regarding the ulterior motives of the USA in implementing the Marshall plan which in effect meant halting the progress of communism in Western Europe. On June 29, 1947 the official Soviet News Agency (Tass) issued a statement that a massive aid programme as envisaged in the Marshall Plan would constitute an infringement of national sovereignty of the recipient states of Western Europe. The Soviet Foreign Minister Molotov refused participation in the Marshall Plan initiated by the United States and he put forth his own plan. The main objectives of Molotov plan were: (1) industrialisation of East European countries; (2) creation of a Soviet economic unit, and (3) counteracting the tendencies of East European trade to veer away from the Soviet Union.

During January 1949, the delegates of the Soviet Union, Poland Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Rumania, and Bulgaria met in Moscow on the possibility of organising broader economic coopera-

tion among the socialist countries. On 25th January 1949 the creation of Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (COMECON) was announced. This Council comprised of representatives of the participating states. Its objective was to exchange experience in the economic field and to promote mutual assistance in regard to raw materials, foodstuffs machinery and equipment. Yugoslavia was excluded from its membership, because of its defiance of the Cominform. In October 1950 the German Democratic Republic (East Germany) was admitted to membership of the Council. On Various occasions the Council discussed the questions of specialisation and cooperation in the manufacture of certain types of machinery and equipment. It also discussed the issue of coordination of the most important branches of the national economies of member countries such as the engineering, coal-mining, oil and gas, chemical industries and iron and steel.

Among the major projects was a 2500 mile East European pipeline project which was designed to link the Soviet Union, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, and German Democratic Republic by an oil pipeline network. It was described as the "Friendship Oil Pipeline".

Thus, the COMECON served as an agency of economic integration of Eastern Europe under the leadership of the Soviet Union.

16

COLD WAR BETWEEN EAST AND WEST

OUTLINE:

(A) Interpretation of Cold War and its Origin.

(B) Policies and Actions of the Soviet Union Leading to Cold War.

(C) Policies and Actions of the United States Leading to Cold War.

(D) Effects of Cold War on International Relations.

(A) Interpretation Of Cold War And Its Origin

The strained relations which steadily developed between the USA and the USSR after the termination of the Second World War and made them stand forth as each other's rival is known as cold war. Though it has somewhat abated or intensified on certain occasions, yet it has continued till the present time and kept the entire world in suspense. The roots of ill-will between Soviet Union and the West go back to the very hour of the birth of the former when the Western nations including the United States intervened in the civil war in Russia in the aid of counter-revolutionaries who might nip Bolshevism in the bud. Although the workable relations between the Soviet Union and the Western countries were gradually established, their mutual distrust prevented them from combining against their common enemy viz. Nazi Germany during the thirties. During the Second World War the Soviet Union and the Western Powers fought shoulder to shoulder against the Axis Powers. While the Axis Powers had been crushed and England and France greatly weakened, the United States and the Soviet Union emerged out of this

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war with vastly strengthened world position. As soon as their common enemy lay prostrate before the victorious allies, their old ideological differences and fear of each other's aggressive designs flared up. Divergent aims reflected in opposing ideas of post-war settlement made them pursue policies which escalated tension.

(1) Diametrically Opposite Perceptions of World Situation during Post-war Period

After the end of the Second World War the United States insisted on keeping herself the secrets of the manufacture of the atom bomb. The statements of some of eminent and responsible American statesmen, e.g. Governor Earl of Pennsylavania about the need of waging a punitive war against the Soviet Union while the latter was without nuclear teeth, convinced the Russians as to the United States implacable enmity against them. The United States had not only the atom bomb, but also the world's strongest navy, and global ring of strategic air bases while her position in West Germany and Japan brought her close to the Soviet frontiers. The abrupt termination of lend-lease aid and the rejection of a Soviet request for a post-war reconstruction loan further deepened Soviet Union's suspicion of American goodwill. Under Yalta agreement the Western Powers accepted Soviet claims to Germany's territory and the Polish boundary in return for the Soviet assurance about the holding of free elections in East European countries. After the end of the World War II each side began to complain about other's bad faith. The West resented what they called the Sovietization of the East European countries. The Soviet leaders on the other hand complained that while the United States demanded and received free hand in the areas under her control e.g., Japan, she refused the same privilege to Russians in the areas under their sphere. Thus, cold war is kept alive by the rivalry of these Super Powers to gain the hegemony of the world.

(2) Ideological Conflicts Responsible for the Cold War

The ideological factor made Soviet foreign policy more complex though by no means an enigma. Stalin stood for the policy of 'Socialism in one country'. But after the end of World War II a ring of friendly socialist states of Eastern Europe was deemed to be necessary for the security of the Soviet Union the communist fatherland. After the war Stalin the Soviet Premier began to regard all non-communist countries as either "hostile capitalist" states plotting to encircle and destroy the Soviet Union or as the lackeys of imperialist capitalist states. Viewed in this light Stalinism and democracy became mutually irreconcilable. The conflict between

the two Super-Powers has often been described as the inevitable duel between rival ideologies-democracy and dictatorship. No doubt many Americans genuinely disapprove of communism on account of its rejection of parliamentary democracy and human rights. Similarly, the communists hate democracy as synonymous with capitalist exploitation of the masses and imperialism. The conflict of values is not the real reason behind the cold war but the conviction of the US government that communism is an international movement whose expansion means an accession of strength to Soviet Union. On the other hand the Soviet Government firmly believed that the undoubted resurgence of West German nationalism and close US-Japanese collaboration constituted a threat to the safety and integrity of Russia.

(3) Developments Leading to Thaw in the Cold War

The familiar portrait of the cold war for world hegemony however has not prevented contact between the Western Powers and the Communist World. The diplomacy of co-existence as Mr. Schuman puts it and the rise of non-aligned countries in Asia and Africa have increasingly acted as a brake upon the rivalry generated by the competition of the Super Powers. The cold war is different from shooting war. Friedmann aptly defined the cold war in the following words "In short there is some reason to believe that the 'cold war' is not a necessary preparatory phase for a 'hot war' but a new technique of warfare". The United Nations, the bilateral disarmament talks between the Super Powers, the futility of waging a nuclear war and world public opinion have contributed to the relaxation of tension in the international affairs.

(B) Policies And Actions Of The Soviet Union Leading To Cold War

In August 1939 Germany and the Soviet Union had signed a pact of non-aggression and neutrality. Hitler tried his best to defeat Britain but failed in his objective because German navy could not match with British naval power. Since England stood separated from Europe by the English Channel, it was difficult for Germany to register a military victory. In the midst of professions of friendship Hitler launched military offensive against the Soviet Union on June 21, 1941. Churchill welcomed Russians as allies and made common cause with Stalin. President Roosevelt declared the Soviet Union eligible for land-lease aid. In December 1941 after Pearl Harbour the US herself became involved in the Second World War and thus the 'strange alliance' between London, Washington and Moscow emerged. On 22 May 1943 in order to allay Western distrust Russia

announced the dissolution of Comintern an organisation of anti-Western propaganda. A year later the communist party in America declared itself dissolved. From 1942 onwards, the allied statesmen participated in various conferences at Casablanca, Hot Springs, Moscow, Cairo, Teheran, Brettenwoods, Dumbarton Oaks, Yalta, and San Francisco and established the UNO and several other allied agencies. On 27th February 1945 British Premier Churchill told the House of Commons "the Soviet leaders wish to live in honourable friendship and equality with Western democracies. Their word is their bond". Four days later US President Roosevelt told the Congress: "I am sure that under agreements reached at Yalta, there will be a more stable political Europe than ever before". The United States and England assumed in 1944-45 that the Soviet Union would be willing to co-operate with them in the solution of the post-war problems as readily as she had been doing during the course of hostilities. But their hopes were belied, the joy over allied victory was disturbed and the sense of relief was gone. The East-West relations began to show the perceptible signs of deterioration and the 'strange alliance' between the Western powers with the Soviet Union began to crumble. The comrades of the Second World War became strangers and found themselves at dagger's drawn. The old rivalries and suspicions revived. The Soviet Union took a series of steps which besides repudiating the war-time agreements, aggrandized the United States beyond reconciliation. The Soviet actions which led to the cold war and freezed her relations with the West, are summarized as follows:

(1) Soviet Repudiation of Yalta Agreements

The Western Powers headed by the United States began to hurl accusations on the Soviet Union and the latter started showering denunciation and charges on the former. The most important grievance of the United States and Britain against the Soviet Union was the flagrant violation of Yalta agreements by the Soviet Union. In February 1945, Roosevelt, Churchill and Stalin concluded certain agreements at the Yalta Conference. Under these agreements Germany was to be partitioned into four zones and Poland was to have a representative government based on free elections. The allies had agreed to oust both the Russian sponsored Lublin regime and Allied sponsored London regime in Poland. The new Poland was to have her Russian inhabited areas cut off in the east by the Curzon line and was to be compensated by German territory in the West. The Soviet Union undertook at Yalta to enter the war against Japan in two or three months after Nazi Germany's surrender, on certain conditions viz., status quo in Outer Mongolia, Soviet annexation of Southern

Sakhalin and the Kurile Islands, internationalization of Dairen, a Soviet naval base at Port Arthur and a joint operation of the Manchurian railway by Sino-Soviet Company. Russia had agreed that she would recognise only the Nationalist government as the lawful central government of China. But hardly had US President returned from the Yalta Conference, when the Soviet Union began to hesitate on the fulfilment of some of the Yalta agreements. In April 1945 Roosevelt died and Harry S. Truman became American President. Harry Hopkins who was a link between President Roosevelt and Stalin was sent to Moscow to convey to the Soviet authorities that US government under President Truman intended to carry out Roosevelt's policies. He was however assured by Stalin that the Soviet Union would abide by the terms of the Yalta agreement.

(a) *Establishment of Lublin Government in Poland in Violation of Yalta Agreement:* According to Yalta agreement the Soviet sponsored Lublin government and Allied sponsored London regime were not to be installed in Poland where free elections were to be held for the formation of government. But Soviet Union proceeded to impose Lublin government on Polish people and elections after the end of the war were banned and political parties liquidated. American and British observers were not allowed to enter into Poland.

(b) *Establishment of Pro-Soviet Communist Regimes in Hungary, Bulgaria and Czechoslovakia:* The Soviet Union violated the armistice agreement, the Yalta and Potsdam protocols and refused to co-operate with the Western countries in the democratic rehabilitation of above countries and established pro-Soviet government against the wishes of the people and despite the protests of the Western Allies. Thus, freedom of choice of the people of Eastern European countries was stifled ruthlessly.

(c) *Soviet Attitude Towards Japan and China:* The Soviet Union was required to declare war upon Japan two months after the surrender of Germany according to Yalta agreement. But she did not fulfil the treaty obligations. The unwillingness of the USSR to declare war on Japan or at least offer Siberian bases so that the Pacific war might be shortened, was also looked upon with suspicion about Soviet designs. Soviet reluctance to participate in Pacific war with Japan was intriguing. On the other hand she violated the Yalta Agreement by blocking the entry of Nationalist troops in Manchuria. On the contrary the Soviet Union facilitated the entry of communist troops into that province and provided them with vast dumps of war material. She exploited the Manchurian economy to her advantage and obstructed the efforts of China to establish a civil administration in Manchuria.

(2) Soviet Unwillingness to Withdraw Troops from Iran

According to pre-war treaties signed in 1921 and 1927 the Soviet Union had pledged to respect the territorial integrity and sovereignty of Iran. During the Second World War in accordance with an agreement with Britain, the Soviet troops had occupied northern Iran but under the Tripartite Treaty of 1942 and the Declaration of Tehran these troops were to be withdrawn within six months after the surrender of Germany. But after the war, while the Anglo-American troops evacuated Iran, the Soviet troops remained where they were. They withdrew much later due to combined Anglo-American pressure exerted through the UNO.

(3) Russian Pressures Over Turkey

Towards the close of the World War II, the Soviet Union which had renounced all her interests in Turkey in 1921, began to demand the cession of certain Turkish territory and the right to build naval bases in the Bosphorus. The Soviet Union insisted that the Montreaux Convention of 1936 should be revised and that too only by the Black Sea Powers. The Soviet Union intervened in the internal affairs of Turkey in a bid to intimidate and weaken the Turkish government. The Western Powers viewed the Soviet interference in Turkey with deep concern.

(4) Russia's Imposition of Reparation on Germany

The Soviet Union suffered heavy casualties during the course of hostilities with Germany. Stalin demanded ten billion dollars as reparation from the German government. Roosevelt had agreed at Yalta to this figure only to, serve as a 'basis for discussion' but Stalin began to treat this figure as final and began to dismantle Germany's industry. This imposed upon Germany's economy strained by wartime dislocations additional heavy burdens with the result that the United States and England were compelled to give substantial financial aid to Germany. This amounted to the payment of tribute by victors to the vanquished.

(5) Infringement of Civil and Political Liberties of Germans by the Soviet Union

The Potsdam Protocol of 1st August 1945 and subsequent decisions by the Allied Control Council guaranteed certain civil and political liberties to the German people. The basic human rights and liberties, were it was alleged by the USA and UK, fragrantly violated by the Soviet Union. Thousands of German people in the Soviet Zone in East Germany were arrested and deported to the USSR or sent to concentration camps. Free exchange of printed matter and films

permitted in the Allied Control Council's Directive of June 25, 1947, was frequently barred from the Soviet Zone or Soviet sector of Berlin. The East German people were cut off from contact with the population of West Germany. In April 1946, the Soviet Union forced the merger of the Socialist Party of Germany with the Communist party of Germany with the sole object of capturing the socialist voters of Berlin and the East zone of Germany. In the Soviet zone of East Germany, the socalled German Democratic Republic (GDR) was established in October 1949 by the Soviet authorities without any free election.

(6) Economic Exploitation of East Germany by the Soviet Union

In economic sphere the Soviet Union flagrantly violated the Potsdam Protocol of August 1, 1945 which provided that Germany would be treated as a single economic unit and the essential commodities would be equitably distributed between the zones occupied by the USA, UK, France and the Soviet Union. But contrary to the above Protocol on April 5, 1946 the Soviet Union stated in the Allied Control Council's Economic Directorate that each zone should be responsible for its own trade. Soviet Union directly appropriated Germany's assets in Finland, Eastern Austria, Hungary, Bulgaria and Rumania.

(7) Issue of Delimitation of German-Polish Frontier

Both the Yalta agreement and Potsdam Protocol stipulated that the final delimitation of German-Polish boundary should await a peace settlement with Germany. But the USSR recognised the Oder-Neisse line as the German-Polish boundary and allowed the pro-Soviet Lublin government authorities to occupy the land and evacuate the Germans who had been residing there. On 6th July 1950 the governments of Poland and German Democratic Republic concluded an agreement recognizing the Oder-Neisse frontier line. These unilateral actions annoyed the Western Powers. The tension was further heightened when the Soviet Union refused to repatriate the German prisoners of war and civilians.

(8) Mis-use of Veto Power by the Soviet Union

The Soviet Union began to look upon the United Nations as the instrument of American foreign policy. Finding herself in minority in the Security Council, the Soviet Union began to resort to the exercise of veto power frequently. In other words the Soviet veto prevented the actions that the Western countries proposed to take on various international questions. The Greek question, the Trieste issue and the question of admission of new members created tension

as there war no unanimity among the five permanent members of the Security Council (The USA, UK, USSR, France and Nationalist China). The indiscriminate exercise of veto power by the Soviet Union paralysed the UN machinery.

(9) Hindrances Created by the Soviet Union in Peace-making

The Soviet Union dealyed as long as she could, the signing of a peace treaty with Austria and thus she enjoyed the rich flow of oil from the wells of Zistersdorf and a number of other advantages. It was not till 1955 that a peace treaty was signed with Austria. The issue of signing a peace treaty with Germany was deliberately kept pending. Ultimately this question was be-devilled by the intensification of cold war.

(10) Berlin Question

(*Note* : For detailed study chapter 15(B) may please be referred).

(11) Establishment of Pro-Soviet Communist Government in Hungary

(*Note* : For detailed study chapter 15(E) may please be referred).

(12) Soviet Intervention in Chinese Civil War

The Sovet Union helped the communists under Mao-Tse-tung against the Chinese government headed by Chiang-Kai-Shek who was supported by the United States. During the first half of 1947 the Kuomintang army of Chiang Kai-Shek gained some successes in the civil war but during the second half of the year, the tide turned against him and the communists got the upper hand. In 1949 Chiang Kai-Shek left the mainland of China and retired to Formosa. The entire mainland of China came under the sway of communist forces under Mao-Tse tung. Through China, Soviet military aid was given to the communists in Indo-China in order to oust the French. The downfall of Chiang-Kai-Shek and consequent ascendancy of the communists in Chinese mainland constituted a severe blow to the free world. Spread of communism in China eventually resulted in establishment of communist regime in Laos, Vietnam and Campuchia. Such developments only deepened US distrust of ulterior deigns of the Soviet Union. Undoubtedly the progress of communism in Asia was a part of the Soviet strategy of world communism.

(13) Cuban Crisis (1962)

In 1962 the Soviet military equipment had arrived in Cuba along with a large number of technicians and military personnel. This triggered the sharp reaction by the people of the United States.

The public opinion favoured a unilateral pacific blockade of Cuba. Some political leaders demanded the application of the blockade to Russian and other foreign vessels. A conference of the foreign ministers of Latin American states was held in 1962 at Washington. It was decided to adopt economic and security measures to cope with Cuba's armament build up. The United States closed all its ports to the ships carrying arms to Cuba. She severed trade relations with Cuba and on the other hand the West German, Norwegian, Turkish and Japanese shipping concerns severed their connection with Cuba. The Council of Organisation of American States (OAS) initiated plans to isolate Cuba from the rest of Western Hemisphere.

The Cuban crisis assumed serious dimensions when it was discovered after aerial survey that medium range ballistic missiles had been installed by the Soviet Union in Cuba. The world seemed to be on the brink of nuclear holocaust. On 22nd October 1962 John F. Kennedy the President of United States announced some quarantine measures in order to isolate Cuba and ordered the re-inforcement of the garrison of US Naval Base at Guantanamo. The US fleet in Mediterranean was alerted and Khrushchev the premier of USSR was asked in unequivocal terms to halt and eliminate this clandestine, reckless and provocative threat. President Kennedy issued the Quarantine proclamation and on 24th October the Quarantine was effective. The American navy actually stopped the Soviet ships which were later on diverted from Cuba. The Secretary General of UN, Mr. U-Thant appealed to the United States to suspend the blockadeof Cuba and requested Khrushchev the Soviet Premier to halt shipments to Cuba. The Soviet Union proposed to withdraw nuclear missiles from Cuba if the USA withdrew her rockets from Turkey. The Soviet proposal was rejected. However, saner counsels prevailed and in order to defuse the very tense situation Khrushchev agreed to dimantle missile base in Cuba and direct confrontation between the Super Powers was happily averted and the peoples of the world heaved a sigh of relief.

(14) Soviet Military Intervention in Afghanistan (1980)

In 1980 the Soviet Union sent her armed forces into Afghanistan and established her control over the whole country. The Soviet government maintained that the Russian military occupation of Afghanistan was necessitated by the fact that the people of Afghanistan were confronted with the threat of foreign military invasion. The Soviet government also stated that it sent its forces at the express request of the government of Afghanistan. The military presence of Soviet Union sparked off furious controversy in the

Western World. The United States condemned the continued Soviet military presence as the flagrant violation of the territorial integrity and sovereignty of Afghanistan. The US and her friendly countries boycotted Olympic games and sports tournaments held in Moscow and she mobilised the world public opinion against the ulterior designs of the Soviet Union in Afghanistan which is the first Muslim country to fall in the trap of communism. Following the Soviet military occupation of Afghanistan thousands of refugees migrated into Pakistan and Iran. The government of Pakistan raised hue and cry of imminent Soviet attack on her territory. Pakistan has succeeded in exploiting this situation to her great military advantage. In response to Pakistan's request for supply of arms the United States has supplied 40 F-16's highly sophisticated war planes and other modernweapons. The induction of sophisticated war technology has vitiated the security environment in India. The government of India has lodged protest with the USA expressing grave concern and anxiety over Pakistan's acquisition of F 16 war planes and arms and ammunition from the USA. President Ronald Reagan of the USA however assured Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi that US arms supplied to Pakistan would not be used against India; but the government of India is sceptical of this assurance on account of its past experience in Indo-Pak War in 1965 and 1971. Now the government of Pakistan is engaged in its efforts to train the Pathan guerillas and as such sporadic fighting between these guerillas and regular Afghan troops breaks out. However, at present Afghanistan is the focal point of cold war between the USA and the Soviet Union.

(C) Policies And Actions Of The United States Leading To Cold War

The above mentioned Soviet moves should not lead one to conclude that the USSR was the only country which was responsible for the escalation of cold war. If theWestern Powers denounced the communists as worst scoundrels, the USSR called them a den of robbers. The Soviet leaders put the entire responsibility of post-war tension and uneasiness in the world affairs on the shoulders of the Western Powers. The following American moves led to the cold war between the East and the West.

(1) Anti-Soviet Stance of the West at the Peace Conference at Paris

After the end of their wartime honey moon, East and West had their first clash in the negotiation of peace treaties with Axis satellite states at the Peace Conference of Paris held in 1946. Two decisions taken in this conference in the teeth of Soviet opposition

still further sharpened the rivalry between the Super Powers. As a result of deliberations of this conference Trieste was made a free port under the protection of Security Council of UNO and Danube and the Black Sea were declared as international waterways. These decisions promoted the commercial interests of the Western countries because Trieste and Danube are the two gateways through which the commercial dealings between the Balkan countries and the West are carried on. But the internationalizing of these gateways exposed the USSR to security risks as they exposed the Crimea and Southern Russian ports to naval attacks by the Western countries. The Soviet Union retaliated by delaying the signing of a peace treaty with Austria and thus exploiting the oil resources of that country.

(2) American Policy of Containment

What was going on during the post-war period was both a struggle for political power and a struggle between rival ideologies. The United States came forward to lead the democracies of Western Europe against the constant danger, to which they were exposed, of Soviet inspired communist expansion. The immediate provocation was the communist threat posed to Greek's independence by internal subversion and to Turkey by wanton aggression by Soviet forces. Thus, the security of Greece and Turkey was gravely jeopardized by the Soviet Union. The United States did not like that these two countries should come within communist fold and lose their freedom. So she adopted the policy of containment or getting tough with Russia so that latter's expansionist propensity might be curbed effectively. On 12th March 1947 US President Truman sent to Congress a significant message which finally and irrevocably accepted the challenge of communist expasion and laid the basis for the policy of containment. He asked for authorization from the US Congress to extend to Greece and Turkey immediate military and economic assistance to the tune of 400 million dollars. Enunciating the policy of containment popularly known as Truman doctrine, President Truman in his eloquent speech said, "One of the primary objectives of the foreign policy of the United States is the creation of the conditions in which we and other nations will be able to work out a way of life free from coercion. I believe that it must be the policy of the United States to support free peoples who are resisting attempted subjugation by armed minorities or by outside pressure. The world is not static and the status quo is not sacred. But we cannot allow changes in status quo in violation of the Charter of the United Nations by such methods as coercion or by such subterfuges as political infiltration". The Truman Doctrine was the first impor-

tant step in the policy of containment. It sharpened the clash with the Soviet Union and showed that the USA had replaced Britain in the post-war period as the leader of democratic camp. American aid proved to be effective in Greece where communist guerillas were defeated and Greece was saved for democracy. Turkey was given adequateprotection by the USA and she could withstand the relentless pressures of the Soviet Union. The United States declared her intentions of suppressing all Soviet attempts to change political status quo by force. Thus, the USA assumed the role of World's policeman. The Truman Doctrine aimed at closing all avenues for negotiated settlement with the USSR and was interpreted to mean in unequivocal terms that the USA would contain Russia politically and restrain her wherever the Soviet communists sought to advance. Thus, Truman Doctrine acted as bombshell on the possibility of peaceful negotiations on various outstanding differences between the Super Powers. Russia desired to gain hold on the Straits and tried to pressurise Turkey. Her aspirations in Straits were as natural as US hold on Panama canal which is her life line, Yet the United States humiliated Russia by assuming the military guardianship of the Straits. She was fully conscious that the Soviet Union could not risk a war with her because she had the monopoly of atom bomb in 1947. Thus, Truman Doctrine though not a declaration of war resulted in escalation of tension between in the Super Powers.

(3) The Marshall Plan

Truman Doctrine was the barbinger of a project for even broader and more extensive foreign aid. This project which is called Marshall Plan involved the United States in deeper entanglement in world politics. The chief object of the Marshall Plan was to assist the allies of the USA in Europe to recover normal economic health so as to be able to resist the blandishments of communism. The idea was first put forward by U.S. Secretary of State, George Marshall in a speech at Harvard University on 5th June 1947. He said, "the United States should do whatever it is able to do to assist in the return of normal economic health in the world without which there can be no political stability and no assured peace". The underlying aim of the Marshall Plan was to save Europe from communist subversion. President Truman later on wrote —"Speed was essential because the West now faced the increasing pressure of communist imperialism". It was indeed a plan to fight communism. Naturally the communist countries of Eastern Europe did not attend the Second conference called by Britain and France to discuss the provisions embodied in Marshall Plan. Mr. G. C. Smith rightly says

"To believe that American aid would be forth-coming for countries which remained communist was to misunderstand the significance of the Marshall Plan". Thus, this plan reflected the American policy of containment in the economic field.

The Marshall Plan and the Truman Doctrine ended the state of American isolationism. Britain France and fourteen European states accepted the plan. The US government appointed Mr. Paul Hauffman as the administrator of the European Recovery Programme.

By the end of 1947the communist world and free world became the victims of the cold war. This continued till the death of Soviet Premier Stalin in march 1953. However, the diplomacy of co-existence inaugurated by Khrushchev helped to reduce it.

(4) Agricultural Trade Development and Assistance Act PL 480

During the early 1950's huge surplus of agricultural product accumulated in the United States and there was tremendous shortage of agricultural commodities in the under-developed countries. But these countries were short of foreign exchange and could not buy their requirements from the USA. So in order to help the under-developed countries the US Congress passed Public Law 480 or Agricultural Trade Development and Assistance Act. Large quantities of foodgrains were exported to various countries such as India, Italy, Israel, Indonesia, Brazil, Japan, UAR Turkey and Yogoslavia, on favourable terms. This aid programme was a part of the international effort of American government to contain communism.

(5) Aid Programmes of the Leading Countries of Free World

The United States was not alone in extending economic aid to the under-developed countries. The UK, France, West Germany, Canada, Japan, Switzerland, Belgium and Holland greatly subsidized American efforts to protect the Free World. The Colonial Development Corporation was established in London in 1948 to accelerate the economic development of the British colonies. In 1953 the Commonwealth Assistance Loans Programme was launched with a view to providing credit facilities to the developing member countries of the Commonwealth. The British government also evinced keen interest in the economic development of the South-East Asian countries and for that purpose the famous Colombo Plan was framed in 1950. The beneficiaries under this plan were India, Burma, Malaya, North-Borneo, Cambodia, Ceylon, Indonesia, Laos, Thailand, Vietnam and Singapore. During the period between 1951 and 1961 Britain gave 180 million pounds as aid to these countries under

the Colombo Plan. This plan was one of the most successful international ventures and it provided an atmosphere of stability peace and international goodwill.

(6) Stoppage of Lend-Lease Aid to the Soviet Union

During the World War II the United States gave massive aid to the Soviet Union under lend-Lease aid programme so that the latter might withstand the aggression of German armed forces. But after the cessation of hostilities President Truman stopped giving aid to the USSR and terminated lend-Lease aid Programme. This coupled with the US resistance to Stalin's demands for reparations convinced the Soviet government that the Western Powers were hostile to it and did not want the USSR to prosper.

(7) Anti-Soviet Propaganda

The Western press openly began to preach the cult of hatred-against the communist countries. Communist menace was portrayed in unmitigated terms and fear was aroused against the ulterior designs of the Soviet Union. As the Soviet armed forces approached Berlin, the US newspapers gave such headlines as "Red Wave Threatens to Drown Christian Civilisation". Chicago Tribune wrote "Soviet Union is only Aggressor in the World". It was but natural that the authorities of the Soviet Union felt perturbed over such pronouncements. The Yalta harmony was gone and the breakdown had begun. Within two years of the end of the World War II, struggle for world hegemony was going on. Since it was not a battle of the tanks and guns, it was named the cold war. Its instruments were military alliances accumulation of armaments, scientific and technological advancement, regional organisations, threats and warnings.

(8) Korean War and the Cold War

In June 1950 the cold war reached a high water mark and fighting started in Korea between the North Korea and South Korea. Apparently the conflict was between the Koreans but essentially it was between the leaders of the two power blocs the United States and the Soviet Union. For three years the hostilities continued and thousands of casualties occurred. Through the UN efforts the ceasefire agreement was signed on July 27 1953 and war came to an end. The United States and the Soviet Union welcomed the cessation of fighting but there was no real meeting of the minds.

(9) US Exploitation of Articles 51 and 52 of UN Charter

Article 51 of UN charter stipulated "Nothing in the present charter shall impair the inherent right of individual or collective

self-defence if an armed attack occurs against a member of the United Nations, until the Security Council has taken measures necessary to maintain international peace and security. Measures taken by members in the exercise of this right of self-defence shall be immediately reported to the Security Council and shall not inany way affect the authority and responsibility of the Security Council under the present charter to take at any time such action as it deems necessary in order to maintain or restore international peace and security". Article 52 of the Charter reads thus "Nothing in the present charter precludes the existence of regional arrangements or agencies for dealing with such matters relating to the maintenance of international peace and security as are appropriate for regional action provided that such arrangements and agencies are consistent with the purposes and principles of United Nations". Taking a cue from these provisions the US Senate adopted in June 1948 a resolution sponsored by Arthur Vandenburg. It inter alia declared that the government of the United States should, among other measures for promoting peace and security, associate itself by constitutional process with such regional and collective arrangements as are based on effective self help and mutual aid. The United States should make clear, the resolution stated, its determination to exercise the right of individual or collective self-defence under article 51 of the charter in case of any armed attack on her. The USA decided to arrange the defence of free world through military alliances which though defensive in character, posed a serious threat to the security of the Soviet Union and expansion of world communist movement.

(10) The Rio Treaty

The first step in the direction of collective regional self-defence was taken by Pan-American Union when an inter-American defence conference was convened on 15 August 1947 at Petropolis near Rio de Janeiro. Nineteen South American Republics concluded the American Treaty of Reciprocal Assistance known as the Rio treaty under which armed attack on the member state was to be treated as an attack on all the signatory states which would resist aggression jointly.

(11) The North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO)

The Second step in the windening coalition of the Western countries was taken within a short time after the communists shocked them by their seizure of Czechoslovakia. Aroused by an intense desire to stem the tide of communism, the nations mostly from the Atlantic sea-board viz. Belgium, Canada, Denmark,

France, Iceland, Italy, Luxemburg, the Netherlands, Norway, Portugal, Britain and the United States joined in a military alliance known as the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (the NATO). This treaty was signed on 4th April 1949 in Washington and was ratified by the national parliaments of all the member states. Greece and Turkey joined the organisation in 1952 and West Germany in 1955. NATO in effect is a military alliance which is designed to meet the threat of communist expansion in the Western Europe.

(12) South East Asiatic Treaty Organisation (SEATO)

The net work of military alliance was extended to South-East Asia in order to encircle the Soviet Union. On the initiative of the United States the delegates of France, Britain, Australia, Newzealand, the Philippines, Pakistan, and Thailand met in Manila and concluded on September 8, 1954 South East Asia Collective Defence Treaty. The signatories pledged themselves separately and jointly by means of effective self-help and mutual aid to maintain and develop their individual and collective capacity to resist armed attack and to prevent and counteract subversive activities directed from without against their territorial integrity and political sovereignty. The article 4 of the treaty provided "should an aggression by means of armed attack in the treaty area occur, each signatory will act to meet the common danger in accordance with its constitutional processes". The signatory states further agreed to consult together immediately in case in the opinion of any one of them the integrity or sovereignty or political independence of any party in the treaty area should be threatened in any other way than by armed attack. This provision is actually directed against the possibility of acts of subversion by the communists in any one of the signatory states. Thus, SEATO provides for collective security against external attack and internal subversion. The treaty came into force on 19th February 1955 and evoked much criticism from communist China and the Soviet Union.

(13) The Japanese-American Security Treaty

On the day the United States signed a peace treaty with Japan (September 8, 1951) the Japanese-American Security Treaty was concluded. In 1949 the the communist regime was established in China and the latter's ruler Mao Tse Tung was hostile to the United States. In February1950 the People's Republic of China and the Soviet Union entered into an alliance and this posed a danger to Pacific nations. The USA decided to bolster up the defence of Japan. At Japan's request the United States agreed to maintain American forces in and about Japan, so as to deter armed attack on that

country. The U.S. troops were to maintain the international peace and security of the Far East against armed attack from without. Japan agreed not to grant any bases or any rights, whatsoever to any third country without the prior consent of the United States.

(14) Treaty between the United States and Nationalist China

On 2nd December 1954 Mutual Defence Treaty was concluded by Nationalist China under Chiang Kai Shek and the United States. The signatories agreed to maintain and develop separately and jointly their individual and collective capacity to resist armed attack and communist subversive activities directed from without against their territorial integrity and political stability. The United States pledged her military support to Formosa in the event of communist attack and the US Congress authorised the President to employ the armed forces of the United States to protect Formosa against external attack.

Through the above net work of military alliances the Western Powers in general and the United States in particular sought to protect the security of the free world countries, which had not gone under the fold of communism. This arrangement acted as a deterrent against any intervention or military attack from the Soviet Union and her allies. The Western Powers did not ignore the protection of non-aligned countries and prompt and effective aid was given whenever there was an aggression from the communists. India for example got massive economic and military aid from the West when she was attacked by Communist China in 1962.

(15) Violation of SALT II Agreement and Ronald Reagan's Star Wars Programme

In 1986 the US President Ronald Reagan repudiated SALT II agreement alleging that since the USSR had already violated this agreement, the United States was no longer bound by its obligations. President Reagan of the USA launched Star Wars programme in teeth of opposition from the Soviet bloc and non-aligned nations. This decision will accelerate the arms race between the Super Powers and will increase the chances of nuclear war by accident or miscalculation. But the USA seems to be determined to achieve superiority in armed strength over the Soviet Union. Gorbachev the General Secretary of Soviet Communist party insisted that outer space should not be used for military purposes. But this proposal was rejected by US President Reagan who was very much confident of Strategic Defence Initiative i.e. Star Wars Programme for which billions of dollars have been provided in US Defence budget.

(16) Continued Under-groundNuclearTests by the USA and Super Powers Rivalry in Indian Ocean

In defiance of world public opinion France and the United States have been conducting under-ground nuclear tests. During 1986 the Soviet Union imposed moratorium on her under-ground nuclear tests and appealed to the President Ronald Reagan of the United States to stop under-ground nuclear tests, but the appeal evoked to no response and the US underground nuclear tests continued unabated. On the other hand the Super Powers' rivalry has been intensified in Indian ocean. At Deogogarcia US fleet equipped with nuclear submarines has been stationed. India and other littoral states of the region have lodged protests with the USA and have insisted that the USA should declare Indian ocean as a zone of peace but unfortunately the US intransigent attitude towards this issue has rather intensified the cold war.

(D) Effects Of Cold War On The International Relations

(1) The UNO as First Casualty of Cold War

The rivalry between the Super Powers has produced endless friction. The efforts to create would-wide security have created world-wide chain of alliances and counter alliances. The intensification of cold-war politics has enhanced the difficulties of all the countries directly or indirectly whether or not they are a party to it. The dream of creating one world with all peoples living in peace under the protection of one international system of collective security has not come true. The power conflict has adversely affected the UNO which is the first causalty of the cold war. It has been reduced to the position of a simple forum of world opinion and it is not an effective machinery for the maintenance of world peace and security. The cold war had prevented some of the states from becoming members of the world body. For instance the United States by exercising her veto power had barred the entry of the Communist China into the World body. The cold war has destroyed the international collaboration through the auspices of the UNO. The issue of liberation of Palestine, Arab-Israel conflict and the Gulf War between Iraq and Iran are the burning international problems which have not yet been solved by the UNO and the inability of UNO to resolve these conflicts is due to the cold war.

(2) Arms Race Between Hostile Blocs

The cold war has resulted in a mad race of armaments. The politicians profess one thing but practise another thing. There is unanimity in the view that in modern times a nuclear war cannot possibly be won; because any nuclear holocaust would mean extic-

tion of human race. Even then the leading countries of the world are engaged in their frantic efforts to accumulate the largest possible number of nuclear weapons.

In the world today approximately 50 crores of dollars are spent daily for armaments. The cost of a nuclear submarine is equal to budget of several backward countries. 35 per cent of the total expenditure of the world on the manufacture of armaments is made in the USA Thus, both the blocs are armed to the teeth. Any local quarrel or even misunderstanding can result in nuclear holocaust.

(3) Adverse Effect on the Economic Development of the World

The diversion of human labour money and resources for manufacturing destructive armaments has adversely affected the economic development of a large number of backward countries. Some of the under-developed countries like Pakistan have developed very close relations with American bloc and are forced to adopt an economy which is war-oriented and detrimental to peace and prosperity. The Western countries are capable of banishing poverty and hunger if they divert their resources for the economic development of the backward countries. The cost of a British war ship is sufficient to build a first rate hospital. Thus, the cost of the armaments is paid out at the cost of more essential needs of mankind. If civilisation is to survive, such competition should give way to meaningful and fruitful co-operation.

(4) Generation of War Psychosis

The cold war has led to war-mindedness because the basis of cold war is fear and distrust. American distrust of Soviet intentions is so deep that President Reagan was keen on Strategic Defence Initiative (Star Wars Programme) to be implemented expeditiously. Due to this ambitious plan the defence budget (1987) of the United State swelled to colossal figure of over 300 billion dollars. President Reagan and Defence Secretary Caspar Weinberger were anxious that at least some components of the Strategic Defence Initiative might be installed in space before President Reagan left office so that the project might not be abandoned by his successors. The fear of surprise attack and fear of being surpassed by the rival bloc in acquisition of deadly weapons are great hindrances in the way of disarmament. That is why the United States repudiated Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty-2 (SALT-2) signed by her and the Soviet Union. The United States violated the treaty by putting into service her 131st heavy bomber equipped to carry long range Cruise missiles. She overstepped the aggregate limit of 1320 units of Strategic

Ballistic Missile launchers and Cruise missile armed heavy bombers fixed by SALT-2 Treaty. It was because of distrust that Reagan-Gorbachev summit meeting held on 11th October 1986, at Reykjavik (Iceland) ended in a fiasco. Thus, violation of SALT 2 Treaty and the failure of summit conference intensified the cold war and a fear of a possible nuclear war persists due to lack of good will and understanding between the Super Powers.

(5) Emergence of Non-Aligned Movement (NAM)

The only bright spot in the dismal picture of polarized world politics was the heroic and far-sighted effort made by Jawaharlal Nehru the Prime Minister of India together with President Abdul Gamal Nasser of Egypt and Marshall Tito of Yugoslavia and others to keep their respective nations outside the cold war zone and if possible to mediate between East and West. John Foster Dulles the Secretary of State of USA described neutrality as immoral. The success of the policy of non-alignment was demonstrated on critical occasions, when the Franco-British military venture in the Suez (1956) was frustrated by combined USA - USSR support in UN for Nasser and by supply of arms by the UK and the USA to India and simultaneous fulfilment of her commitment to India by the USSR for supplying MIG fighters during the days of Chinese aggression in 1962. Non-Aligned Movement's (NAM) only binding force is to protect its members from falling into the clutches of any of the military power blocs and for strengthening its own unity and solidarity to help consolidate the freedom, sovereignty, and territorial integrity of all its members as well as assist each other on the path of self-reliance both individually and collectively. NAM is a force for defusing the tense situation created by the cold war. Opposed to imperialism and oppression in several parts of the world NAM has also bent its energies against apartheid in South Africa and sought to impose economic sanctions against that country. NAM has also taken a strong stand on the withdrawal of foreign military bases and forces from various countries and on the establishment of Indian Ocean as 'Zone of Peace' free from Big Power rivalry. Starting with only 25 members a quarter century ago the Non-aligned Movement has today 101 countries as members. The NAM champions the cause of the have nots so that the disparities of income and opportunities get reduced. Thus, the NAM goes a long way to build a just social and economic international order so that the world peace and integrity and sovereignty of big and small nations may be ensured and the wide gap between the affluent nations and poor nations is narrowed. Moreover, the NAM has the potentiality of bringing about detente between the Super Powers.

17

EFFORTS FOR DISARMAMENT DURING POST-WORLD WAR II PERIOD

OUTLINE:

(A) **Need for the Disarmament.**

(B) **Efforts for Disarmament Through the United Nations.**

(C) **Efforts for Disarmament Outside the UNO.**

(A) Need For The Disarmament

The problem of disarmament as a means of averting war has been facing hamanity for decades. The quest for peace and security of humanity baffles many statesmen. The last two world wars brought home to world community the horrors of war. The horrors and devastations in the World War II, the invention of atom, hydrogen and very recently of megaton bombs have shaken the very foundation of human civilisation. Commenting on the destructive capacity of nuclear weapons Andrei Gromyko the Soviet Foreign Minister has observed thus, "But never before has the disarmament problem been as vital and pressing as in our days when explosion of one hydrogen bomb is capable of wiping out all life within a radius of hundreds of kilometres, when rocket techniques made it possible to carry atomic war heads to any spot on the globe". In the same vein Sir Winston Churchill had remarked thus, "I think there is greater

realisation everywhere now abount the folly and complete uselessness of war because it destroys both parties and the time when a stronger party could defeat another party and benefit by it has passed or is passing". The bacteriological warfare can lead to extinction of entire human race. Commenting on the bacteriological warfare Dr. Gerald Wendt observed thus, "If World War III comes, which we pray will never happen, it will be a war in which most people may die from silent insidious anti human weapons that make no sound, give no warning, destroy no ports or ships or cities but can wipe out human beings by the millions". Really the scientists have defiled their intellect by the creation of such scientific instruments of destruction. The human race is now speeding inexorably towards a day when the ingenuity of the scientists would be unable to save the peoples of the world from the consequences of a single rash act or a lone reckless hand upon the switch of an uninterceptible missile.

Ardent advocates of disarmament argue in favour of it on several grounds. Of all the arguments, the most important and pertinent one is the economic waste in fantastic amount raising it in some countries to millions and billions of dollars. According to survey conducted by the British Institute of Strategic Studies for the year 1966 the defence budget of the NATO members was 78,000 million dollars of which the United States spent 58,000 million dollars. The Warsaw Pact expenditure was 18,000 million dollars. In all the two blocs spent 96,000 million dollars and this amount was over three times the gross national product of the people of India. The military expenditure of China was about 6,000 million dollars. This amount was about six times the Indian military budget. It is irony of fate that when millions of people in developing countries perish of hunger, advanced countries are wasting so much of national wealth and energy on the manufacture of armaments. In his eloquent speech delivered on 16th April 1958 the US President Eisenhower had said "Every gun that is made, every warship launched, every rocket fired, signifies, in the final sense, a theft from those who are hungry and are not fed, those who are cold and not clothed. This world in arms is not spending money alone. It is spending the sweat of its labourers, the genius of its scientists,the hopes of its children". When such arguments seem to be in favour of disarmament, it may seem queer why disarmament has not been accomplished so far. The problem of disarmament is not merely a problem of liquidation of armaments but it is indeed a problem of organising the world community and removing distrust hatred and fear from the mind of men.

(B) Efforts For Disarmament Through The United Nations

After the end of the Second World War which had resulted in colossal loss of life and property, the human race has come to realise the significance of disarmament. The problem of disarmament is not merely a problem of liquidation of armaments but it is essentially the problem of organising the world community and removing hatred, fear and distrust from the mind of the man. The ideological differences which come in the way of the progress of disarmament negotiations, should be reconciled in overriding interest of the survival of human race. Commenting on the significance of the disarmament John F. Kennedy the President of the United States in his address to General Assembly of the UNO on 25th September 1961 at UN Head Quarters New York had said "A nuclear disaster spread by winds and waters and fear could well engulf the great and the small, the rich and the poor, the committed and the uncommitted a like. Mankind must put an end to war or war will put an end to mankind". The need of hour is that the foul winds of war must be tamed in time and the cooling winds of reason must be freed. The signatory states of the UN Charter solemnly declared that the UNO was created to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war. Certain attempts were made through the UN for disarmament.

(1) Establishment of the Atomic Energy Commission

The first bold attempt for disarmament after the end of World War II was made when the five permanent members of the Security Council and Canada presented a resolution to the UN General Assembly for the establishment of an International Agency for the control and regulation of nuclear energy. On 26th January 1946 a resolution was passed by the General Assembly for the creation of Atomic Energy Commission. The Commission was asked to prepare draft plans for submission to the Security Council. These plans were to provide for: (i) control of nuclear energy to ensure its use for peaceful purposes only; (ii) elimination of atomic weapons and other weapons adaptable to mass destruction; and (iii) effective safeguards through inspection and other means to protect states against violation and evasions. When the Atomic Energy Commission met on 14th June 1946, two plans were submitted before it viz. the American plan and the Soviet plan. The American plan provided for the creation of an International Atomic Development Authority which was to control all the phases of development and use of nuclear energy. This authority was to have management and control of all nuclear energy activities which were deemed to be potentially dangerous to world peace and security. This authority was to

control, supervise and license all atomic activities and it would try to encourage research for the use of atomic energy for peaceful purposes. The American plan also envisaged the destruction of all the existing stock piles of nuclear weapons after enforcement of an effective system of international control of nuclear energy. Consequently the production of atom bombs was to stop. According to US plan, the United Nations was to have exclusive control over all the means of production of atomic energy. When the UN Security considered action against countries engaged in illegal production of atomic energy, the veto was not to be used. On the other hand the Soviet plan proposed a conclusion of a convention for the immediate out-lawing of the production and use of the atomic bombs and the destruction of all existing stock piles within a short period. The Soviet Union expressed her willingness to accept day-to-day inspection within prescribed limits. The inspection was to be restricted to scheduled visits to stipulated plants. The member states could operate nuclear plants subject to the regulations of the Control Commission. On 11th September 1947 the Atomic Energy Commission submitted its report. It made its recommendations regarding finance and powers of an international agency for the control of atomic energy. It also recommended that decisions concerning the production and use of atomic energy should not be left in the hands of nations. Policies concerning the production and use of nuclear energy which substantially affected world security were to be governed by principles laid down in the treaty which the international agency would be obliged to carry -out. The nations must undertake to grant to international agency rights of inspection and supervision of any part of territory subject to certain limitations and political requirements. On 17th May 1948 the Atomic Energy Commission submitted yet another report to the UN Security Council. The Commission suspended its work for the future till such time an agreement was arrived at by the states concerned. The report stated "Unless effective international control is established, there can be no lasting security against atomic weapons for any nation whatever its size, location or power. The majority of the Commission is fully aware of the impact of its plans on traditional prerogatives of national sovereignty. But in the face of the realities of the problem it sees no alternative to the voluntary sharing by nations of their sovereignty in this field to the extent required by its proposals". The Soviet Union did not fully co-operate with the Commission because it was dominated by the United States. She was not willing to allow her territory to be inspected by bourgeois-dominated international agency for control of atomic energy.

(2) Soviet Proposal and Formation of Commission for Conventional Armaments

On 29th October 1946 Molotov Soviet Foreign Minister introduced a resolution in General Assembly calling for a general disarmament and prohibition of the production and use of atomic energy for military purposes. A special sub-committee was set-up by the Assembly to examine the proposal. After discussion a resolution was adopted by the UN General Assembly on 14th December 1946. The resolution requested the Security Council to take practical measures for the regulation and reduction of armaments. On 13th February 1947 the Commission for Conventional Armaments was set-up by the UN Security Council. The Commission comprised of representatives of the members of UN Security Council and it was to submit its proposals for regulation and reduction of conventional armaments within three months. It was observed by the Commission that there was fundamental difference of opinion between the Soviet Union and the United States with regard to the issue of reduction of armaments. The Soviet stand was that immediate reduction was the first and indispensable step. The USSR also wanted the Commission to consider proposals for the prohibition of atomic weapons. American views were well expressed by US Secretary of State. Mr. Marshall on 17th September 1947 before the UN General Assembly in these words: "I say frankly to the General Assembly that it is the conviction of my government that a workable system for the regulation of armaments cannot be put into operation until conditions of international confidence prevailed. We have consistently and repeatedly made it clear that the regulation of armaments presupposes enough international understanding to make possible the settlement of peace terms with Germany and Japan, the implementation of agreements putting military forces and facilities at the disposal of the Security Council and an international agreement for the control of atomic energy".

On 12th August 1948 the Commission for Conventional Armaments adopted a resolution which was opposed by the Soviet Union. Another resolution providing for the total prohibition of atomic weapons within one year and reduction of conventional armaments by the permanent member states of the Security Council was introduced by the Soviet Union. However, the Soviet proposal was rejected. Thus, the Commission for Conventional Armaments could not function due to the Soviet attitude in the Security Council.

(3) President Truman's Initiative for Disarmament and formation of UN Disarmament Commission

In November, 1951 US Present Truman submitted proposals to

the United Nations to bring about world disarmament including elimination of the atomic bomb. UN Atomic Energy Commission and the Commission for Conventional Armaments were abolished and United Nations Disarmament Commission was set-up by the General Assembly. This new commission was to work under the supervision of UN Security Council. The Commission could not come to any unanimous decision because of the division of the members into two groups.

(4) Eisenhower Plan for Disarmament

On 16th April 1953 US President Eisenhower declared that the USA would "welcome and enter into the most solemn agreements to reaffirm our readiness to help build a world in which all peoples can be productive and prosperous". He also announced that the United States was prepared "to join with all nations in devoting a substantial percentage of the savings achieved by disarmament to a fund for world aid and reconstruction to dedicate our strength to serving the needs rather than the fears of the world". He initiated the following proposals for any disarmament agreement.

(i) The limitation by absolute number or by an agreed international ratio, of the size of armed forces of all nations.

(ii) An undertaking of all nations to set an agreed limit on the production of certain strategic materials to be devoted to military purposes.

(iii) International control of nuclear energy to promote its use for peaceful purposes and to ensure the prohibition of the manufacture of atomic weapons.

(iv) A limitation or prohibition of certain other categories of weapons of mass destruction.

(v) The enforcement of all these agreed limitations and prohibitions by adequate safe-guards including a practical system of inspection and supervision under the UNO.

On 8th December 1953 President Eisenhower addressed the UN General Assembly and put forward a new plan for disarmament which provided for exchange of military blue prints and reciprocal aerial surveys. He also suggested that those countries which possessed stock piles of fissionable materials should make contribution to an international atomic energy commission to be set-up under the UNO so that these materials might be used for peaceful purposes. This started a new movement of atoms for peace. The Soviet Union had reservations about Eisenhower's plan and as such his proposals could not be implemented by the UN.

(5) Ten Member Disarmament Commission

In 1960 Disarmament Commission of 10 members was set-up on parity basis. This commission consisted of ten members and each member represented one country. The states represented in this Commission were the USA, Britain, Canada, France, Italy, the Soviet Union, Yugoslavia, Poland, Rumania and Bulgaria. The Commission met at Geneva on March 15, 1960. The USSR proposed total abolition of conventional troops within the period of three years. According to Soviet proposal all the nuclear weapons and rockets were to be destroyed and foreign military bases dismantled. The ban was to be imposed on the manufacture of atomic weapons. It was also suggested by the Soviet Union that joint studies should be undertaken for discontinuation of manufacture of the nuclear, bacteriological and chemical weapons. The transfer of atomic weapons from one country to another was also to be prohibited. The Soviet Union agreed to the Western demand for the control of atomic weapons. An international control organisation was to be set-up within the framework of the UNO. International police force was to be established and placed at the disposal of the UN Security Council after the general disarmament had been achieved. On 27th June 1960 the Soviet Union and her allies walked out of the Disarmament Conference on the ground that the United States and her West European allies were using the Conference to hide the arms race started by the West.

(6) Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (1968)

There had been persistent demand in the UNO for the conclusion of a treaty to curb the spread of nuclear weapons. The treaty for nuclear non-proliferation which was opened for signature in Moscow, Washington and London on July 1, 1968 is a significant landmark in the history of progress of disarmament. The treaty was approved by the General Assembly's 124 nation Main Political Committee by an overwhelming majority of UN members. The treaty was approved by the UN General Assembly. There were 92 votes in its favour, 4 against and 22 absentees. Argentina, Brazil, France and China were among absentees while the negative votes were cast by Albania, Cuba, Tanzania and Zambia. The treaty came into force on 5th March 1970 after its ratification by the Senate of the USA, the Soviet Union and British parliament and 40 signatory states. The treaty stipulated that the non-nuclear states must undertake not to manufacture or otherwise acquire nuclear weapons. Verification of the fulfilment of the commitment by the signatory states was vested in the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA). The treaty also provided that the non-nuclear states would conclude agreements

with IAEA placing all of their peaceful nuclear activities under its control. The inspectors of IAEA would have the right not only to scrutinize all the documents related to controlled nuclear installations and materials but also to conduct on-the-spot inspection in the countries which have accepted the agency's safeguards. The Board of Governors of International Atomic Energy Agency was to consist of the representatives of 25 member states and among these states the most advanced countries in the sphere of nuclear technology were given permanent seats in this board. All future amendments would be subject to approval by signatories who were also members of the Board of Governors of the Agency. After passing of the resolution by the UN General Assembly on the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty, the signatory states put forward a demand that the United States, the Soviet Union, and Great Britain should make a declaration to the effect that they would protect the aggrieved party in case of an attack by a Nuclear Power. In order to allay the misgivings and misapprehensions of non-nuclear states, declaration to this effect was made on 17th June 1968. It was announced "Any state which commits aggression accompained by the use of nuclear weapons or which threatens such aggression, must be aware that these actions are to be countered effectively by measures to be taken in accordance with the UN Charter to suppress the aggression or to remove the threat of aggression". On 19th June 1968 a resolution to this efect was also passed by the Security Council. The Indian representative in the Council took exception to this resolution. It was pointed out that it is obligatory for the UN Security Council to protect the member-state which becomes a victim of aggression and that the Security Council should not make its support to any country contingent on joining the nuclear non-proliferation treaty. This conditional support goes against the provisions of the UN Charter.

(i) *Position Taken by France and Communist China on the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty :* France and Communist China refused to associate themselves with the treaty. China's Foreign Minister condemned the treaty as an "out and out unequal treaty, a tactics of power-politics being played by Great Powers and a serious plot all calculated to maintain 'Big Powers' nuclear monopoly". Chinese government described the assurances against aggression as a means of turning the non-nuclear countries into 'docile protectorates'. It was alleged that the treaty gave nuclear powers the surest way to blackmail. It was argued that non-proliferation without nuclear disarmament would help technologically advanced nations to fight others under far more favourable conditions.

(ii) *India and Nuclear Non-proliferation Treaty :* India refused to sign this treaty in her national interests. There is a perceptible change in India's nuclear policy. Though the supporters of the treaty saw the danger to international peace in the reluctance of threshold nations like India to sign the treaty, yet it can not be denied that India's stand is realistic and consistent with her national security. India's refusal to sign the treaty is dictated by the successive nuclear explosions by China. Any treaty without Communist China as a signatory or without a firm safeguard against nuclear black mail by Peking has absolutely no meaning. The treaty stipulates no such protection. The cumbersome procedure followed in the UN Security Council is not likely to provide the victim of nuclear attack, any effective support. So India has to attain such nuclear capability as to deter China from launching a nuclear attack on her. The action of the UN Security Council is possible only with the concurrence of all the five permanent members. There is no guarantee that in the event of a nuclear attack on India, the Security Council will definitely come to aid of India and none of the permanent members will exercise the veto against any proposal to support India. On the other hand India cannot shape her domestic and foreign policy to the liking of the five permanent members of the Council. It is also argued that the treaty is discriminatory for non-nuclear nations. Even after signing the treaty the nuclear countries will continue to add to their stocks. Rejecting the treaty Prime Minister Indira Gandhi declared "Aid or no aid, we will not sign it". Due to the growing nuclear strength of China, a strong demand was made by the pro-bomb lobbythat India should go nuclear if the defence interests of the country were to be protected. India actually exploded a nuclear device at Pokran in Rajasthan in May 1974. With this underground nuclear explosion India joined the nuclear club. Commenting on the treaty B.N. Chakravarti says, "Non-proliferation is not an end in itself but only a collateral measure like a nuclear test ban. By itself it does not solve the larger problem of nuclear disarmament to be followed by general and complete disarmament". It is also contended that those signatory countries which do not possess a nucler bomb, can acquire nuclear technology for manufacture of an atom bomb in a clandestine way. In such an eventuality the Geat Powers can take no action against that state as no punitive action is stipulated in the treaty in case a non-nuclear signatory state chooses to go nuclear. India believes that the nuclear non-proliferation treaty seeks to perpetuate the technological gap between the nuclear and non-nuclear nations. Even in case of peaceful uses of nuclear energy, the nuclear nation can derive immense

advantage by conducting underground nuclear tests where as the non-nuclear nations cannot resort to such nuclear tests designed for peaceful purposes. Due to all these considerations India did not sign the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty and as a sovereign country India has kept her options open. Though India has exploded an underground nuclear device yet she does not possess an atom bomb because it has been an avowed policy of the government of India not to manufacture nuclear weapons but to make peaceful uses of nuclear energy.

(C) Efforts For Disarmament Outside The UNO

(1) Nuclear Test Ban Treaty

A resounding victory for the cause of disarmament was achieved outside the United Nations when the nuclear test ban treaty was signed at Moscow on August 5, 1963. Commenting on the significance of the treaty President John F. Kennedy of the United States in his broadcast to nation had said "It will not reduce our need for arms and allies or programmes of assistance to others. But it is an important first step, a step towards peace, a step towards reason, a step away from war." The Nuclear Test Ban Treaty provides for a ban on all nuclear tests in the atmosphere including outer space or under-water including territorial waters or high seas. It prohibits all tests except underground nuclear tests. The treaty will be open for all states for signature and there is no time limit on the ban on nuclear test in the atmosphere and under the seas. The ban on nuclear explosions except underground nuclear explosion will continue for indefinte period of time. However, each signatory state has, the right to withdraw from the treaty after giving three months' notice. Moscow Test Ban Treaty was hailed by all the nations of the world as it was likely to reduce tension and pave the way for general disarmament. It was the first agreement between the East and the West and India was the first country to sign the Test Ban Treaty. France expressed her inability to sign this treaty on the ground that she would halt her nuclear programme only after the United States and the Soviet Union agreed to destroy their stock pile of nuclear weapons. People's Republic of China also refused to be a party to the treaty. China condemned the Soviet Union for entering into anti-Chinese alliance with the United States and selling out the interests of her own people and other communist states.

(2) Strategic Arms Limitation Talks (SALT–I)

In May 1972 Soviet-American Summit meeting in Moscow resulted in conclusion of a treaty on the Limitation of Anti-Ballistic Missile systems and an interim agreement on certain measures

with respect to the limitation of strategic offensive weapons. The Strategic Arms Limitation Talks (SALT – I) of May 1972 had great significance. According to this agreement the USA and the Soviet Union agreed to freeze for five years the quantity of their offensive rocket-weapons. The treaty which was signed on 26th May 1972 in Moscow by US President Richard Nixon and the Communist party Chief Brezhnev, provided for the limitation of Anti-Ballistic Missile System. The treaty was of unlimited duration. The Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty limited the USA and the USSR to two sites for ballistic missile defences, one to protect their national capital areas and other to protect a field of Inter-Continental Ballistic Missiles. Under this agreement both parties had undertaken not to develop, test or deploy Anti-Ballistic Missile systems which were sea-based, air based, space-based or mobile land-based. The interim agreement was for five years. It was complex accord covering both land-based inter-continental ballistic missiles and sub-marine launched ballistic missiles. There was to be a numerical freeze on ICBMS in the Soviet inventory at 1618 and the American inventory at 1054. This freeze was to be effective from 1st July 1972. The apparent numerical advantage of the Soviet Union was misleading because the USA had 5700 deliverable war heads while the Soviet Union had 2500 only. The agreement did not forbid modernisation and replacement within the stipulated numerical limits of strategic offensive weapons. Both the countries agreed with regard to the procedure to be adopted for verification. It was for the first time that the freedom of spy statellites to move about the air space of other country had been guaranteed and both the countries agreed neither to interfere with the means of verification nor to undertake deliberate measures of concealment which impeded the process of verification. In order to ensure compliance with these agreements, there was a provision for the establishment of a Standing Consultative Commission. It would not only provide a forum for the voluntary exchange of information between the two countries to restore confidence but would also consider possible changes inthe strategic situation and discuss relevant proposals for further measures aimed at limiting strategic arms. The United States and the Soviet Union agreed to continue active negotiations for the limitations on strategic offensive arms. It appeared that these agreements were likely to reduce competition between the United States and the Soviet Union to some extent. At least for some time quest for achieving definite superiority in strategic offensive weapons by one against the other was given up. By agreeing to a posture of 'equal security for each' the two Super [illegible] underscored their own security against each [illegible] was for

the first time that the United States and the Soviet Union agreed to accept limitations, both quantitative and qualitative on their nuclear weapons and also settled the problem of verification. The (SALT-1) Treaty relieved the economic burden on the two countries to an appreciable degree. It is contended the major significance of the (SALT -1) Agreements lies not in the fact that the two Super Powers agreed to impose certain limitations on strategic weapons but in the fact that they ratified the concept of mutual deterrent which depends on the capability of either side to inflict assured destruction upon the population and industrial centres of the other so as to deter a first strike by either party. These agreements were a major gain from the view point of world peace.

(3) Nixon-Brezhnev Summit in Washington and US Soviet Agreement (June 1973)

President Nixon of the United States visited Moscow in 1972 and Soviet leader Brezhnev paid a return visit in June 1973. On 22nd June President Nixon and Mr. Brezhnev signed an agreement under which both the countries undertook to do everything possible to avoid nuclear war not only between the two nations but also with other nations. Both the countries agreed to hold urgent consultations any time when a risk of nuclear war arose in the world so as to eliminate the risk. The two leaders agreed that efforts of one or the other to obtain nuclear advantage would be inconsistent with the goal of strengthening peaceful relations. Both the nations agreed that limitation on strategic offensive arms must be subject to complete verification. This agreement was designed to expedite the progress of negotiations between the two countries going on at Geneva. The two leaders signed a ten year pact to promote cooperation between the two countries on peaceful uses of nuclear energy. The Summit Conference between President Nixon and Soviet Party Chief Mr. Brezhnev was followed by a joint communique issued on 25th June 1973. It was announced that the long awaited conference between the NATO and the Warsaw Pact Countries on reducing troop level in Central Europe would begin on 3rd October 1973. It was also declared that a lasting peace in Europe was the paramount objective of the policies of the two countries.

(4) Vladivostok Summit (November 1974)

US President Ford and Soviet Communist Party leader Brezhnev met at Vladivostok in November 1974 and a US-Soviet agreement on guidelines for a ten year 'cap on the arms race' was concluded. The two leaders agreed to set a limit on number for such offensive nuclear weapons as missiles capable of being launched

from land, sea and air, bombers and multiple war head missiles. Both the countries were to have a certain aggregate number of strategic delivery vehicles. They also agreed to have a certain aggregate number of Inter-Continental Ballistic Missiles (ICBMs) and Sub-Marine Launched ballistic missiles (SLBMs).

(5) Helsinki Peace Conference

The 35 nation summit conference on security and cooperation in Europe was convened on 30th July 1975 at Helsinki and concluded on 1st August 1975. It was attended by US President Ford and Soviet leader Brezhnev and other dignitaries. As a result of discussions and deliberations of the conference a charter was signed by the participating states. The signatory states agreed to respect each other's right freely to choose and develop its political, social, economic and cultural systems without external interference. The signatories also pledged themselves to respect human rights. The signatories also reaffirmed their objective of promoting better relations among themselves and ensuring conditions in which their people can live in lasting peace. They guaranteed the inviolability of their frontiers and right of the nations to equality and self-determination. Certain other high-lights of this agreement were peaceful settlement of disputes by refraining from threat or use of force, non-intervention in internal affairs and fulfilment in good faith of obligations under international law. They put their faith in the efforts aimed at lessening military confrontation and promoting disarmament which were necessary to stabilise political detente in Europe and to strengthen their security. It was realised in this conference that as long as states depended to any appreciable extent on their own strength for self-defence, they would not be willing to accept the international limitations and controls of their own armaments necessary to the success of any world disarmament plan. Commenting on the issue of peace and disarmament Benjamin V. Cohen remarked thus, "If we are to make any genuine progress in lightening the burden of armaments and in dispelling the fears and suspicions which armaments breed, we will have to move rapidly from the ideal of haggling over quotas of armaments and come to accept the proposition that no state should be allowed to be in a condition of armed preparedness to wage a successful war. Disarmament should be viewed as a process of creating conditons which make it difficult or impossible for nations to break or endanger the peace and not as a bargaining process to reduce the cost of preparing for war".

But inspite of all these efforts at disarmament the world today is still spending a lot for armaments. Mr. Kurt Waldheim the UN

Secretary General pointed out to the delegates at Helsinki conference that the participating states in this conference spent eighty per cent of total world expenditure on armaments.

(6) Violation of SALT–II Agreement and President Ronald Reagan's Star War Programme

In defiance of world public opinion France and the United States have been conducting underground nuclear tests. During 1986 the Soviet Union imposed moratorium on her underground nuclear tests and appealed to the President Ronald Reagan of the United State to stop underground tests but the appeal evoked no response and the US underground nuclear tests continued unabated. On the other hand American distrust of Soviet intentions was so deep that President Reagan was keep on Strategic Defence Initiative (Star Wars Programme) to be implemented expeditiously. Due to this ambitious plan the defence budget (1987) of the United States swelled to colossal figure of over 300 billion dollars. President Reagan and Defence Secretary Caspar Weinberger were anxious that at least some components of the Strategic Initiative might be installed in space before President Reagan left office so that the project might not be abandoned by his successors. The fear of surprise attack and the fear of being surpassed by the rival bloc in acquisition of deadlyweapons are great hindrances in the way of disarmament. That is why the United States repudiated Strategic Arms Limitation Talks 2 (SALT–II) Treaty signed by her and the Soviet Union. The United States violated the treaty by putting into service her 131st heavy bomber equipped to carry long range cruise missiles. She overstepped the aggregate limit of 1320 units of Strategic Ballistic Missile launchers and Crusie missile armed heavy bombers fixed by SALT–II Treaty. It was because of distrust that Reagan - Gorbachev summit meeting held on 11th October 1986 at Reykjavik Iceland ended in a fiasco. Thus, violation of SALT–II treaty, the failure of summit conference in Iceland and unabated under-ground nuclear tests and ever increasing defence budget of Western Powers and Warsaw Pact countries are the symptoms of great distress and have intensified the cold war. The tension was further heightened when Star Wars programme was implemented enthusiastically. Now even outer space will be used for military purposes. This is indeed a serious development. The world commu-

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THE FOREIGN POLICY OF THE UNITED STATES (1945-1986)

OUTLINE:

(A) Emergence of the United States as Super Power and her Involvement in World Politics

(B) Spread of Communism, USA and USSR on Cross Roads and American Policy of Containment

(C) American Efforts for Defence of Free World Through Net Work of Military Alliances

(D) American Involvement in Korean War and Vietnam War, Far East and West Asia

(E) Attitude of the United States Towards Arab-Israel Conflict and Union of South Africa

(F) The United States and Disarmament

(G) The United States and Latin America

(H) General Appraisal of the Policy of the United States.

(A) Emergence Of The United States As Super Power And Her Involvement In World Politics

At the end of the Second World War the military strength of the United States with the atom bomb in her exclusive possession stood unchallenged in the war revaged world, and woe distraught humanity looked upto the United States to a give a new lead to the world. Frederick L. Schuman has aptly remarked, "In the mid 20th century the most populous member of the world state system was China. The most extensive in contiguous territory was the Soviet Union. The

largest in overseas lands and peoples was the British commonwealth. But the richest, most productive, most powerful, most gigantic, stupendous, titanic and super colossal was beyond all question the United States of America". After the end of the World War II it was by all means and in all ways America's responsibility to help humanity to acquire four freedoms which her illustrated President Roosevelt had earlier expounded - freedom of speech, freedom of religion, freedom from want and freedom from fear. In a way the world stage was well set for America's assuming this role. The balance of power in Europe which provided safety to Americans in by gone days had vanished. After the Second World War the Soviet Union also emerged as a Super Power and the war-time cooperation between the United States and the Soviet Union collapsed and both the countries were heading for confrontation on several international issues. This confrontation led to cold war. The tension between the Super Powers was further heightened when Rumania, Bulgaria, Albania, Hungary, Poland, Yugoslavia and Czechoslovakia came under communist fold. This expansion of communism aroused the people and the government of the United States to do something for the protection of Western Europe. The communist ideology was achieving prominence because it shrewdly offered the strongest appeal to the hungry masses. The slogan, 'workers of the world unite,' seemed to have a ready appeal. Communist philosophy demanded the destruction of American democracy, religious freedom, and the concept of free enterprise. Commenting on the political situation after the end of World War II George F Kennan the former US Ambassador in Moscow remarked "It is clear that the US cannot expect in foreseeable future to enjoy political intimacy with the Soviet regime. It must continue to regard the Soviet Union as a rival, not a partner in the political arena". Russia's violation of Yalta-Potsdam pledges seemed to convince the United States that the Soviet Union long wedded to international communism would launch a new and determined drive to master the whole world. The communist parties were operating everywhere and stood ready to seek support from the Soviet Union. Germany, Austria, Greece, Italy, France and Turkey were in danger of being taken over by communists.

The world scene in 1945 was thus dismal and challenging. The United States during the 19th century erected the barrier of the Monroe Doctrine to keep Metternichism away from her frontiers but now she was ready as any Metternich to intervene in areas far beyond her shores. The intervention of the USA hence forward was to be no longer of words and doctrines but of material aid and

supplies and in certain cases even of arms. The very people of the USA who preferred isolation in world affairs became the great interventionist apparently to protect peace, freedom and democracy.

(B) Spread Of Communism, USA And USSR On Cross Roads And American Policy Of Containment

There are no direct conflicts of national interests between the USA and the Soviet Union. Neither has any territorial claims against the other. There is no history of ancient national enmity between the two countries. Both are satisfied rich countries in territory, natural resources and polulation. The sources of conflict lie both in their likenesses and differences. Both are Super Powers and contestants for world leadership and are jealous of each other's strength. They are divided by different political and social systems and by different attitudes towards problems of social organisation of mankind now and in the future to come. The underlying cause of the conflict between the Super Powers is the difference between their political systems. The Soviet Union is governed by a group of men consisting the elite of an upper class who are obsessed on account of indoctrination, nationalistic fervour and the logic of their political position with the notion that their political system is far superior to the American counterpart and will sooner or later prevail in the whole world. The American mistrust of Soviet future designs following the sovietization of East European countries such as Rumania, Bulgaria, Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia, Poland and Albania has made the cooperation between the two countries very difficult. Unfortunately the American bureaucracy has fed so long on Soviet threat that perhaps there is a vested interest in the continuance of this tension. In both countries the opportunities for lessening the Soviet-American clash are not readily availed of. Immediately after the end of the World War II the war-time cooperation between the Super Powers collapsed. As soon as their common enemy lay prostrate before the victorious allies their old ideological differences and fear of each other's aggressive designs flared up. Divergent aims reflected in opposing ideas of post-war settlement made them pursue policies which escalated tension.

(1) The USA and the USSR on Cross Roads

The war-time collaboration between the United States and the Soviet Union could not be sustained. As long as Nazi Germany posed a threat to their security both the countries supported each other sincerely to crush the common enemy but when Nazi Germany lay prostrate before them, they developed diametrically opposite perceptions of the problems of peace and other international issues.

The following developments contributed to the escalation of tension between the two countries.

(i) *Provocative Statements of Public Leaders of the United States:* There was a lot of resentment in the political circles of the United States against the Soviet Union on account of what she had done to spread communism in East European countries after the cessation of hostilities in 1945. The resentment was so intense that it is given the name of Russophobia.

Various distinguished Americans gave vent to their resentment in harsh words which led to mounting tension and distrust between the two countries. George H. Earla remarked "Soviet Russia is a menace far greater than the Nazis. The USA must prepare in self defence to wipe out every town, city and village in Russia". On 5th March 1945 Mr. Churchill in a speech at Fulton denounced the Soviet "Iron Curtain across Europe" and argued for Anglo-American alliance to champion freedom and protect Christian civilization". Spellman says "America is infected with the germs of communism. Today communists suppressing truth are intimidating men and inflicting despotism on America. There is no middle course between democracy and communism. Wherever communism appears, slavery reappears. Communism is not a political philosophy. It is an evil and malignant way of life, a disease that spreads like an epidemic and quarantine is necessary to prevent it from infecting the nation". In the same vein C.A. Eaten said "Americans are such good people that they are slow to recognise wickedness even when they see it. We owe nothing to Russia today. Compromise with Russia seems impossible. They have no morals, no religion. The Russians are Slavs which means captives or slaves". The Governor Earl of Pennsylvania in the United States stressed the need of waging a punitive war against the Soviet Union. From 1945 to August 1949 the United States had an exclusive monopoly of atom bomb and the possibility of an atomic attack on Soviet Union during this period could not be ruled out in view of venomous propaganda against communist Russia. The American public opinion convinced the Russians as to the United States implacable enmity against them.

(ii) *Anti-Soviet Stance of the United States at Peace Conference at Paris (1946)* : After the end of their wartime honey moon the United States and the Soviet Union had their first clash in the negotiations of peace treaties with Axis Satellite states at the Peace Conference of Paris held in 1946. Two decisions taken with the support of the USA, in this conference in the teeth of Soviet

opposition still further sharpened the rivalry between the Super Powers. As a result of deliberations of this conference Trieste was made a free port under the protection of the UN Security Council and the Danube and the Black Sea were declared as international waterways. These decisions promoted the commercial interests of the Western Countries because Trieste and the Danube are the two water ways through which the commercial dealings between the Balkan countries and the west are carried on. But the internationalising of these gateways besides providing transit facilities to the West for commercial shipping, exposed the Soviet Union to security risks as these gateways exposed the Crimea and Southern Russian ports to naval attacks by the Western countries. The Soviet Union retaliated by delaying the signing of a peace treaty with Austria and thus exploited the oil resources of that country.

(iii) Termination of Lend-lease Agreement by the USA: During the Second World War the Soviet Union and the United States concluded a lend-lease agreement under which the United States agreed to give material aid to the Soviet Union so that the latter might be in a position to meet the threat of Nazi Germany. But after the cessation of hostilities this lend-lease agreement was abruptly abrogated. America stopped sending supplies to Russia and also rejected a Soviet request for a post-war reconstruction loan. These actions of the United States further deepened Soviet Union's suspicion of American goodwill.

(iv) Soviet repudiation of Yalta Agreements.

(v) Soviet unwillingness to withdraw troops from Iran.

(vi) Russia's imposition of reparation on Germany.

(vii) Russian pressures over Turkey.

(*Note* : For study Chapter 16(B) may please be referred).

Due to these unhappy developments the relations between the United States and the Soviet Union were strained to a considerable extent. Both the Super Powers seemed to have chalked out a global strategy to expand their influence and in this quest for world leadership they clashed on various international issues and brought the world on the brink of a nuclear holocaust. The containment of the Soviet Union had been America's constant pre-occupation during the post-war period.

(i) The Marshall Plan: Note : (For detailed study Chapter 16-C may please be referred).

(ii) Agricultural Trade Development and Assistance Act PL480: During the early 1950's huge surplus of agricultural product accumulated in the United States and there was tremendous shortage of agricultural commodities in the under-developed countries. But these countries were short of foreign exchange and could not buy their requirements from the USA. So in order tc help the under-developed countries the US Congress passed Public Law 480 or Agricultural Trade Development and Assistance Act. Large quantities of foodgrains were exported to various countries such as India, Italy, Israel, Indonesia, Brazil, Japan UAR, Turkey and Yugoslavia on favourable terms. This aid programme was a part of an international effort of the American government to contain communism. Aid to Yogoslavia, a communist country was given because of her neutral posture. Yugoslavia was not a member of state of Warsaw Pact and she had been pursuing the policy of non-alignment.

(iii) Four Point Programme: The Marshall Plan was devised to restore the economies of the advanced countries of West Europe which were awfully dislocated by the Second World War. The economic integration of West Europe was the matter of great concern for the USA. "By increasing production and trade". as Mr. Pratt put it "by alleviating unemployment and poverty its authors expected to halt the growth of communism among the working classes of Europe". But the communist penetration was rendered difficult rather than mitigated. There was yet another apprehension lest the impoverished two third of the human race dwelling in the backward areas of Asia and Africa should follow the Chinese example and embrace the communist tyranny as preferable to Western democracy. The containment doctrine was not to be restricted to Europe only; but it demanded measures to raise the standard of living in the parts of Latin America, Africa, the Middle East, the Far East and South East Asia, where many people lived in the shadow of hunger, poverty and disease. The people in these backward regions were becoming conscious of the gap between their living standards and those in the highly advanced countries. They were looking for a way out of their misery. It was because of this view in mind that US President Truman in his inaugural address on January 20, 1949 proposed his famous "Point Four Programme". He declared "In the coming years our programme of peace and freedom will emphasise four major courses of action: (a) unfaltering support to the United Nations, (b) continuation of our programmes for world economic recovery, (c) strengthening of freedom-loving nations against the dangers of

aggression and (d) we must embark upon a bold new programme for making the benefits of our scientific advances and industrial progress available for the improvement and growth of under-developed areas". This statement comprised what came to be known as the Point Four Programme. The programme got under way in 1950 when the Congress of the United States passed the Act for international Development and appropriated modest amount of 35 million dollars. President Truman asked the International Development Advisory Board (a group of 12 outstanding private citizens headed by Rockefeller) to raise the necessary funds for the poverty-stricken nations of Europe and the Board appropriated about 500 million dollars to alleviate the economic position of various countries of Europe ravaged by the ward.

VI. Aid to Latin American Countries: After the end of the Second World War only 4 per cent of US government aid went to Latin American countries. The Soviet Union tried to exploit the situation by establishing extensive economic relations with the Latin American countries. The increase in Soviet influence in these countries disturbed the policy makers in Washington. Vice President Nixon made an extensive tour of Latin America and in August 1958 the State Department announced that the government of the United States would collaborate in the economic development of Latin American countries. In January 1960 the Inter-American Development Bank was set-up with a capital of 1000 million dollars. The USA subscribed 450 million dollars and the remaining amount was subscribed by the Latin American countries.

On 19th June 1961 the Inter-American Social Progress Trust Fund was raised in order to carry out President Kennedy's "Alliance for Progress" programme. Legislation providing for US aid of 600 million dollars to Latin American countries under "Alliance for Progress" programme was signed by President John F. Kennedy on 27th May 1961.

In March 1961 President Kennedy created through an 'executive order' the Peace Corps on temporary basis. Many American citizens volunteered themselves to go to Latin American countries and other countries of free world where they functioned as medical assistants, civil administrators, sanitation engineers, community development workers and teachers. These volunteers lived at a standard almost similar to those people with whom they lived.

All these social, humanitarian and economic activities of the United States were designed to strengthen the social and economic base of the countries of the free world so that they might not come

within the fold of the Soviet Union. It was within this grand design of containment of the Soviet Union that the US granted massive economic aid to various countries of free world. Obviously without US economic assistance Turkey and Greece would have fallen prey to communist subversion and communism would have penetrated into Western Europe.

(C) American Efforts For The Defence Of Free World Through The Network Of Military Alliances

After the end of the Second World War the Soviet expansion in East European countries and the Soviet pressure on Turkey and Greece alarmed the West. The loyalists in Greece were supported by England against the armed insurrection of the communist party of Greece. On February 24, 1947, Britain decided to withdraw due to the heavy burden that Greek civil war imposed on her. However the mantle of defending the free world against communist subversion in the post-World War II era devolved from England to the United States. In Turkey the communists were trying to overthrow the existing government through a bloody coupd'etat. In case of Germany the East West cold war reached the climax. After dividing Germany into four zones of occupation, the US, UK, France and the Soviet Union began to bring each zone under its effective control and as such no common policies and programmes could be devised. The Soviet Union was interested in having a decisive voice in the control of the Ruhr valley rich in coal and steel. Realising that the USSR was not interested in reaching an agreement on Germany, the Government of the United States decided to promote her plan for Germany. In February 1948 the three western zones were formed into one and the German Federal Republic was created. In April 1948 the Soviet Union restricted the movements of the USA, UK and France to and from Berlin and this step sparked off great controversy and it led to escalation of tension. The uneasiness of American authorities was further heightened when the Soviet Union did not cooperate with the UN Atomic Energy Commission. The West was convinced that the Soviet Union had not abandoned her design of world communist

United States had no alternative except to organise collective defence alliances to stem the tide of communist expansion. A number of defence agreements emerged as the result of the US efforts to contain the Soviet Union.

(1) The Rio Treaty

The first step in the direction of collective regional self-defence was taken by the Pan-American Union when an inter-American defence conference was convened on 15th August 1947 at Petropolis near Rio-de Janeiro. On 30th August 19 South American countries concluded the treaty known as American Treaty of Reciprocal Assistance. This treaty is popularly known as the Rio Treaty. The article 3 of this treaty provided that an armed attack by any country against any signatory state would be considered as an attack on all the American states and consequently each of the signatories undertook to assist in meeting the attack in exercise of the inherent right of individual and collective self-defence recognised by article 51 of the Charter of UNO. There were as many as 26 articles of this treaty which laid down the general framework of the system of collective defence. On September 1, 1947, US President Truman went on a state visit to Rio and delivered an important speech on American foreign policy at the close of the Petropolis Conference. He described the Rio treaty as "an example of good neighbourliness and international amity to the rest of the world". The President expressed the willingness of the government of the United States to extend all cooperation in the defence of the "New World".

(2) The North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO)

The most far reaching step in the direction of collective defence of the Western World against possible aggression was taken by the United States in 1949. In view of the intransigence of the Soviet Union and Communist expansion in Eastern Europe, the United States took initiative of organising the defence of Western Europe along the lines of Rio Treaty. On March 18, 1949 the text of the North Atlantic Treaty was issued and the delegates of twelve states viz. the USA, UK, France, Belgium, Canada, Denmark, Iceland Italy, Luxemburg, the Netherlands, Norway, and Portugal signed the treaty in Washington on 4th April 1949. Article 5 of the treaty read as follows :" The parties agree that an armed attack against one or more of them in Europe or North America shall be considered an attack against them all, and consequently they agree that if, such an attack occurs each of them in exercise of the right of individual or collective self-defence recognised by the article 51 of the Charter of the UN will assist the party or parties so attacked by taking

forthwith individually and in concert with other parties such action as it deems necessary including the use of armed force to restore and maintain the security of the North Atlantic area". The article 5 of this treaty also stipulated "Any such armed attack and all measures taken as a result thereof shall immediately be reported to the Security Council. Such measures shall be terminated when the Security Council has taken the measures necessary to restore and maintain international peace and security". The article 6 of the treaty stated that the area covered not only the territories of the member nations in Europe and North America but also Nigeria in French North Africa, the British colonies of Malta and Gibraltar the British American and French zones of Germany and Austria and West Berlin, the Anglo-American zone of Trieste and the islands of the signatory states in the Atlantic such as Bermuda and the Bahamas.

Greece and Turkey though not exactly in Atlantic area joined the NATO in February 1952 and West Germany in May 1955. In the first instance the treaty was to remain in force for ten years. This treaty came into force on 24 August 1949.

(a) *Structure of NATO :*. The signatory states of NATO held their first session in Washington in September 1949 and set up a Council of Foreign Ministers. A defence committee composed of one representative of each member nation normally the Defence Minister and a Military Committee composed of Chiefs of Staff or other high military representatives of each member state were also set up. One Standing Group comprising Chiefs of Staff of the US, UK and France was also established in Washington as a directing and coordinating agency. This group was to function continuously in the US capital Washington. In additon to these, five regional planning groups were set up for the defence of each region. These five groups were: (1) North European Group, (ii) Western European Group, (iii) Southern European-Western Mediterranean Group, (iv) Canadian-US Group and (v) North Atlantic Ocean Group. All these organs comprised the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation.

(b) *Defence Strategy of NATO :* In January 1951, the NATO countries concluded an agreement on unified command for Western Europe and US General Dwight Eisenhower was appointed North Atlantic Supreme Commander. The American Seventh Army in Germany, the British Army of the Rhine, the three French divisions in Germany and Austria, the Belgian, Danish and Norwegian brigades stationed in West Germany and the American and British garrisons in Austria, Trieste and Berlin were placed under General

Eisenhower's command. The proposal of the United States for the formation of German armed units was vehemently opposed by the British and the French governments which contended that the rearmament of Germany only five years after the end of second World War was dangerous. Thus, during 1950's the NATO became the main framework of the 'freeworld' countries in the Atlantic and Mediterranean areas for defence against the offensives of the world communist movement. On 1st January 1956 the NATO countries created the fifth Allied Tactical Air Force. The government of the United States agreed to exchange information on nuclear energy.

(c) *Changing Complexion of NATO :* On 24th April 1956 the US Secretary of State John Foster Dulles in his speech at the Associated Press in New York declared that NATO "can and should be" more than a military alliance and that the time has come, to advance NATO from its initial phase into the totality of its meaning." Similarly, the Foreign Minister of Canada Lester Pearson said that NATO should be "far more than a mere agency of defence policy". In order to think over these suggestions, the NATO Council of Foreign Ministers met in Paris on 4th May 1956 and decided to set up inter alia, a Committee of Three Ministers to devise the ways and means to improve and extend NATO cooperation in non-military fields and develop greater solidarity in the Atlantic community. The Three Ministers styled as the "three wise men" were the Foreign Ministers of Norway, Canada, and Italy. This Committee of three ministers compiled a questionnaire of 36 points and suggested automatic consultation among the member states of NATO on matters of common interest, elimination of cultural and economic competition and frequent military manoeuvres. In 1960 the United States suggested that a large number of Polaris missiles must be stationed in Western Europe. At the NATO parliamentarians annual conference held in Paris on November 21, 1960 the Supreme Commander of the NATO, General Norstad outlined the plan for the establishment of NATO as a fourth nuclear power. Thus, NATO emerged as a fitting deterrent to the possible Soviet aggression against the West. The formation of the NATO is an important element in the frame work of the defence of the free world.

(3) The Baghdad Pact

While arrangements for collective defence of the Atlantic and Mediterranean nations had been made West Asia, South East Asia, and the islands of the Pacific Ocean were still uncovered. The threat of communist penetration and subversion in the West Asian countries was increasing. In order to keep the countries of West Asia away from communism the United States encouraged Turkey and

Iraq to conclude a military alliance. On 24th February 1955 Turkey and Iraq concluded mutual defence treaty at Baghdad. Article I stipulated that "Consistent with article 51 of the UN Charter the High contracting Parties will cooperate for their security and defence". The treaty signed between Turkey and Iraq was left open for the member states of Arab League viz. Egypt, Jordan, Lebanon, Syria, Saudi Arabia and Yemen or any other state interested in the security of the area. On 22nd November 1955. UK, Iran and Pakistan under the encouragement from the USA adhered to the Baghdad Pact, which was in the first instance concluded for five years and was renewable by mutual consent. The United States assured military aid to the signatory states in case of aggression or subversion. In 1958 the USA formally joined the Baghdad Pact.

(4) South East Asia Treaty Organisation (SEATO)

The net-work of military alliances was also extended to South-East Asia. On the initiative of the United States, the delegates of UK, France, Australia, New Zealand, the Philippines, Pakistan and Thailand met in Manila and concluded the South-East Asia collective defence treaty on 8th September 1954. The signatory states pledged themselves under article 2 of the treaty to maintain and develop their individual and collective capacity to resist armed attack and to prevent and counter subversive activities directed from without against their territorial integrity and political sovereignty. Article 4 of the treaty stipulated that in case of unprovoked armed aggression in the treaty area each signatory state would act to meet the common danger. The other threats would be a subject of mutual consultation but no action would be taken without the consent of the government concerned. A protocol to this treaty extended protection to the republics of Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia though none of these states was a signatory of the treaty. SEATO had an organisation similar to that of NATO and it provided for periodical military and political conferences. The treaty came into force on 19th February 1955. It evoked great criticism in India, Burma, Communist China and the Soviet Union. The SEATO remained ineffective from the very outset. England was much less interested in Asia after the liquidation of her control over India, Burma, Ceylon and other countries. The USA was unwilling to intervene in local Asian wars for fear of being stigmatized as a neo-colonist Power. While signing the treaty the American delegate declared that the US collaboration would apply only to communist aggression. During 1962-63 Pakistan sounded the death knell of the entire framework of SEATO by concluding agreements with com-

munist China against which the treaty was primarily directed. Later on Pakistan officially withdrew from the treaty.

(5) The United States – Philippines Alliance

The net-work of military alliances was also extended to the Pacific Ocean area. On August 30, 1951 the United States concluded in Washington a mutual defence pact with Philippines. Pledging themselves to the ideals of the UN Charter the signatory states declared their determination to defend each other against external attacks. The two countries promised "separately and jointly by self help and mutual aid to maintain and develop their individual and collective capacity to resist armed attack." This treaty was for an indefinite period and could be terminated by either signatory at one year's notice.

(6) The Australia, New Zealand and United States Pact

On September 1, 1951, a Mutual Security Pact between Australia, New Zealand and the USA (the ANZUS Pact) was concluded in San Francisco. Article 2 of the pact stipulated "In order more effectively to achieve the objective of this treaty, the parties separately and jointly by means of continuous and effective self-help and mutual aid will develop their individual and collective capacity to resist armed attack". Article 3 read as follows : "The parties will consult together whenever in the opinion of any of them the territorial integrity, political independence or security of any of the parties is threatened in the Pacific". Article 4 of the treaty stated" Each party recognises that an armed attack in the Pacific area on any of the parties would be dangerous to its own peace and safety and declares that it would act to meet the common danger in accordance with its constitutional process". The pact also provided for the setting up of a Council of Foreign Ministers for the purpose of occasional consultations to achieve the objectives of the treaty.

(7) The Japanese – American Security Treaty

On 8th September 1951 the United States signed a Peace Treaty with Japan. On the same day Japanese American Security Treaty was signed. In 1949, the communist regime was established in China. The Chinese communist government was hostile to the United States. In February 1950 Communist China and the Soviet Union entered into an alliance and thus the communist danger to the Pacific nations increased. So the United States decided to bolster up the defence of Japan. On Japan's request the United States maintained American armed forces in and about Japan, so as to deter armed attack on that country. The US armed forces were to main-

tain the international peace and security in the Far East against armed attack from any quarter. Japan undertook not to grant without the prior consent of the USA any bases or rights or authority to any third Power. The United states agreed to help the government of Japan to curb internal disturbances caused through intervention or instigation by outside Power or Powers.

Through the above net-work of military alliances the Western Powers in general and the United States in particular sought to protect the free world that is the countries which had not yet gone under the fold of communism. These defensive alliances constituted a deterrent against any armed attack from the Soviet Union and communist China. The United States did not ignore the protection of non-aligned nations and prompt and effective military aid was given whenever there was aggression or fear of aggression from the communists. Even today the United States is not quite sure whether the communists have abandoned their dream of world domination. Due to the fear of surprise attack, hatred and mutual distrust, efforts for a detente between the Super Powers do not succeed and there is polarisation between their positions with regard to the international affairs.

(D) American Involvement In Korean War And Vietnam War And US Role In South East Asia, Far East And West Asia

(1) US Involvement in Korean War (1950-53)

After the World War II Korea was divided between two governments — the North remained under communist rule and the south under a democratic republic. On 25th June 1950 over 60000 North Korean communist troops spear-headed by 100 Russian built tanks invaded South Korea. The United States immediately submitted the matter to the UN Security Council which adopted a resolution declaring that the North Korean action constituted a breach of peace. The resolution also called upon the authorities of North Korea to withdraw forthwith their armed forces to the 38th parallel. This resolution was adopted in the Security Council in absence of the Soviet Union which was boycotting the Security Council on the issue of Communist China's admission in the UNO. On 27th June 1950 President Truman declared that since North Korea had defied the Security Council, the United States would give military aid to South Korea. On 7th July 1950 the Security Council took another decisive step authorising the creation of a unified command under the United Nations flag and requesting the United States to designate its commander. On 8th July the President Truman designated General Mac Arthur as the Supreme Commander-in-Chief of the

UN military force. This resolution was also adopted in absence of Soviet delegate in the Security Council. However, the Russian representative returned on 1st August 1950 and tried to block any further action by the Security Council to deal with the situation in Koreas. So the Korean issue was submitted to General Assembly which authorised further action. On 3rd November 1950 the USA introduced the Uniting for Peace Resolution in the UN General Assembly which authorised appropriate military action to repel the aggression of North Korea. Thus, for the first time in history, war was declared and waged by the member states of an international organisation pledged to maintain world peace and security. The USA and the Republic of South Korea together contributed about 90% of the UN military force. The USA alone contributed 85.89 per cent of the naval force and 93.38 per cent of the air force. By the end of September 1950 the North Korean troops were quickly driven back to the 38th parallel. India and some other members of the UNO thought that the purpose of Security Council resolution of 27th June 1950 was served and that the UN military forces should not make further advance into North Korean territory. But the United States did not respond to India's appeal for cessation of hostilities. On 20th October Pyongyang the North Korean capital was captured by the UN forces and on 20th November the US 7th division reached the Manchurian border. As the UN forces advanced towards the Yalu river which separates Korea from Manchuria, the People's Republic of China complained about the violations of the Manchurian border by American aircrafts. The Chinese foreign minister conveyed through India's ambassador K. M. Pannikar a clear warning that if the UN forces continued to push towards China's frontier she would be compelled to enter the war. President Truman in his memoirs commmented that K. M. Pannikar had been "playing the game of the communists". In any case a new phase in the Korean war was inaugurated with a counter attack by 2,00,000 Chinese communist volunteers who crossed the Yalu river on 26th November and forced the evacuation of 105000 UN troops at Hungnam on 24th December. The Chinese pushed across the 38th parallel and drove the UN forces 70 miles into South Korea. The USA there upon urged the UN General Assembly to brand Communist China as an aggressor. The American move was opposed by India because American move was designed to escalate the conflict. The war continued for about three years and the armistice was signed on 27th July 1953. The casualties sustained by the American forces were 140,000 including 35000 dead. The work of repatriation of the prisoners of war was done by Neutral Nations Repatriation Commission consisting of represen-

tatives of Sweden, Switzerland, Poland, Czechoslovakia and India. The Indian Chairman of this commission announced that all prisoners would be released on 20th January 1954. Thus, the United States succeeded in protecting the territorial integrity of the Republic of South Korea. This was the first successful attempt of the UN military force to maintain peace by resisting aggression.

(2) The United States and Vietnam War

The French had established their hold on Indo-China by a treaty concluded with Emperor of Annam in 1874. During the course of hostilities caused by the outbreak of the Second World War. France was defeated in Europe and she lost her control over Indo-China. Taking advantage of the French weakness Japan moved in Indo-China in 1940. The defeat of Japan in 1945 brought back France in Indo-China. The Viet Minh the nationalist party which under the leadership of Dr. Ho-chi-Minh had established a provisional government in the North Indo-China, offered stubborn resistance to France and the fighting ensued in 1946. By the end of 1949 the French position became untenable in Indo-China. In December 1949 France tried to strengthen the position of anti Ho-Chi-Minh elements by formally recognising Bao-Dai as the head of state of Vietnam. Bao-Dai government received recognition from the United States and UK and other Western countries and Indo-China became a pawn in diplomatic chessboard of cold war politics. However, the fighting continued in Indo-China between the forces of Ho-chi-Minh and the French whose position became untenable in 1954 with the fall of the key fortress of Dien Bien Phu. The Western Powers including the USA appealed for peaceful negotiations and Geneva Conference was called in 1954.

(i) *The Geneva Conference and Eclipse of French Influence in Indo-China :* An agreement was reached over Indo-China at Geneva Conference (1954). The settlement provided for the division of Indo-China along the 17th parallel with Dr. Ho-chi-Minh ruling in the North Vietnam and Bao-Dai in the South of the line of demarcation. An international commission composed of the representatives of India, Poland, and Canada was set up. It was agreed that by July 1955 discussions regarding the holding of elections in July 1956 to unite the two parts of the country under the auspices of the commission, should be held. According to the agreement the two smaller states of Laos and Cambodia were to be free of all foreign troops. The four governments viz. North Vietnam, South Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia agreed not to enter into any military alliance.

(ii) *Vietnam Since Geneva Agreement :* After Geneva Agreement French influence was substituted by American influence, Bao Dai was removed by a plebiscite from the office of the Emperor and Ngo Dinh Diem became the President of South Vietnam. Ngo Dinh Diem's government supported by the USA refused to hold election for the union of North Vietnam and South Vietnam as stipulated in Geneva Agreement (1954). On November 1, 1963 Diem was overthrown by a military Coup d'etat led by General Dan Van Minh. Since, 1963 the political scene in South Vietnam had not stabilized and the fall of Diem was followed by nine coups in the republic. Even American observers were constrained to call these frequent changes of government in South Vietnam as 'Vietnamese pocket game'. But General Maxwell Taylor the US ambassador and Mr. Bundy US President's envoy could not escape their responsibility for the unstable political situation in South Vietnam.

(iii) *American Policy in South Vietnam :* In South East Asia following the Geneva Conference (1954) the United States pursued the policy of containment. The United States believed that South East Asia was a power vacuum. The threat of international communism posed a serious problem for the free world. Generous American aid was given to the government of South Vietnam in order to strengthen its economy and maintain its political stability. South Vietnam became a designated protocol state according to SEATO. Though South Vietnam was not a signatory state, yet protection was extended to her under a protocol attached to the Manila pact which created the SEATO.

(iv) *US Involvement in Vietnam War :* The signs of an impending change of American policy towards Vietnam were discernable from the summer of 1964 when after an alleged attack on US fleet in the gulf of Tonkin (August) 1964 American air force struck strategic military targets in North Vietnam. The United States policy makers gradually changed their policy of containment of communism to a policy of confrontation. On February 7, 1965 after a raid against American military installations 100 miles east of Pleiku, the United States and South Vietnam took military action against North Vietnam by conducting air strikes on selected military targets posing a direct challenge to the Soviet Union and Communist China. The sense of confrontation posed by the American action became all the more acute when American war planes raided North Vietnam's capital Hanoi where Soviet premier Mr. Kosygin had arrived on a state visit. He pledged his country's support to North Vietnam against external attack. In September 1965 US President Johnson in his San Antonio formula agreed to

stop bombing for a cease fire dialogue if North Vietnam stopped giving aid to Vietcong guerillas. But the reciprocal response was not forthcoming from Hanoi. The number of US soldiers in Vietnam was increased to five lakhs on the eve of Tet offensive against South Vietnam launched by the Vietcong (the Revolutionary government of South Vietnam) on January 30, 1968. General West- moreland demanded 2 lakhs more US troops. Since 1961 US casualties according to the figures published by US Defence Department on 31st October 1967 mounted to more than one lakh. The Vietcong guerillas created havoc for American soldiers. The Americans were waging a grim war. Their use of deadly lethal weapons which ranged from anti-personnel missile to vomiting gas and naplam bombs, had been condemned by many including Bertrand. On 31st July 1967 UN Secretary General U-Thant said that "the war in Vietnam was not a war of communist aggression but a war of national independence against all foreigners particularly Americans. He also branded the war as "totally unnecessary". However during the days of President Johnson the war in Vietnam escalated. In an effort to strengthen the South Vietnam government, US sponsored elections in 1967 were held and as a result of these elections Nguyen Van Thieu became the President of South Vietnam. On November 1, 1968 President Johnson announced a complete cessation of bombing on North Vietnam and thus paved the way for a serious dialogue for peace in Vietnam between the United States, North Vietnam, Vietcong and South Vietnam. When the international community eagerly awaited the outcome of the peace talks, the term of President Johnson's office expired and the responsibility of bringing peace talks to a successful end devolved on his successor President Richard Nixon.

(v) *End of Vietnam War During the Days of President Richard Nixon:* In April 1970 President Nixon decided to commit American troops to a major military offensive against the Vietcong guerillas in Fishhook and Parrot's beak area in Cambodia. This added a serious dimension to the Vietnam War. General Lon Nol who had overthrown the neutral government of Prince Sihanok in Cambodia declared that the US offensive was undertaken without his knowledge. However, this development resulted in a setback to the peace negotiations between North Vietnam, Vietcong, South Vietnam and the United States. Reacting to President Nixon's offensive Soviet Premier Kosygin at a State's rally in Moscow declared "The Soviet Union, China and Democratic People's Republic of Korea are unanimous in their desire to curb the aggression to prevent the extension of hostilities in Indo-China". As stated above the peace talks to end

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the war in vietnam were inaugurated in Paris where US delegation was led by Mr. Avarell Harriman and North Vietnamese delegation was led by Mr. Xuan Thui while Vietcong delegation was headed by a forty one year old woman Mrs. Nguyan Thi Binh. South Vietnam insisted that Vietcong (National Liberation Front) should be regarded as a member of North Vietnam delegation. "Ourside" said South Vietnam's President Thieu "will include the USA and if necessary other allies". Neither the USA, nor North Vietnam nor NLF accepted Thieu's position and latter's objections were overruled. Later on Mr. Harriman was replaced in January 1969 by Henry Cabbot Lodge appointed by President Nixon to head the delegation of the United States. The six member South Vietnam delegation was headed by Mr. Qham Ang Lam. The Paris peace talks were postponed several times on account of American military offensive in Cambodia in April 1970 and again on 4th May 1972 because of President Nixon's mining of six ports in North Vietnam including Haip hong the peace talks at Paris were suspended. The talks were again postponed on the revival of US bombing of North Vietnam in August 1972. Truce was however agreed on 27th January 1973 and Paris peace talks ended with the USA agreeing to withdraw her troops. An international control commission with poland, Indonesia, Hungary and Canada was appointed to supervise the cease-fire agreement. These four states together with China, France, Soviet Union and Britain were invited by the belligerent states to attend the peace talks at Paris which ended successfully in 1973. Ultimately after the withdrawal of US troops Saigon the Capital of South Vietnam surrendered to the revolutionary army of Vietcong on 30th April, 1975. Thus, the way was now open for the unification of the two Vietnams.

Thus, thirty years of United States intervention resulted in loss of 5 lakhs American casualties and 150 billion dollars. The unification of the two Vietnams is the barbinger of a new awakening in South East Asia.

(3) US role in South East Asia

The United States considered the region of South East Asia as power vacuum. So in order to offset the designs of the Soviet Union to expand her influence in South East Asia the United States has been trying to conclude military alliances and to give economic aid to the countries of this region.

(i) SEATO: (Please see point C of this Chapter.)

(ii) *The United States - Philippines Alliance*: (Please see point C of this Chapter.)

(iii) *The Australia, New Zealand and United States Pact (the ANZUS Pact)*: (Please see point C (6) of this Chapter.)

(iv) *Friendly Ties between Thailand and the USA :* Thailand has a pro-American government and is a member of the South-East Asia Treaty Organisation (SEATO). One sixth of the population is Chinese and Thailand is interested in keeping herself out of China's influence. In 1952 the communist party was declared illegal. Thailand received considerable military and economic aid from the United States.

(v) *USA and Taiwan (Formosa) :* Taiwan has an area of 13890 square miles and a population of more than 10 million. It holds a strategic position in the Pacific Ocean. After the Second World War Formosa was given back to China on account of the defeat of Japan. When Chiang Kai Shek was compelled to leave the mainland of China in 1949, he retired to Formosa. The United States concluded a defence pact with Formosa by which the USA pledged to protect the territorial integrity and independence of Formosa. In July 1962 there was the danger of a flare up in Formosa. Both the People's Republic of China and Formosa concentrated their troops on their respective borders. Chen Yi the Foreign Minister of Communist China declared that if the United States instigated Chiang Kai Shek to impose war on the Chinese people, they would have no alternative but to go along with it to the very end. US President John F. Kennedy declared that the United States would spare no effort to protect Formosa and the Pescadores against Communist incursions and subversion. The United States was not prepared to leave Formosa to her fate in the event of Chinese attack because the abandonment of Formosa would result in a big influx of Nationalist refugees into the Philippines. The abandonment of Formosa by the USA would have a demoralising effect on the other allies of the United States in the South-East Asia.

(vi) *US Recognition of the people's Republic of China's Right to UN Membership:* In February 1972 US President Richard Nixon paid a state visit to China. This was for the first time that the head of US government paid a state visit to China. After the visit normalisation of relations between the two countries was facilitated. China was granted UN membership and she became a permanent member of Security Council in place of Nationalist China (Formosa). With China's entry, the world body became truly representative organisation of world community.

(vii) *American Military Base in Deogo Garcia :* American Navy has always maintained a massive presence in the Indian Ocean.

Diego Garcia is an island of small size in the Indian ocean almost midway between Kanyakumari and Mauritius and about 2400 miles from Indian shore. In 18th century the British took Mauritius from France and other islands including Diego Garcia. In 1968 Britain granted independence to Mauritius but she retained her control over Diego Garcia. This island has attained importance because of its strategic position. The USA has converted it into a naval base where nuclear missiles have been installed. The US installation of naval base in Diego Garcia has triggered arms race between the Soviet Union and the USA. The Super Power's rivalry in the Indian ocean is resented by India. The other littoral states of Indian ocean and India have sponsored resolutions in the UN General Assembly emphasising the need of declaring Indian ocean as a zone of peace. But the USA has no intention of dismantling her base in Diego Garcia due to its strategic importance.

(viii) *The USA and Indonesia :* The United States with her increased feelings of world leadership also came in contact with Indonesia. She attempted to reconcile the differences between the Dutch and Indonesians. The USA appealed to the Netherlands to consider the issue of grant of independence to Indonesia in a sympathetic manner. The USA supported the UN efforts leading to grant of independence to Indonesia. Indonesia accepted US technical aid but she refused to be drawn into America's mutual security arrangements like the SEATO. In 1956, US Secretary of State John Foster Dulles was accorded warm welcome in Indonesia and the same year President Soekarno of Indonesia was accorded warm reception in Washington.

(4) The United States and the Far East

(i) *The Japanese American Security Treaty and Peace Treaty :* On 8th September 1951 the United States signed the Peace Treaty with Japan. On the same day Japanese-American Security Treaty was signed. In 1949 the communist regime was established in China. The Chinese communist government and the Soviet Union entered into alliance and thus the communist danger to the Pacific States increased. So the United States decided to bolster up the defence of Japan. On Japan's request the United States maintained American armed forces in and about Japan so as to deter armed attack on that country. The US armed forces were to maintain the international peace and security in the Far East against armed attack from any quarter. Japan undertook not to grant without prior consent of the USA any bases or rights or authority to any third Power. The peace treaty with Japan was signed at a conference at

San Francisco on 8th September. 1951. Neither the Chinese Nationalist government nor the People's Republic of China was invited to attend the conference. Nor was Italy invited because of disagreement among the sponsoring powers. India, Burma and Yugoslavia declined to attend. The Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia and Poland attended the conference but did not sign the peace treaty. In all 51 states were present at the conference and 48 signed. The peace treaty became effective on 28th April 1952 after it was ratified by the parliaments of signatory states. On this day the military occupation of Japan came to an end and allied troops were to be withdrawn. The treaty restored full sovereignty to Japan. It limited Japanese territory to the four main islands and some adjacent minor islands. It was stipulated in the treaty that Japan would concur in any US proposal to place Ryukyu Bonin and Volcano islands under American trusteeship. The treaty also provided that Japan should pay reparation. On 8th September 1951 US Japanese security treaty was signed. An administrative agreement concluded by Japan and the United States on 28th February 1952 implemented the above mentioned security treaty. Now the arrangements were made to maintain American bases in Japan. Jurisdiction over American troops in Japan was reserved to the United States.

(ii) *Anti American Feeling in Japan :* The security treaty and the administrative agreement reduced independent Japan to the position of a vassal. Japan would serve as a military, naval and air base for the United States. The grant of blanket extra territoriality to the United States military personnel and to US civilian officials was a particularly bitter pill to swallow. It was severely denounced as "shameful, dishonourable, tantamount to reducing the country to a colonial status". According to peace treaty Allied occupation of Japan came to an end but according to security treaty between Japan and the USA, American military presence in Japan was guaranteed. On this issue Japanese public opinion was hostile to the United States. Though American military installations were reduced from 1407 at the time of the security treaty to 369 two years later, yet they caused resentment among the people of Japan. The case in 1957 of a Japanese woman shot dead by a United States soldier William S. Girand is still fresh in the minds of Japanese. The US military bases covered a large area of flat land and as such these bases were anathema in a country like Japan where every acre diverted from cultivation was a loss. Above all Japan has occasionally been threatened by the Soviet Union with total destruction for "offering her soil to the United States for aggressive purposes". So with the night marish vision of the Japanese islands as an atomic

battle field, the government of Japan yearned for a release from her military ties with the United States. Closely related to US military presence was the Japanese concern over the US nuclear tests in the Pacific which reduced her Pacific fishing grounds and jeopardized the safety of Japanese fishermen engaged in fishing operation there for a livilihood. The incident of the Japanese tuna boat" the Lucky Dragon "which was affected by atomic fall out near Bikni Atoll where the American exploded a nuclear device in the spring of 1954 seriously affected Japanese-American relations.

(iii) *Japan's Sovereignty Violated :* The United States military ry forces in Okinawa were believed to possess atomic weapons. The Japanese maintained that an enemy making an atomic attack on Okinawa, would not spare Japan proper since the US military bases in Okinawa and in Japan were parts of one system. Okinawa which is strategically situated almost equidistant from Japan, South Korea, Communist China and Taiwan is a part of the Ryukyu islands which Japan lost as a result of her defeat in the Second World War. The USA recognised Japan's residual sovereignty over the islands but has no intention of withdrawing from there or even sharing her administration with Japan. In 1956 there were anti-American demonstrations in Okinawa. In 1956 anti-American feeling ran so high at Sunakawa a village near American military base of Tachikawa in the vicinity of Japanese capital Tokyo that there were bloody clashes between the police and the villagers who were aroused by American announcement that US airstrips were to be expanded. Some 800 persons were injured in the clashes. The Socialist party of Japan is uncompromising in its opposition to Japan's alignment with the USA. The Socialists believe that Japan cannot be truly independent unless she repudiates her security treaty with the United States. However, in sharp contrast to the views of Socialists the present administration of Japan is pro-America. In 1987 the Japanese Prime Minister had publicly supported US president Ronald Reagan's Star Wars programme i.e. Strategic Defence Initiative.

(5) The United States and West Asia

The United States was deeply interested in West Asia and her policy towards this region was influenced by oil, Palestine and defence. It was oil that first brought the United States in this region. Oil, "the Black Gold, was the sinew of modern life and the region was prodigiously rich in it. By 1951, it was producing almost one quarter of the oil in the world. In Southern Iran Britain through the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company had acquired almost a monopoly. But there

was still a large quantity of oil in Iraq and the Sheikhdom of Kuwait and the American companies exploited the oil resources in these kingdoms. The American companies also secured the monopoly of oil in Saudi Arabia and Bahrain Island field. The Second World War drained the vast petroleum resources of the American and Caribbean fields. The increasing consumption of oil in the post-war period necessitated dependence on import of foreign oil. The US needed oil for her consumption and for her allies in Western Europe with whose fate her own security and prosperity was linked. US President Roosevelt's meeting following the Yalta Conference with king Farouk of Egypt and Ibn Saud of Saudi Arabia was motivated to earn Arab goodwill so that oil might be available for the United States. The government of the United States tried to prevent the Soviet Union from having an access to rich oil resources of West Asia which were essential for American peace time economy and the war-making potential of Western Europe.

On 15th May 1948 Britain referred the Palestine issue to the United Nations so that the Jews might get a homeland. After careful study by several UN committees a scheme for partitioning Palestine between an Arab and Jewish state was devised. The Arab countries refused to accept the plan while the Jews went ahead. On 14th May 1948 the new state of Israel was created. The United States extended de facto recognition. Soon after, Israel was involved in war with the Arab States and the US began to supply arms and ammunition to her. In February 1960 the Prime Minister of Israel David Ben Gurion visited the US and he was given solemn assurance of American military aid in the event of an Arab attack. Thus, Israel became the base from which the US fought the anti-Westernism of Arabs on the one hand and checked the Soviet penetration in West Asia on the other. The regions of West Asia were of strategic importance for the US in a war whether cold or hot with the Soviet Union. Commenting on the strategic importance of West Asia, Hartmann said "It is an almost entirely un-industrialised area where the contrast between wealthy and poor is as great as anywhere in the world. Although Mohammedan faith is a formidable obstacle to the expansion of communism in the area (for it teaches acquiescence – all is the will of Allah) the extreme poverty of the masses is an acute breeding ground of popular discontent". The attainment of political freedom had spurred the ambitions of the people and if they were not fulfilled in a normal way, the disgruntled people might begin to welcome radical ideas of communist ideology. The US realised the gravity of the situation. She came forth in West Asia with two objectives: to raise standard of living of the people

through developoment of the regions's untapped natural resources and to strengthen the area's military potential and to secure bases from which the US and her allies could operate to contain the expansion of communism.

(i) *The US Aid to Greece, Turkey, Egypt, Lebanon, Iraq, Iran, Israel, Jordan and Saudi Arabia:* On 12th March,1947 President Truman asked US Congress for 400 million dollars in military and economic aid to Greece and Turkey both of which were threatened by communist countries. The security of Greece was threatened by Albania, Yugoslavia and Bulgaria while Turkey had to encounter communist subversive activities encouraged by the Soviet Union. In his famous speech President Truman declared "In the coming years, our programme for peace and freedom will emphasise four major courses of action: unfaltering support of the UN, continuation of our programmes for world economic recovery, strengthening freedom-loving nations, against the dangers of aggression and we must embark upon a bold new programme for making the benefits of our scientific advances and industrial progress available for the improvement and growth of under-developed areas". This comprised the famous four point programme. US sponsored technical Assistance agreements were concluded with Egypt, Iraq, Iran, Saudi Arabia, Israel, Jordan and Lebanon. On the other hand land development and settlement programmes were implemented in Egypt and Iraq. Saudi Arabia was helped in modernising its tariffs and customs systems. American experts, technicians and engineers were sent to West Asia to explore the avenues of developing oil production of the region. The government of the United States also promised to finance the Aswan Dam project of Egypt. America realised that if Iran passed under the Soviet domination the vast oil resources of West Asia along with the Persian Gulf littoral would be exploited by the communists. Hence financial help to save Iran from passing in the fold of the Soviet Union was considered very necessary. On 5th August 1954 President Eisenhower of the United States promised to give 47 million dollars as emergency aid to Iran in addition to 23 million dollars already granted under Four Point Programme. In 1955 the total emergency aid was raised to over 100 million dollars. Britain also provided a loan of ten million pounds to Iran. All these financial aid programmes and technical assistance programmes were designed to strengthen the backward countries of West Asia against the menace of international communism.

(ii) *Baghdad Pact:* On 2nd April 1954 Turkey signed a defence pact with Pakistan. The purpose of this pact was to bring into their alliance the states of Iraq, Iran and Syria with a view to facilitate the

more effective "containment of the Soviet Union on its southern frontier". Iraq which was being threatened by the communists both from within and without, also entered into a security pact with Turkey in February 1955. This pact was left open to other states of West Asia. On 22nd November 1955 the delegates of Britain, Turkey, Iran, Iraq and Pakistan signed the Baghdad Pact for mutual defence against unprovoked aggression and subversion. Thus, with American blessing but without participation, Britain built up the so-called "nothern-tier" of the global anti-communist edifice.

(iii) *American Reaction to Natinalisation of Suez Canal by Egypt:* On July 26, 1956 President Nasser of Egypt proclaimed nationalisation of Suez Canal and seized all the accessible assets of the company including its offices. Britain the greatest user of the canal and France heavily involved financially protested to Egypt against the arbitrary action. France insisted on the international control of the Suez Canal, and the United States deplored the act of nationalisation as "a grievous blow to international confidence". John Foster Dulles the Secretary of State of the US declared "Nasser's action was an angry act of retaliation against fancied grievances, and that it was inadmissible for the Suez Canal to be exploited by one country for highly selfish purposes". However, attempts were made to persuade colonel Nasser to assent to internationalisation of the canal but they were of no avail. On October 28, 1956 Israel announced general mobilisation of her armed forces. Eisenhower warned her against use of force. On 29th October Israel's troops plunged into the Sinai Peninsula. The US government urged moderation but Israel ignored her appeal. President Eisenhower and Secretary Dulles were disappointed. On 31st October Britain and France made aerial attacks on Egyptian air fields. Anglo-French land and naval forces moved towards the canal. Port Said and Port Fuad were occupied and the Suez Canal zone was in the danger of being occupied by the invaders. The Soviet Union threatened to intervene militarily if the aggression continued. Fearing the escalation of hostilities the US government urged peaceful settlement of the dispute. Soon cease-fire became effective and by December 1956 Anglo-French-Israeli troops withdrew and the UN troops assumed pacification duties. On January 9, 1957 British Prime Minister Anthony Eden resigned. Mollet the French Premier however survived the debacle. Thus, Anglo-French-American solidarity suffered a serious damage due to this unsuccessful military adventure.

(iv) *Eisenhower Doctrine:* Although Egypt had been saved through US pressures, Colonel Nasser did not become friendly to the West. Baghdad Pact was still a cause of his displeasure and resent-

ment. He was moving nearer to the communist states not because he liked communism but because he desired to play the East against the West. The United States decided to shatter Arab unity because the Arab states were anti-West and they were showing signs of militant nationalism. American interest to exploit oil resources of West Asia was increasing. For sometime past England and France were a stabilising force in the area but now their power had been shattered and they stood discredited after their war with Egypt following the nationalisation of Suez Canal. Now a power vacuum was created. Either this vacuum should be filled by the United States or the Soviet Union would step in. Situation in Syria was becoming tense due to the induction of Soviet arms in this country. The cold war tensions showed no signs of abatement. Hence, the American President was becoming conscious of increased responsibilities in West Asia. With this background of political situation in mind, President Eisenhower appealed to US Congress on January 5, 1957 to authorise the government to undertake in West Asia, military assistance programmes with any nation or group of nations desiring such assistance. The US Congress responded favourably to the President's appeal and he was authorised to employ the armed forces of the United States as he deemed necessary to secure and protect the territorial integrity and political sovereignty of any such nation or group of nations of West Asia requesting such aid against armed aggression from any nation controlled by international communism. The joint Congressional Resolution was adopted by the US Congress and signed by President Eisenhower on 9th March 1957. It was indeed a new version of Truman Doctrine and was dubbed "Eisenhower Doctrine". The military and economic aid suggested in the President's proposals were not intertwined. A country might receive one or both. However, no political conditions were attached to the aid programmes.

(v) *Application of Eisenhower Doctrine: (a) Jordan:* President Eisenhower deputed James P. Richards an ex-Congressmen to West Asia with a mission to negotiate with the countries of the region agreements on the basis of his new policy. King Hussein of Jordan was first to welcome the Eisenhower doctrine but his Prime Minister Suleiman Nabulsi who was pro-Nasser and anti West opposed the King's favourable gesture to the United States. King Hussein dismissed Nabulsi on 10th April 1957 and invited Dr. Hussein Fakhri Khalidi to form the government but the king also ousted him on 25th April and appointed Ibrahim Hashem as Premier. The King proclaimed martial law in the country and outlawed all political parties and trade unions. He accused the Soviet Union Syria and Egypt of

plotting to overthrow his government. He appealed to the United States to provide help. Eisenhower declared that the integrity and political independence of Jordan was vital to the United States. American Sixth Fleet was sent to the Eastern Mediterranean to prevent foreign military intervention in Jordan. On 12th November 1957 the State Department announced that the US would give all possible aid to Jordan. The US offered 10 million dollars to Jordan which became an American protectorate under Eisenhower Doctrine.

(b) Aden Protectorate: In 1957 Yemini troops and Oman rebels made incursions in Aden Protectorate and Muscat. The invaders were supported by Egypt and Saudi Arabia. The British troops and war planes were put in service to protect Muscat and Aden Protectorate. Britain was supported by the United States. The Soviet Union accused Britain of wanton aggression and the USA of connivance. The issue was referred to the Security Council which could do nothing due to the veto exercised by Britain and the United States.

(c) Syria: After the Suez Canal crisis Syria severed diplomatic ties with Britain and had been receiving arms and ammunition from the USSR. She denounced Eisenhower Doctrine as "fantastic proposition". On 18th August 1957 President Al-Kuwatly of Syria appointed pro-Soviet Afif Bizri as Chief of Staff. Both Kuwatly and Bizri accused the government of the United States of plotting to overthrow the government of Syria. The US expelled the ambassador of Syria and in order to prevent Syria from falling in the orbit of the Soviet Union, Loy Henderson was despatched as special envoy to West Asia. He conferred with authorities of Jordan and Turkey. Under the influence of the United States Turkey began to mobilise her troops near Syrian border. On 10th September 1957 Khrushchev the Soviet leader warned the United States against military intervention in Syria and in October he declared that the Soviet Union would give military support to Syria in case of foreign aggression. Thus, due to this warning military confrontation between Syria and Turkey was averted.

(d) Lebanon: While Jordan, Iraq and Saudi Arabia welcomed the Eisenhower Doctrine due to fear of Nasser's domination in the Arab League, Lebanon hailed it because of its internal problems. The people witnessed serious riots in Lebanon in 1958 and about 1369 people lost their lives. In August 1958 American Marines landed on the soil of Lebanon to protect the government from internal troubles and external danger. The landing of American Marines sparked off great controversy in Lebanon where the people

rejected the Eisenhower Doctrine and consequently the Marines had to be withdrawn from the country.

Eisenhower Doctrine which was designed to establish durable peace and stability in West Asia became responsible for mounting tension in the area. Arab nationalism distrusted the West as much as it did the Soviet Union.

(vi) US Relations with Afghanistan : During the post Second World War period Afghanistan tried to maintain cordial relations with all countries. It received economic and technical aid from the United States and the United Nations. The Afghans developed serious trouble with Pakistan over the question of regional autonomy for five million Pakhtoons in Pakistani territory. Afghanistan resented American military aid to Pakistan because the possibility of use of American arms against Afghanistan could not be ruled out. In order to protect herself Afghanistan moved closely to the Soviet Union. But the US could not ignore the strategic importance of Afghanistan. President Eisenhower made a stop over visit to Kabul during his tour of 13 countries in 1959. But in order to counteract American influence Soviet Premier Khrushchev paid a state visit to Afghanistan. The Soviet leader promised to support Afghanistan on the issue of Pakhtoonistan and assured the Afghans all aid and military support.

(a) Soviet Military Presence in Afghanistan: As early as 25th December 1979 the Soviet Union sent thousands of soldiers in Afghanistan and established a pro-Soviet government there. The Soviet government stated that the Soviet troops were sent to Afghanistan to protect the country against external danger posed by rebels and that on the request of the Afghan government, troops were despatched. This step had sparked off serious controversy in Western political circles. The United States denounced Soviet military presence in Afghanistan as flagrant violation of political sovereignty and territorial integrity of Afghanistan. She also boycotted the Olympic games held at Moscow and mobilised world public opinion against the Soviet military action in Afghanistan.

(b) Benefit to Pakistan: As a result of Soviet troops concentration in Afghanistan, lakhs of Afghans migrated to Pakistan. General Zia of Pakistan had derived maximum benefit from the Afghan situation. Under the pretext of imminent danger of war with Soviet dominated Afghanistan, Pakistan has been able to obtain massive military aid from the United States. Squadrons of most sophisticated F16 war planes have recently been inducted into Pakistan. The sale of the Airborne Warning and Control System (AWACS) had

been under active consideration by the US administration under President Ronald Reagan. India lodged protest with US government and she declared that danger to Pakistan's security from Afghanistan was imaginary and these arms would be used against India. The rebels who migrated into Pakistan's territories have been trained in guerilla war-fare. There has been constant incursions into Afghan territory by these rebels. Though Afghan head of state Najibullah declared unilateral cease-fire in January 1987, yet the cease-fire violations by Afghan rebels continued unabated — Lt. Gen. Shah Nawaz Tanai Chief of Afghan Army declared that between 15 January 1987 and 15th February 1987 the rebels had violated the cease fire 570 times. However, talks had been going on in Geneva between Afghan, Soviet and Pakistan's delegates in order to solve the Afghan tangle. Pakistan insisted on Soviet troops withdrawal from Afghanistan within a few months where as the Soviet Union insisted on continuation of Soviet military presence in Afghanistan for some years. The Soviet Union wanted to install pro-Soviet government in Afghanistan and would withdraw her troops from Afghanistan only after a political settlement guaranteeing the territorial integrity and independence of Afghanistan. However, United Nations mediator Diego Cordoves had been using his good offices to facilitate an amicable solution of Afghanistan's problem in the Geneva talks.

(vii) U.S. Relations with Iran: Feeling menaced from the Soviet Union's military presence, in Iran, the Shah of Iran asked for aid and protection after the end of World War II from the government of the United States. In March 1947 the US announced her so-called Truman Doctrine designed to check the extension of Soviet influence through out the world. On October 6, 1947 the American Iranian military agreement was concluded providing for an American military mission to enhance the efficiency of the Iranian army. During the summer of 1947 it was announced that the government of Iran would receive 30 million dollars worth of surplus army equipment together with a 25 million dollars credit with which to pay for it. In February 1948 the National Assembly of Iran decided to purchase ten million dollars worth of US arms. However the United States succeeded in preventing Iran from going into the fold of international communism. On 22nd. November 1955 Iran signed the Baghdad Pact. The signatories of the Pact undertook help each other in repelling unprovoked aggression.

viet

(a) Out Break of Gulf War (September 1980): After the abdication of Shah of Iran the government of Iran passed into the hands of religious fundamentalists headed by Ayutallah Khomeini. Unfortu-

nately the Khomeini regime developed serious differences with the government of Iraq headed by Saddam Hussein. Iran had advanced some territorial claims over Iraq. The hostilities between the two countries commenced on 1 September 1980 and there had been heavy fighting between the troops of the belligerents in various places such as Basra, Haj Omran and mountainous Kurdish region, Prime Minister Mir Hosseini Mousavi and Mr. Khomeini the head of State have expressed their determination to overthrow the government of President Saddam Hussein of Iraq. Unfortunately despite the efforts of non-aligned countries and the UNO the hostilities continued.

(b) US Perception of the Gulf War: The United States was genuinely interested in the cessation of hostilities in the Persian gulf. She was primarily interested in the military strength and economic stability of Iran lest the Soviet Union should extend her influence in this country. The United States insisted that her war ships and other vessels should enjoy unfettered access to Persian gulf though strait of Hormuz. The United States had evidence of involvement of Iran in some terrorist activities and due to this President Ronald Reagan had pledged to the US Congress that the United States would not sell arms to Iran or any country involved in international terrorism. The President Reagan stated that the US would ensure the use of strait of Hormuz for international navigation. In response to deployment of HY2 silk worm missiles made in China by Iran, the US has stationed warships in the region. The US government was considering the pre-emptive strike against Iran's missiles site in order to keep the strait of Hormuz for international navigation.

(c) Iran Contra Scandal: Unfortunately the government of President Ronald Reagan was involved in Iran-Contra scandal. It was discovered that US arms were supplied to Iran in clandestine manner with the consent of the President Reagan and money obtained from the secret arms deal was given to Contra rebels who had been instigated by the United States to overthrow the government of Nicaragua. On the other hand this secret arms deal with Iran which materialised in violation of President's pledges of arms embargo on Iran, was designed to obtain the release of American hostages in Lebanon. The Presidential Commission constituted by US Congress investigating the Iran Contra scandal issued a report in February 1987 faulting President Ronald Reagan's control of the National Security Council staff which ran the secret operation. The commission headed by former Senator John Tower in its report said that the scandal resulted from the flawed process in the operation

of the National Security Council staff. The Commission said that the contradictory policies were pursued and the whole decision-making process was too informal. The result was a very unprofessional operation. The Commission stated that arms sales to Iran were carried out to obtain the release of US hostages in Lebanon. The President Ronald Reagan however pledged to do whatever necessary to enact the proper reforms in his administration as he officially presented the Tower Commission report on Iran arms sales. The President also took the entire responsibility of this deal on his shoulders.

(viii) Relations between the United States and Turkey: After fter the end of the Second World War the Soviet Union put forward her claims to some Turkish territory in the Kars and Aradan regions. Turkey refused to recognise Russian claims and relations between the two countries were strained. In her hour of trouble Turkey extended the hand of friendship towards the United States and the latter readily grasped it. On 12th March 1947 President Truman appeared before US Congress and asked for funds to aid Greece and Turkey to resist the communist pressure. Three months later the United States formulated the Marshall Plan in order to hasten the economic recovery of Europe and Turkey was made a recipient of economic aid under this plan. In March 1948 Turkey was included in the European Recovery Programme and she received substantial aid from America in the form of technical advice and development funds.

(i) Turkey's Entry in NATO: In August 1950 Turkey requested the United States to grant her membership of the NATO, but on strategic grounds the Turkish proposal was turned down. However, the request was repeated and it evoked favourable response from the United States. In February 1952 Turkey was admitted in the NATO and she was assured that in case of foreign aggression the Western Powers would fight to protect her independence.

(ii) Development of Closer Ties Between Turkey and the West: Turkey tried to come closer to the Western Powers and extended her co-operation in various programmes of Western countries. She sent 4500 Turkish troops to join the UN forces in Korea. In 1951 she welcomed the proposal of a Middle East Defence Organisation sponsored by the Western Powers. In February 1955 she signed a defence pact with Iraq and in November she signed the Baghdad Pact. In January 1955, the Prime Minister of Turkey visited Rome and established close relations with Italy and expressed her solidarity with Atlantic alliance (NATO). In 1956 Turkish Premier paid

a state visit to Pakistan and the two countries declared their full support to Baghdad Pact. On February 28, 1957 Turkey signed with Britain a protocol to settle commercial debts. On 21st March 1957 the US Richard's Mission arrived in Ankara the capital of Turkey and the next day it was announced that both countries had agreed to continue their co-operation in counter-acting communist influence in West Asia, and that the government of the US was ready to offer financial aid for several joint projects of a regional nature which had been considered by the Economic Committee of the Baghdad Pact. On October 21, 1957 Turkey and France agreed on the construction of Bosphorous Bridge. France gave financial assistance to Turkey for this project. On March 5, 1959 bilateral defence agreements between the US on the one hand and Turkey, Iran and Pakistan on the other were signed in Turkey. On 16th April Turkey signed a treaty of peace and perpetual friendship with Spain. Thus, Turkey passed increasingly in the Western fold.

(ix) The Relations between the USA and Iraq: On 22nd November 1955 the representatives of Britain, Turkey, Iran, Iraq and Pakistan signed a security pact known as Baghdad Pact to defend their independence against the threat of communist aggression and subversion. The US welcomed this development.

(a) Iraq's Support to Eisenhower Doctrine: After discussions in Baghdad between US representative Richards and General Nuries-said then Premier of Iraq, a communique was issued on 8th April 1957, stating that both Iraq and the United States were committed to defend their independence against the threat of international communism and to resist aggression and subversion from any source. American envoy Mr. Richards recommended that certain additional military help should be provided to Iraq by the United States within the framework of Eisenhower Doctrine.

(b) End of Monarchical Tradition in Iraq: A major crisis occurred in Iraq in July 1958. The troops led by Brigadier Abdul Karim Kassem revolted and assassinated King Faisal, the Crown Prince Abdul Ilah and Premier Nuries-Said.

The monarchical government was replaced by a Republican government. A three man Council of Sovereignty exercising presidential powers and a Cabinet headed by Brigadier Kassem were set up. By the end of July all the communist states including the Soviet Union accorded their recognition to the new regime. During August the USA, UK, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, Denmark, Norway, Sweden, Finland and Lebanon recognised the Republic of Iraq.

(c) Iraq's Withdrawal from the Baghdad Pact: On 24th March 1959 General Kassem announced that Iraq had withdrawn from the Baghdad Pact. On June 1, 1959, the US Embassy in Baghdad announced that Iraq had renounced American military aid on the ground that it conflicted with her positive policy of neutrality. A communique was also issued to the effect that Iraq would also withdraw from the sterling area with effect from 23rd June, 1959.

(x) Relations between the USA and Saudi Arabia: On February 16, 1956 the State Department in Washington announced that US government had sold eighteen modern light tanks to Saudi Arabia. This deal was criticised by the members of the US Congress and the Israeli ambassador in Washington who denounced it as a regrettable departure from the policy of trying to maintain an arms balance between Israel and the Arab States. On 29th January 1957 King Saud of Saudi Arabia paid a state visit to the United States and conferred with President Eisenhower. Saudi Arabia agreed to continue its close co-operation with the US and the US government undertook to provide military assistance to Saudi Arabia. On 9th April 1957 King Saud conferred with Richards the US representative and a joint communique stated that both countries would continue to oppose communist activities, other forms of neo-imperialism and any other dangers threatening peace and stability in the area. The King Saud of Saudi Arabia expressed his adherence to Eisenhower Doctrine. However, Saudi Arabia is still within the orbit of influence of the United States.

(E) Attitude Of United States Towards Arab-Israel Conflict And Union Of South Africa

(1) Attitude of United States towards Arab-Israel Conflict

The partition of Palestine and creation of Israel sowed the seed of discord and hostility between Arabs and Jews. Most of Arab states have not yet extended recognition to Israel as a sovereign state. According to the Arabs Israel is the creation of Western imperialism. The Arabs believe that Israel has grabbed Arab territory with the connivance and active support of Western Powers. In 1956 Israel, Britain and France invaded Egypt a Arab country while in 1967 Israel attacked the Arab countries and grabbed large chunks of Arab territory in the name of self-defence. The ferment of Arab nationalism refused to tolerate Israel which received the patronage of the United States and Britain and other Western Powers. On May 23, 1967 the President of the United Arab Republics (UAR) declared that no ship flying the Israel flag would be allowed through the straits of Tiran. Soon after this declaration the UN Security Council's

emergency session was convened. The blocking of the Gulf of Aqaba by the UAR closed the port of Eilat which accounted for nearly 20% of Israel's foreign trade. The Soviet Union supported the blockade where as the USA and Britain supported Israel's stand and denounced the blockade of Gulf of Aqaba as the most flagrant violation of the laws of navigation and a breach of the 1958 International Convention of Maritime Law. The United States ordered her sixth fleet in Eastern Mediterranean to maintain peace and tranquility in the region. Soviet warships were ordered to proceed to Eastern Mediterranean on May 31, 1967. On the same day the USA introduced a resolution in the Security Council urging Israel and the Arab countries to comply with Secretary General U-Thant's appeal for restraint in the West Asian crisis. On June 5, 1967 Israel's war planes made surprise attack on Arab countries and waged a full scale war on four fronts Gaza, Sensi peninsula, Jordan and Syria. Israel conducted simultaneous air raids on military installations and air fields of the UAR. Israel seized the Arab territory from Jordan river to Suez and the Gulf of Aqaba was forced open. The Arabs lay prostrate before Israel in the six-day war. The UN Security Council approved unanimously a Soviet resolution urging cease-fire and the same was accepted by the UAR and Israel on 9th June 1967. The United States had been giving financial and military aid to Israel which was regarded as a fitting counterpoise to militant Arab nationalism. The United States agreed to supply 58 Phantom 4 bombers to Israel in 1968. There was resumption of hostilities between Arabs and Israel in October 1973, and the war ended with heavy losses to both sides. Even in this war Israel emerged victorious. Recently Israel's air force has been modernised with the induction of highly sophisticated American war planes.

The United States and Britain had been supporting Israel since the day of her birth. On June 3, 1957 the government of Israel agreed to support Eisenhower Doctrine. American collaboration was not restricted to supply of arms and ammunition but the area of US-Israel collaboration was widened. A Nuclear Research Institute one of the most modern of its kind in the world was established on 21st May 1958 at Rehovoth in the presence of European and American scientists. It appears that Israel has registered tremendous progress in nuclear technology and she can be the potential manufacturer of atom bomb. Thus, Israel situated as it is in the strategic area of West Asia, became deeply involved in the cold war. With the whole Arab world and the communist Bloc lined against her, Israel naturally depended on the military support of the United States and other Western Powers. There is an uneasy calm in this

area as the rapprochement between Arab States and Israel is still a remote possibility. Israel needs guarantee about inviolability of her frontiers and she is unwilling to vacate the Arab territories conquered by her in the interest of her security because her existence in West Asia is intolerable to the Arabs.

(2) The United States and the Union of South Africa

The policy of apartheid or racial segregation pursued by the Union of South Africa has disturbed the politics of Africa and has created a dangerous situation both for the black and white races in South Africa. In 1948 Danial Malan of the Nationalist Party framed a policy of complete racial separation in every walk of national life. Malan was succeeded by J.G. Strijdom as Prime Minister in 1954 and he attempted to implement the policy of apartheid more vigorously. The next Prime Minister Dr. Henrik Verwoerd who like his predecessor energetically pursued this policy and deprived the Africans, Indians and coloured people of their economic and political rights. Not an iota of the policy of racial segregation had been changed by Mr. Balthazar, J. Vorster who succeeded Dr. Henrik Verwoerd, who was shot dead by an assassin. Thus, 11 million Africans, 15 lakhs Cape coloured and nearly 5 lakhs Indians were deprived of basic human rights and were reduced to the position of Spartan helots. This was the position as early as 1958 but now the population of coloured people is much larger.

The international reaction to the blatant policy of racial segregation pursued by racist Pretoria regime has been very sharp. The policy of apartheid has evoked protest from more than 200 million Africans. The Addis Ababa Conference of 1963 adopted resolutions condemning it. South Africa was expelled from Commonwealth of Nations due to this policy. The declaration of Prime Minister Verwoerd on March 15, 1961 that he would not allow High Commissioners of Asian and African member states of Commonwealth to open their offices in South Africa evoked severe criticism and ultimately South Africa had to withdraw from the Commonwealth because of her intransigence. But unfortunately the United States and Britain have been adopting a partisan approach in case of South Africa with which they have established trade relations. The United States and Britain which have professed to be the ardent exponents of human rights, have ignored the appeals of vast majority of non-aligned countries to impose mandatory economic sanctions on South Africa so as to compel her to dismantle the apartheid. This partisan approach of the United States and Britain is indicative of wide divergence between their practice and

precept. Deploring the British attitude towards this policy Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi rightly stated that Britain has abandoned the principles on account of material gain. Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher clearly stated in Commonwealth conference in London in 1986 that application of mandatory economic sanctions was no solution for the end of policy of apartheid in South Africa. Similarly, President Ronald Reagan of the United States was favourably inclined to South Africa and refrained from imposing economic sanctions on the Pretoria regime, whereas American Congress passed resolution in favour of imposition of mandatory and comprehensive economic sanctions on South Africa but this legislation was vetoed by the American President. In 1987 a resolution was sponsored in the UN Security Council calling for imposition of economic sanctions on rascist Pretoria regime but it was vetoed by the United States and Britain. However, the struggle against this inhuman and blatant policy of racial segregation is going on unabated and great atrocities are being perpetrated on the people of coloured races. But ultimately the African nationalists would emerge victorious. The top leaders of the Nine Nation Africa Fund Committee including Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi approved on 24th January 1987 the draft action plan spelling out their strategy to bolster economies of the Frontline States threatened by South Africa. As Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi put it in his inaugural address to the Fund's two day summit in New Delhi,"Let not the racists of South Africa imagine that their powerful friends can sustain them for ever. Weak though we were, we have brought down empires. We shall compel Pretoria to submit." He further said that the Fund was "to finish apartheid. It is a fund to forestall bloodshed". Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda and Zimbabwe Prime Minister Robert Mugabe supported Rajiv Gandhi and appealed to the non-aligned countries to implement Commonwealth package of sanctions against South Africa.

From the world public opinion it can be gauged that collapse of the edifice of apartheid is an inevitability of history.

(F) The United States And Disarmament

(*Note*: For detailed study please see Chapter 17-C)

(G) The United States And Latin America

The United States was responsible for the freedom of Latin American states which were the colonies of European nations. But gradually the Latin American states became objects of vital strategic political and economic interest to the United States.The economies of these countries are backward and the population is increas-

ing faster. The United States is the greatest creditor country of the Latin American States. Her object has been to maintain her dominant position in this region with a view to promoting her economic interest. This policy has been pursued consistently by successive governments since the nineteenth century. The need to maintain this politico-economic domination has been expressed through various statements of policy such as the Monroe Doctrine which forbade outside interference in the affairs of Latin American states. This unilateral declaration of policy however did not prevent the United States from interfering in the internal affairs of the Latin American States. Several corollaries of Monroe Doctrine were found in the policy of 'Big Stick' and 'Dollar Diplomacy' which mingled with active intervention kept the Latin American states under US domination. President Cleveland of the United States enunciated the doctrine of paramount interest under which the USA claimed her right of active interference. President Roosevelt seized Panama from Columbia so as to establish US control over Panama Canal which was of strategic importance to America. The United States adopted a preventive policy towards the Caribbean countries during the administration of President Taft under the theory that it was better to remedy conditions, likely to lead to civil war and outside interference. So under the pretext of avoiding civil war, the US tried to use force in any Caribbean states. President Woodrow Wilson of the United States did not hesitate to use force in the Dominican Republic and in Haiti to force a treaty favourable for America. The land grab policy of the USA resulted in the annexation of a part of Mexico in the mid-nineteenth century and the extension of American influence over Cuba by the Platt Agreement concluded in 1903. Such a policy, did not make the United States popular among the Latin American States. The policy of the United States continued to pursue the objective of establishing US domination-either by naked use of force or financial control till President Franklin D. Roosevelt formulated his policy of good neighbourliness in the thirties of the present century.

(1) The United States and Latin America during the Post-World War II Era

The Post-World War II period saw further development in the attempt to unite the Latin American states more closely in a collective security system under the aegis of the United States. The frame work of collective security in American hemisphere was set up at the conference convened in Mexico in 1945.

(i) The Rio Treaty: (*Note*: Please see point C of this chapter).

(ii) Organisation of the American States (1948): The organisation of American States was set up at Bagota. The Charter of the OAS stipulated that the aim of the organisation was to facilitate pacific settlement of disputes and render mutual help inn case of external attack. Non-interference in the internal affairs and condemnation of totalitarianism had been included in the Charter as the declared aim of the OAS. In order to facilitate mutual cooperation an executive body consisting of the representatives of the twenty one Latin American States was established. The OAS provided for periodic meetings of the foreign ministers to consult on the matters of common interest. In order to foster inter-American cooperation in economic field an inter-American Economic and Social Council was created. The OAS provided for appropriate organs such as the Inter-American Cultural Council and inter-American Council of Jurists in order to facilitate co-ordination of various other activities of these states.

(iii) Menace of International Communism in Guatemala: The threat of growing communist influence in Guatemala led the tenth American Conference at Caracas in Venezuela where a Declaration of Solidarity against the infiltration of international communism was adopted. In 1954 the government of Gautemala headed by President Arbnez was overthrown by Coupd'etat staged by Col. Carlos Castillo Ames. Arbnez was unpopular in the United States due to his radical agricultural reforms which affected the vital interests of the United Fruit Company of the United States. In 1957 due to a palace guard revolt Col. Carlos Castillo Ames was killed and in 1958 General Miguel was elected President for a term of six years. But politics in Guatamala continued to be unstable even under his successor Julio Cesar Mentez Montenegro due to US intervention.

(iv) US Intervention in Dominican Republic: In 1965 US intervention in the Dominican Republic in favour of President Imbert culminated in the toppling of the popular government of Dr. Juan Busch. As a result of this development the organisation of American States set up a peace committee which supervised the election. The inter-American peace forces left the Dominican Republic after the election of President Joaquin Balaguer. An instance of the US intervention in Latin America is provided by Dominican Republic where the United States sent her armed forces to prevent the communists from grabbing power, but in fact to install her puppet regime.

(v) The United States and Toppling of Government in Chile: In 1970 Salvadore Allende, a socialist was elected President. He was supported by all leftist forces united by the popular front which

secured about 44 per cent votes in the general election. The Christian Democratic party of Chile and the neo-fascist elements became immediately active to overthrow the democratically elected government of Allende. In June 1973 their attempt to stage coup d'etat was frustrated by the government's timely action. But in September the rebels got the upper hand and killed the President in his palace and established a reactionary government. Most of the South American States suspected the hand of Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) of the United States in the overthrow of the government of President Salvadore Allende. The atrocities perpetrated by the new regime on the socialists and the subservience of the new government to the USA confirmed the suspicion that the USA must have engineered the plot to topple the government of President Salvadore Allende.

(vi) The United States and the Cuban Crisis: In the post-World War II period the Latin American states were facing the prospects of an impending revolution due to the extremely low living standard of the masses and existence of social pattern in which the few wealthy persons lived side by side with many very poor people. The prime cause of the revolution in Cuba was well explained by President John F. Kennedy in his message to Congress on April 2, 1963. He said "Had the needs of the people of Cuba been met in the pre-Castro period — their need for food, for housing, for education, for jobs, above all for democratic responsibility in the fulfilment of their own hopes — there would have been no Castro". This analysis of the causes of Cuban discontent is also true about other Latin American nations. The Cuban crisis in the days of President John F. Kennedy of United States brought the world to the brink of a third world war. Though Cuba attained independence from Spanish rule in 1898, yet she virtually remained under the control of the United States. According to the Platt Agreement of 1903 the United States acquired the right to interfere in the internal affairs of Cuba. The inauguration of the policy of good neighbourliness by President Franklin D. Roosevelt led to abrogation of Platt Agreement and ultimately Cuba regained indepedence.

(a) Coupd'etat by Fidel Castro: The United States had vital economic interests at stake in Cuba and she did not want to renounce these interests. The economy of Cuba was controlled by American capitalists to a considerable extent. The Census of 1946 revealed that more than a third of the nation's cultivable land was the property of 900 great corporations. The American corporations owned 40 per cent of the sugar lands. In 1952 Fulgenico Batista seized power in Cuba by Coupd'etat and he was formally elected to the post of the President in November 1954. His regime earned the

hatred of the people of Cuba due to its slavish subservience to the United States and its policy of stamping out all opposition parties with iron hand. The Batista regime was overthrown by a band of revolutionaries led by Fidel Castro on January 1, 1959. The United States was shocked at the establishment of pro-Soviet regime of Castro in Cuba. The US Government tried to strengthen its bases in Guantenamo in order to intimidate Cuba.

(b) American Measures to Keep Cuba in Quarantine: The nationalisation of big plantations of American capitalists and foreign industries in Cuba led to the retaliatory measures on the part of the United States. The member states of the organisation of American States were forced to adopt resolution virtually ostracizing Cuba from the family of South American States. In April 1961, the refugees of Cuba who migrated to neighbouring countries organised an abortive raid on the Cuban coast. In this attempt they received the blessing of the US State department. The tension between Cuba and the United States was further heightened when in defence of the revolutionary regime, Castro installed Russian missiles in the island. President Kennedy of the United States declared a 'quarantine' around Cuba on 22nd October, 1962. The USA declared that she would assert the right of searching the ships of any state approaching Cuba and stopping the same if found carrying arms and ammunition to Cuba. This signified the determination of the US to prevent Russian ships from approaching Cuba. The Cuban crisis brought the world on the brink of a nuclear holocaust. Fortunately the good sense prevailed and Soviet leader Khrushchev agreed to withdraw Russian rockets from Cuba and President Kennedy undertook not to attack Cuba.

(vii) American Efforts for Economic Revival of Latin American States: President Kennedy felt strongly committed to the world peace because the Cuban crisis jeopardized the international peace and security. In his significant address to the American Universities President John F. Kennedy declared "What kind of peace do I mean? What kind of peace do we seek? Not the peace of the grave or the security of the slave. I am talking of genuine peace — the kind of peace that makes life on earth worth living — the kind that enables men and nations to grow and hope and to build a better life for their children — not merely peace for Americans but peace for all men — not merely peace in our time but peace for all time".

In the post-World War II period the relentless march of communism in Asia and Europe and the ferment in Africa, Latin America, South-East Asia and the Middle East constituted a challenge to

American policy. After Cuban crisis efforts were made to invigorate the economies and strengthen the defence potential of Latin American states so that the Western hemisphere might be free from the influence of international communism. The Cuban crisis induced the United States to step up measures to provide the Latin American States with economic aid. The programme of economic help adopted by President Kennedy's administration was based on the report of the Clay Committee. The US government set for its objective the long accepted notion of stepping up the defence of the free world against communist aggression and subversion. At the conference of the OAS in Punta del Este the principle of resisting international communism through the twin weapon of containment and economic aid was adopted. Subsequently the Heads of Central American republics in their conference at Costa Rica approved of this programme. In 1967 the Organisation of Latin American Solidarity (OLAS) came into existence and held its conference from 31st July to 10th August 1967 in Havana. The conference adopted resolution urging the member states to strengthen unity of Latin American nations.

(viii) Alliance for Progress: American reaction to the worsening situation was the launching, at the instance of President Kennedy in August 1961. of the Alliance for Progress embracing nineteen Latin American States excluding Cuba. In a charter adopted by the signatories at their conference at Puntadel Este they declared "It is the purpose of the Alliance for Progress to enlist the full energies of the peoples and governments of the American Republics in a great cooperative effort to accelerate the economic and social development of the participating countries of Latin America so that they may achieve the maximum levels of the well-being with equal opportunities for all in the democratic societies, adapted to their needs and desires". A ten year programme was framed for achieving these goals: (i) a planned rate of economic growth of 3.5 per cent per capita each year in each country, (ii) a maximum of six years of schooling for all children by 1970, (iii) great reduction in infant mortality, and (iv) agrarian reforms and industrialisation.

President Kennedy of the United States pledged 10 billion dollars from US Public funds as a part of overall contribution from governments and private sources of 20 billion dollars over the ten years to the capital needs of 'Alliance for Progress' programme. With American economic aid school buildings, water works and low cost houses were contructed. U.S. money was spent on construction of roads, power plants industries and other development projects of Latin American States. However, the programme viz. Alliance for

Progress was partially successful because much was yet to be done for alleviating the poverty of Latin American States.

(ix) Changing Perspectives of US Policy. The United States President Reagan and Nicaragua: All the successive administrations of the USA after President Kennedy, subscribed to this principle "Territorial propinquity creates special rights". In other words President Johnson, President Nixon, President Gerald Ford and President Jimmy Carter firmly believed that the security of the United States lay in the prosperity and military strength of Latin American States which should be kept friendly to the USA. It has been the endeavour of all these Presidents of the USA to keep Latin American states free from the clutches of international communism. The USA zealously tried to keep the entire Western hemisphere free from communist subversion. Unfortunately in various Latin American states communist parties are operating. Cuba is still hostile to the United States and the former has shown unmistakable signs of her leanings towards the Soviet Union. The government of the United States has been following different policies towards Latin America in different times, but the basic aim of US policy has been to exclude Soviet influence from the Western hemisphere. Gola Plaza the Secretary General of OAS said "The Good Neighbourliness policy was all right for the 30's and the Alliance for progress for the 60's. But in 70's we need something more". Mr. Nixon's approach was a refreshingly realistic departure from the soaring idealism of John F. Kennedy's Alliance for progress or the 'Decade of Urgency" proclaimed by president Johnson. President Nixon declared "We must deal realistically with governments in the inter-American system as they are. We have, ofcourse preference for democratic procedure." This was a significant departure from the US attitude of active disdain for the military dictators of Latin American States. The present government of Nicaragua is pro-Soviet Union. President Ronald Reagan of the USA adopted stiff attitude towards the government of Nicaragua. His objective was to overthrow the present regime and for this purpose he gave military aid to Contra rebels who were involved in military engagements with the government forces of Nicaragua. The Contra rebels were fighting a losing battle because the army of Nicaragua was too strong to be defeated by the rebels. The policy of the US administration under President Ronald Reagan was to overthrow any government of Western hemisphere which welcomed Soviet influence.

(H) General Appraisal Of The Policy Of The United States

The United States is so mortally afraid of the menace of international communism that she can resort to any course of action to

counteract the Soviet influence. All the laudable principles of national self-determination, political independence, territorial integrity and human rights are subordinated to the paramount considerations of maintaining the military superiority of the USA with a view to stopping the relentless march of communism. During the post-World War II era China turned communist. This was a major set-back to the USA and her retreat from Vietnam with the consequent communist take over of South Vietnam and Cambodia and the recent military presence of Soviet Union in Afghanistan have caused great disappointment and discomfiture for Americans. It seems that the Free World is losing ground under American leadership. Hence, the United States seems to have formed a global strategy to contain communism. She is making frantic efforts to do all in her power to establish her military superiority over the Soviet Union in bid to protect the Free World against international communism.

(1) Violation of Strategic Arm Limitation Treaty (SALT II)

In November1986 theUS President Ronald Reagan authorised the US military forces to put into service the US 131st B 52 Bombers equipped with nuclear tipped cruise missiles thus exceeding SALT 2's ceiling of 1320 strategic war heads. The treaty was signed in 1979 in Vienna by the US administration but never ratified by US Senate. But the unilateral violation of the treaty by the USA evoked sharp reaction in various European capitals. French President Francois Mitterand said that it would be sensible and wise to observe the treaty at a time when the Super Powers were involved in negotiations on disarmament. In London the British Foreign Office said "the SALT agreement should continue to be observed byboth sides. We have recognised theUnited States concern about Soviet noncompliance and we have asked the Soviet authorities to respond to these concerns. We regret the lack of substantive Soviet response". The Dutch Foreign Minister Hans Van Den Broek told the Dutch Parliamentary Foreign Affiars Committee, that American decision to abrogate SALT '2' was "politically unfortunate".

(2) American Star Wars Programme

The US is likely to deploy its Strategic Defence Initiative commonly called 'Star Wars' as early as 1994. US Defence Secretary Casper Weinberger said in February 1987 that crucial star wars test scheduled next year, could lead to deployment of a space based defence against ballistic missiles by 1994. The test involves the destruction of target in a collision with a prototype rocket. The star wars programme led to breakdown of the summit conference be-

tween President Ronald Reagan and Soviet leader Gorbachev in Iceland in November 1986. Star Wars deployment would begin in 1990's. The planned test would be the second in a series that began in September 1986. In that test two rockets collided in an experiment which was regarded a break-through by the US Defence Department but criticised as violation of Anti Ballistic Missile (ABM) Treaty by the critics of US Star Wars programme. Weinberger speaking with reporters of the New York Times asserted that ABM treaty under new US interpretation would allow deployment and testing of a wide variety of defence systems including those in space. No matter how the ABM treaty is interpreted it would have to be abandoned by the USA in order to deploy space based defences. Obviously the race of armaments has assumed serious dimensions with the US launching of Star Wars programme, and the world seems to drift towards impending nuclear holocaust which can be caused by gross miscalculation or defective functioning of computer system.

(3) End of Soviet Nuclear Moratorium

On 26th February 1987 the Soviet Union staged an atomic blast ending her 19 month unilateral moratorium on nuclear tests. Tass said that the blast took place at the main test ground near semipalatinsk in Soviet Central Asia. The Soviet nuclear explosion followed 27th American nuclear test in Nevada since self-imposed Soviet moratorium. General Secretary Gorbachev said that the Soviet moratorium will come into fore again any time the Americans agree on a bilateral moratorium. But the US administration under President Reagan did not respond to the appeal for bilateral moratorium on nuclear tests.

In the present circumstances the efforts for disarmament or for bilateral moratorium on nuclear tests seem to be an exercise in futility. There appears to be a lobby operative in the United States which is interested in encouraging arms race for amassing huge profits and even the well intentioned Soviet proposals for disarmament or for moratorium on nuclear tests are viewed with scepticism and apprehension in the ruling circles of the United States. It is heartening to note that the international community specially the peoples of non-aligned countries have been mobilising the world public opinion against the unabated race for armaments between the two blocs. It is hoped that saner counsels would prevail and the two Super Powers would come nearer to each other to keep the world safe for peace, progress and prosperity.

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FOREIGN POLICY OF THE SOVIET UNION (1945-1986)

OUTLINE :

(A) Aims and Objectives of the Foreign Policy of the Soviet Union.

(B) Relations of the Soviet Union with East European Countries and Balkan States.

(C) Relations of the Soviet Union with West European Countries and the United States.

(D) Sino-Soviet Relations.

(E) Indo-Soviet Relations.

(F) The Soviet Union and West Asia.

(G) Soviet Union's Policy Towards Japan and her Role in Indo-China and Afghanistan.

(H) The Soviet Union and Disarmament.

(A) Aims And Objectives Of The Foreign Policy Of The Soviet Union

In the post-World War II era Stalin the Soviet Premier sought to advance the cause of international communism, socialist revolution and dictatorship of the proletariat. The days of "Soviet rule in a single country" were over and the Russian leader carried forward the Marxist Leninist doctrines. Stalin hoped that the Soviet Union being the barbinger of communist revolution would serve as a model and the communists in other countries would pursue the path determined by the Soviet Union. The communist ideology was achieving prominence because it shrewdly offered the strongest

appeal to the hungry masses. The slogan 'workers of the world unite' seemed to have a strong appeal. International communism implied the destruction of American democracy religious freedom and the concept of free enterprise. Soviet repudiation of Yalta — Potsdam pledges seemed to convince the United States that the Soviet Union long wedded to international communism, would launch a new and determined drive to master the whole world.

(1) Western Version of Soviet Foreign Policy

In 1848 Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels wrote in their Communist Manifesto that 'a spectre was haunting Europe, the spectre of communism. Had they lived after a century, they would have predicted that not in Europe alone but in the rest of the world the spectre of communism is haunting the Free World. The West became sceptical of Soviet designs. In its annual review of 1946 the Times threw light on East-West relations in these words "The continuation of unity of purpose among the Great Powers had been too much taken for granted during the war at a time when their unanimous concentration on a single strategic objective obscured the divergences of their interests and political ideals". In the review of 1948 the Times wrote thus "The history of Europe in 1948 is unfortunately the history of struggle between Russia and the Western world. It was the year when the division between the East and the West became more sharply defined, when the conflict became more intense and when as a result both sides endeavoured to consolidate the forces under their control. It was also the year when for the first time the struggle threatened to take a violent form". The Western perception of Soviet foreign policy is well illustrated by John Foster Dulles US Secretary of State. He said "The makers of Soviet foreign policy take seriously the fact that the world is 'one world' and the peace is indivisible. These phrases which are catch-words and slogans for us, are the basic premises of Soviet foreign policy. The primary purpose of that policy is to achieve peace, security and opportunity for the Soviet Union. Those are the usual goals of every foreign policy. But since, to the Soviet leaders, the world is one world and peace is indivisible, peace and security are considered by them to depend upon eradicating the non-Soviet type of society which now dangerously divides the one world into incompatible halves". In the same vein Max Beloff has observed thus "The basic and inescapable relation of Soviet State to other states is one of conflict. And for a full understanding of the Soviet attitude, it is necessary to realize that the conflict is one in which the outcome is a fore ordained victory for the Soviet State and with it, the international proletariat. To try to comprehend the Soviet outlook and to dismiss the inevitability of the

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world proletarian revolution is as idle as to try to comprehend the outlook of medieval man and to dismiss the reality of the Last Judgment".

(2) Policy statements of Soviet Leaders

Stalin was succeeded by Malenkov who while paying tribute to the former declared, "Our policy is to further peace and friendship with all peoples. Our policy is one of co-operation between the two different systems, capitalism and socialism. In the sphere of foreign policy our chief concern is to prevent another war and to live in peace with all countries". He stressed the need for maintaining peace in emphatic terms. He said "Governments must serve their peoples faithfully and the peoples yearn for peace and execrate war. Criminals will be those governments that seek to deceive the peoples and go against their desire to preserve peace and prevent another shambles. The communist party and the Soviet goverment hold that a policy of peace among nations is the only correct policy, the policy that accords with the vital interests of all nations". In the same vein Beria the Police Chief declared "Our foreign policy is clear and comprehensible. In the very first days of Soviet government Lenin defined the foreign policy of the Soviet State as a policy of peace. This policy of peace was unswervingly pursued by the great continuer of Lenin's cause, our wise leader Stalin. And in future too the foreign policy of the Soviet government will be the Leninist-Stalinist policy of preserving and strengthening peace, of combating the engineering and unleashing of new wars, a policy of international cooperation and of furthering business relations with all countries on a basis of reciprocity".

(3) Specific Objectives of Soviet Foreign Policy after Second World War

The War time collaboration between the Soviet Union and the United States collapsed and both the Super Powers were drifting towards confrontation on account of their conflicting national interests. The following objectives of the Soviet foreign policy clashed with the interests of Free World led by the United States.

(i) Soviet domination over East European countries situated near the border of the USSR.

(ii) Defeat of American influence in Germany and Western Europe, including the Marshall Plan, the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation, and the plan for an integrated European army with American participation.

(iii) Establishment of communist parties in non-communist countries. This was facilitated by the revival of Cominform or the Communist Information Bureau in 1947.

(iv) Fomentation of social unrest and encouragement to the subversive activities of communists all over the world.

(v) Opposition to any international proposals requiring the presence of international officials in the Soviet territory.

(vi) Extension of Russian influence in the Near East and the Far East and acquisition of special rights over the entrance to Mediterranean at Istanbul.

(vii) Maintenance of Russian armed strength at the highest level of efficiency.

(B) Relations Of The Soviet Union With East European Countries And Balkan States

(1) The Iron Curtain in Europe

The distrustful and invasion conscious Soviets were determined to have subservient satellite states on their flanks and this desire largely accounted for their violation of solemn agreements such as Yalta and Potsdam agreements. The descent of the "Iron Curtain" over the neighbouring states of Russia such as Rumania, Bulgaria, Albania, Hungary, Poland, Yogoslavia and Czechoslovakia did perhaps more than anything else to arouse American citizens against the communist peril. The Soviet Union was ready to move deeper into Western Europe if the slightest opportunity presented itself.

(2) Communist Penetration of Albania

Albania, a part of the Ottoman empire until 1913 became an independent state in that year according to an agreement among the Great Powers. Before the cessation of hostilities in 1945 Albanian internal politics became confused. During King Zog's rule no political party existed. Under encouragement and support from Josip Broz Tito Secretary General of Communist Party of Yugoslavia, communist party was formed on November 8, 1941. Enver Hoxha became the provisional secretary of the Central Committee of eleven members. In September 1942 the Albanian Communist party formed National Liberation Front in collaboration with other patriotic elements in the country. Towards the end of 1942 another nationalist organisation known as National Union was established and this was composed of intellectuals and land owners. In July 1943 both the organisations entered into an agreement for carrying on guerilla warfare against Italian occupation forces. But unfortunately before

guerillas were able to capture Tirana, the German army suppressed their activities. Thus, the collaboration between these two groups came to an end and each began to attack the other. The communists continued to increase their strength. In May 1944, Hoxha formed a provisional government and organised the National Liberation Army to liberate the country from German domination. When the Nazi forces withdrew, Hoxha set up a government at Tirana and pledged a democratic constitution for the country. However, in November 1945 the Great Powers granted provisional recognition to Hoxha's government. On December 2, 1945 elections were held. National liberation front known as Democratic front participated in the elections. There were no opposition candidates and the people gave massive mandate in favour of Front's candidates. On 10th January 1946, the Constituent Assembly met, declared Albania a republic and prepared a constitution on the model of Soviet Constitution. Unfortunately Hoxha's relations with Western Powers deteriorated. Hoxha refused to accept as valid the treaties which King Zog had concluded with the United States. The British and American military missions were not given decent treatment. The American diplomatic mission in Tirana the capital of Albania was accused by Hoxha of inciting Albanians to overthrow his regime. As a result of strained relations between the USA and Albania, the diplomatic mission of USA was withdrawn. On the other hand Soviet influence was increasing in Albania. In April 1949 Hoxha the head of government of Albania visited Moscow and after his return he arranged the trial of Xoxe the vice premier who was supported by Yugoslavia's communist party. On 8th June he was shot dead and thus pro-Soviet Hoxha the premier of Albania got rid of his principal rival. Hoxha bound his country by a treaty to the Soviet Union. Soviet experts and technicians flooded Albania. Thus Albania became a satellite of Kremlin.

(3) Bulgaria in Soviet Camp

On 1st March 1941, Bulgaria a Balkan state joined Axis Powers and under pressure from Hitler declared war on the United States and Britain on December 13, 1941. Bulgarian government allowed its territory to be used by the Germans for conducting military operations against the Soviet Union. This annoyed Kremlin. On September 5, 1944 the Soviet Union declared war on Bulgaria and authorities in Sofia the capital of Bulgaria asked for an armistice. On 28th October 1944 the armistice with the USA, the USSR and UK was signed. After the end of the war the Soviet authorities tried to bring Bulgaria into their fold. Here as else where the communist party was utilised to seize power. Although there were about 2 per

cent communists in Bulgaria, they were very active and strong. In February 1942 several pro-German Bulgarians who favoured war with Soviet Union were killed by the communists. In April 1942 six ministers resigned from the government and the successive cabinets which took office were largely under communist influence and consequently pro-west elements were exterminated. On September 9, 1944 the Father land Front consisting of communists seized power through a coup d'etat in Sofia. All the ministers who had served since 1941 were arrested. The new government was headed by Colonel Kimon Georgiev. On account of Stalin's commitments at Yalta, the Bulgarian communists announced in 1945 their intention to hold general elections on 26th August. Political and Police pressure on opposition elements continued. Atrocities were committed on Social Democrats and the Agrarian Party. Opposition candidates were threatened and maltreated. America and England apprehended that in such an atmosphere the election would not be fair and free. They protested against the terrorist methods of Bulgarian government. The US Secretary of State Byrnes, took up the matter at the Foreign Ministers Conference held in Moscow in December 1945 and proposed that the Bulgarian government should include all the democratic elements. Molotov asserted that the elections conducted in Bulgaria were free and fair and insisted that there should be no external interference in the affairs of Bulgaria. When the communists were entrenched in power, they launched a propaganda campaign against monarchy. On September 8, 1946 a plebiscite was held and an overwhelming majority of voters voted for a republic. On 27th October elections were held for a new assembly — the Grand National Assembly for the purpose of preparing a new constitution for the country. The Agrarians and Socialists put up their candidates but almost all of them were arrested before the elections. The communists captured 78 per cent votes and the opposition 22 per cent. A new government was formed and George Dimitrov became the premier. He crushed the opposition with iron hand. The Bulgarian government established close ties with Moscow. The parliament ratified all the treaties which bound Bulgaria to the Soviet Union. On 20th February 1950 diplomatic relations with the United States were severed.

(4) Communist Penetration in Rumania Poland, Czechoslovakia, Yogoslavia, and Hungary

(*Note*: For detailed study please see Chapter 15 (E).

(5) Emergence of Cominform

(*Note*: Please see Chapter 15 (E).

(6) East European Mutual Assistance Treaty (Warsaw Pact)

(*Note*: Please see chapter 15 (E).

(7) Molotov Plan and Council of Mutual Economic Assistance (COMECON)

(*Note:* Please see chapter 15 (F).

(C) Relations Of The Soviet Union With West European Countries And The United States

The roots of the ill-feeling between the Soviet Union and the West go back to the very hour of birth of the former, when the Western nations including the United States intervened in the civil war in Russia in the aid of counter-revolutionaries who might nip Bolshevism in the bud. Though workable relations between them were gradually established, their mutual distrust persisted. Good intentions and even some mutual concessions as for instance the withdrawal of American troops from some parts of Germany and Czechoslovakia after the war on the one hand and the dissolution of the Comintern by the Soviet Union on the other, did not alter the basic fact of mutual suspicion. While the Axis Powers had been totally crushed and England and France greatly weakened, the United States and the Soviet Union emerged out of the Second World War with vastly strengthened world position and their armed forces immeasurably built up. As soon as their common enemy lay prostrate before them, their old ideological differences and the fear of each other's aggressive intentions flared up. Divergent aims reflected in opposing ideas of post-war peace settlement made them pursue policies which brought increasing friction, till they stood forth before the international community as leaders of opposing blocs.

(1) Partition of Germany and Emergence of Federal Republic of West Germany and German Democratic Republic

(*Note:* For detailed study, please see Chapter 15 (A).

(2) Berlin Problem Between the Super Powers

(*Note:* Please see Chapter 15 (B).

(3) Soviet Efforts for Extension of Polish Frontier

At the conference at Teheran (1943) Stalin pleaded for extension of the frontier of Poland up to the Oder river in the interests of Russian security and for Russian annexation of Konigsberg so as to give the U.S.S.R. an ice free port on the Baltic. The Polish issue loomed large at Yalta Conference, where the Soviet leader Stalin proposed that Poland should annex German territory up to the Oder

- Niesse line but the British Prime Minister Churchill objected to it. By the time Potsdam Conference was convened, the Polish troops had already occupied the disputed territory and the leaders of USA, UK and France agreed that it should be under the administration of Poland pending final delimitation of Poland's western frontier at the time of the conclusion of a peace treaty with Germany. In the mean time the Soviet Union acquired about half of the Polish territory which she had occupied during the Second World War. The cumulative effect of these territorial changes was virtual shift of Polish frontiers westwards at the cost of Germany.

(4) Soviet Union and Peace Settlement in Europe After the Second World War

At Potsdam in July 1945 the Allied leaders decided that a Council of Foreign Ministers representing the four Great Powers might be set up to draft peace treaties with ex-enemy countries. The search for a durable peace however proved to be an extremely difficult task in the face of increasing tension between the East and the West.

(a) *Friction between the East and the West at Foreign Ministers Conference (1945)* : At Foreign Ministers Council's first meeting which was held in London (11th September to 20th October 1945), the Russian Foreign Minister Molotov clashed with American Secretary of State James F. Byrnes over procedural questions. Molotov insisted on the Council's discussion over the issue of occupation of Japan, while James F. Byrnes wanted that they should confine themselves to a consideration of peace treaties. Regarding the terms of treaty with Italy there were three major differences in the perceptions of Soviet delegate and American delegate: (1) Soviet Union wanted Trieste to be included in Yugoslavia while the Western leaders wanted that it should be a free port. (2) Russia wanted to acquire trusteeship over an Italian colony of Tripolitana. (3) The Russian demand for reparation from Italy to the tune of 600 million dollars was not acceptable to Ernest Bevin the British Foreign Secretary and US Secretary of State Byrnes.

The draft of peace treaties with Axis satellites of Eastern Europe provoked the greatest diagreement at this Foreign Ministers' Conference. Russia pursued the policy of ensuring the establishment of communist regimes in Eastern Europe whereas the USA wanted strictly to follow the relevant Yalta agreement to the letter. As regards the procedure to be adopted in drafting the treaties with East European satellite states of Axis Powers, the US Secretary of State Byrnes proposed that this should be done by participation of

those countries which had signed the relevant armistice agreements provided that the draft treaties should be submitted subsequently to a peace conference at which all member states of the UNO which had supplied substantial military aid against the Axis Satellites, would take part. Molotov the Soviet delegate objected to this proposal and in private session with US Secretary Byrnes demanded that an Allied Control Council should be established for Japan. He expressed the view that the Western leaders were demanding a say in the settlement of peace in Eastern Europe but denying Russia any voice in the Far East. It appeared that the Soviet Union was prepared to accept Western Europe as Anglo American sphere of influence and expected of Western leaders that Eastern Europe should similarly be regarded by them as a Russian sphere. It was the attempt of the Western leaders to interfere in Eastern Europe which convinced Russian leaders of the essential hostility of the West.

(b) Second Foreign Ministers' Conference at Paris (April 1946): The Council of Foreign Ministers held its second meeting in Paris on 25th April 1946. By this time the tension between the East and the West had considerably increased. Sir Winston Churchill, now the leader of opposition in British Parliament, had delivered a speech at Fulton in the presence of President Truman, in which he spoke about "an iron curtain" having descended over Europe and the acute need of an Anglo-American alliance. At this conference there was wordy duel between Molotov and Byrnes the US Secretary of State. The Conference broke up with little work done except fixing the date for the peace conference. Byrnes however conceded the Russian demand for reparations from Italy.

(c) Paris Peace Conference (July to October 1946) and Third Meeting of Council of Foreign Ministers: At the Peace Conference held in Paris from 29th July to 15th October 1946, there were hot exchanges between the two sides. The next stage in the treaty making was to submit the drafts to the Council of Foreign Ministers, which met for the third time on 4th November 1946. In this meeting the peace treaties were finalised. On 10th February 1947 the peace treaties with five Axis satellite states viz. Italy, Rumania, Bulgaria, Hungary and Finland were signed. The chief territorial adjustments effected under these treaties were as follows: (i) The Franco-Italian border near Nice was altered to give Briga and Tenda to France. (ii) Venezia Giulia went to Yugoslavia. (iii) The Dodecanese islands were ceded to Greece. (iv) Trieste was to become a free territory under the protection of the UN Security Council. (v) The entire Italian empire in Africa covering more than 12,00,000 square miles and including Libya, Italian Somaliland and Abyssinia, was

forfeited. (vi) Rumania gave Bessarabia to the Soviet Union. (vii) Rumania also ceded northern Bukovina to Russia. (viii) Bulgaria got southern Dobruja from Rumania. (ix) Hungary ceded Transylvania to Rumania. (x) Finland lost Karelia to Russia. (xi) The defeated nations had to pay heavy indemnities. (xii) The peace treaties called for the destruction of old fortifications, the demilitarization of certain strategic areas and the sharp reduction in the size of armed forces of the five defeated satellites of Axis Powers. Italy had virtually to disband her navy which hitherto was a significant element in the balance of power in the Mediterranean. (xiii) These Axis satellites were forbidden to possess, construct or experiment with atomic weapons, self-propelled or guided missiles and other dangerous instruments of mass destruction.

(d) The Austrian State Treaty (15th May 1955):: As early as 1945 the delegates of Soviet Union, Britain and the United States had declared in Moscow that they regarded the annexation of Austria to Germany by Hitler on 13th March 1938 as null and void and had thus committed their respective governments to the creation of an independent Austria. Austria was liberated by the Allies and an independent Austrian government was constituted and recognized by the Big Four (USA, UK, USSR and France). The troops of the Big Four occupied Austria pending the signing of peace treaty that would carry out the Moscow Declaration mentioned above. The Foreign Ministers of the Four Powers met in New York in December 1946 to draw up the treaty; but failed to do so because of disagreement on two points: (i) Yugoslavia's claims to a part of Austrian Carinthia, and (ii) the definition of German assets which were seized by the Soviet troops in their zone of occupation. In 1949 the Soviet Union abandoned their support of the Yugoslavian territorial claims and thus one stumbling block was removed; but Russians claimed Austria's oil production and Austrian Danubian Shipping Company as 'German assets' and enjoyed their revenues. In 1949 a compromise was reached on the issue of the German assets. However, due to cold war the signing of the treaty was delayed. The 'State Treaty' with Austria was signed on 15th May 1955. (1) The treaty provided for the recognition of Austria as a sovereign independent and democratic state. (2) It contained an undertaking by the Allied Powers to respect the territorial integrity and independence of Austria. (3) She undertook not to seek any kind of economic or political union with Germany and not to join an organisation such as NATO. (4) She was however allowed to have her national army but undertook not to manufacture atomic and certain other types of weapons of mass destruction. (5) Austria had to pay

heavily to the Soviet Union for her independence. She undertook to deliver to Soviet Union goods to the value of 140 million dollars and one million tons of crude oil per year for the next ten years. The flexibility shown by the Russian leaders in the formulation of the Austrian State Treaty was the significant departure from the Stalinist policy of the big fist. But there are reasons to believe that the successors of the Dictator more subtle in their ways set up the Austrian Republic in order to demonstrate their desire to relax international tension.

(5) Relations between the Soviet Union and the United States

The march of communist ideology in East European countries such as Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, East Germany, Rumania, Poland, Hungary, Bulgaria and Albania alarmed the West. However, the West tried to check the progress of Russian influence in West Europe. American policy of giving massive economic and military aid to war-torn nations of Europe saved Sweden, Austria and West Germany from going into communist fold. The breaking away of Yugoslavia from the communist camp in 1948, the refusal of Sweden and Finland to adopt the communist form of government, and the passing of Iran, Turkey and Greece to American camp balanced the picture. The Truman Doctrine and Marshall Plan helped to secure the hold of the United States over non-communist Europe. In 1949 the United States lost the monopoly in 'Atomic' knowledge because the Russians succeeded in exploding a nuclear device. On the other hand the establishment of communist regime in China strengthened the Soviet Camp. In the Far-East the United States followed the policy of non-recognition of Communist China and afforded protection to Formosa. The Cold war was further intensified in June 1950 when the USA intervened in favour of South Korea which was the victim of attack by communists of North Korea supported by Russia. The UNO supported American military action in Korea. It was due to the temporary boycott of the Security Council by the USSR on the question of admission of Communist China to the UN that the UN sanction against North Korea could be obtained. The US troops under the UN flag approached the Yalu river. The clash between the two Super Powers was not direct because in the Korean war (1950-1953) the Soviet Union remained in the background. Ultimately a Russian truce proposal brought peace in Korea which was stabilised in the old frontier at the 38th parallel. The United States now further strengthened her military position by the formation of the SEATO, and ANZUS and by militarizing Japan in order to stem the tide of communist expansion

in the Middle East, Far East and South East Asia. The NATO posed the challenge to the Soviet Union which concluded the Warsaw Pact with her European satellite communist states. Thus, during the 1950's the world was divided into two hostile blocs and the cold war was intensified to considerable extent.

(i) "New Look" Policies of Stalin's Successors: Stalin's death on 5th March 1953 was an event of epoch-making significance because it clearly seemed to open out a new phase in East-West relations. At home it ended an era of one man rule and inaugurated the establishment of 'Collective leadership' and abroad a certain lessening of tension in the relations between Communist World and the Free World. The significant achievements of Stalin during the post-war period were: (a) conclusion of peace treaties with the satellite states of Axis Powers viz., Italy, Rumania, Bulgaria, Hungary and Finland; (b) the sovietization of East European countries viz., Hungary, Bulgaria, Rumania, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, Poland and Albania; (c) Successful explosion of atom bomb in 1949; (d) the creation of German Democratic Republic, and (e) Communist revolution in China and establishment of communist regimes in Inner Mongolia and Northern Korea. Stalin had given full support to the People's Republic of China. By a treaty concluded on 14th February 1950 the Soviet Union agreed to lend China the 300 million dollars over a period of five years.

(a) Malenkov the Soviet Premier: Malenkov who succeeded Stalin lost no time in announcing on 15th March 1953 that there was no dispute between the East and the West which could not be solved peacefully. The new leaders of the Soviet Union followed their words by a number of friendly gestures such as the use of their good offices in repatriating British civilian prisoners in Korea, and also in the conclusion of an agreement for the exchange of sick and wounded prisioners of war. This 'new look' policy of Russia had one tangible accompaniment which helped to create a favourable atmosphere for improved relations between East and West, namely an appreciable change in the tone of the communist press whose anti-western propaganda became less strident. Mr. Eisenhower the newly elected American President however asked for deeds not words from the Soviet leadership, such as conclusion of honourable peace in Korea. However, the Soviet government gave ample evidence of its desire to reduce tension with the West. In a note to Turkey at the end of May 1953 the Soviet Union declared that for the sake of good neighbourly relations, she was withdrawing her territorial claims over Turkey. The Soviet government agreed to reconsider the question of Black Sea Straits and now believed that it was possible

to ensure Russian security on conditions acceptable to Turkey. Diplomatic relations were resumed with Greece, Yugoslavia and Israel and Mr. Dag Hammerskjold the Western nominee for the post of Secretary General of UNO was accepted by the Soviet Union. Above all the Soviet Union used her good offices in persuading China to accept armistice in Korea which brought the war there to an end. During the days of premier Malenkov, Khrushchev was General Secretary of communist party. Slowly and steadily he was building up his image in the country by touring the length and breadth of the Soviet Union. In 12th October 1954 a Sino-Soviet accord was reached between Mao and Khrushchev; by which the USSR handed over to China Port Arthur and the Chinese Eastern Railway. After his return from China Khrushchev seemed to over-shadow Premier Malenkov who expressed his desire to be relieved of his post at a meeting of the Supreme Soviet.

(b) US-USSR Relations during the Days of Bulganin: On 5th 5th March 1953 Joseph Stalin the Soviet Premier breathed his last and was succeeded to premiership by Georgi Malenkov who was replaced by Marshall Bulganin in 1955. Due to these changes in Soviet leadership there was at once a new atmosphere both at home and abroad. The 20th Party Congress denounced Stalin's policy of terror in maintaining himself in power. The Stalinists such as Malenkov, Molotov and others were sacked and personality cult was condemned. The struggle for power inside the Soviet party leadership, however continued till Khrushchev became premier on 27th March 1958 replacing Bulganin. The Soviet Communist Party hence-forth professed to follow the principle of collective leadership.

(1) Summit Conference at Geneva (1955)

According to invitations extended to the Soviet Government by Western leaders in May 1955 a Summit Conference of Heads of Governments of Big Four viz. the USA, the USSR, the UK and France, namely President Eisenhower Premier Bulganin, Prime Minister Anthony Eden and Premier Faure accompanied by their respective foreign secretaries (Dulles, Molotov, Macmillan, and Pinay) opened at Geneva on 18th July 1955. The topics such as Western security German reunification, disarmament and cultural contacts between East and West were included in the agenda. Neither side shifted from its well-known position on any of these subjects but the leaders of Big Four discussed them in free and frank manner in an atmosphere of cordiality. On the eve of the conference President Eisenhower said "The free people of the world hate war and want peace". Similarly, Soviet Premier Bulganin said "Even a

bad peace is better than a good quarrel". The statesmen maintained their irreconcilable position on the terms of disarmament and German unification. However, no concrete results emerged. What emerged was a new atmosphere of cordiality the spirit of Geneva. It is significant to note that at this summit President Eisenhower made a bold proposal that the Soviet Union and the United States should agree to permit aerial reconnaissance of each other's military installations. Eisenhower also suggested that the two Super Powers should supply to each other a complete blue print of their military establishments. A joint directive issued at the end of . .e conference, instructed the Foreign Ministers of the four countries to meet in Geneva in October 1955 to propose effective means for the solution of the such issues as European security, German unification, disarmament and cultural contacts between East and West.

According to the above directive the conference of the Foreign Ministers opened at Geneva on 27th October 1955 to discuss the above issues. After three weeks of discussions in which it was impossible to reconcile the Western and Soviet view points, the conference ended without any kind of agreement.

(2) Soviet Successes

Before the above mentioned Foreign Ministers conference took place, the Soviet Union scored a number of diplomatic successes. In September 1955 Dr. Adenauer, the West German Chancellor paid a visit to Moscow which led to the establishment of diplomatic relations between the USSR and West Germany. The Soviet government also promised to repatriate several thousand German prisoners held in Russia as criminals of war. Just a week after West German Chancellor's visit, Herr Grotewohl the East German Premier arrived in Moscow. East Germany was recognised as a sovereign state by the Soviet Union and admitted into Warsaw Pact as a full member. It was announced that in future the East German government would handle questions relating to Berlin. Shortly afterwards Finland's Prime Minister Kekkonen and President Passikivi paid visit to Moscow. These visits revealed that the authorities in Soviet Union were ready to improve their ties with the west.

(3) Khrushchev the Soviet Premier and the USA

Bulganin was succeeded by Khrushchev as Soviet Premier on 27th March 1958. He inaugurated a policy of peaceful coexistence which was designed to win victory in the peaceful competition against capitalism. Khrushchev in his speech on 30th April 1958 at a reception given to Colonel Nasser of Egypt declared "We want peace throughout the world. We want friendship with all nations, we

want disarmament, we want an end to the policy of cold war". There was relaxation of the Soviet control over East European satellite states. The relations with Yugoslavia improved and recognition was accorded to West Germany. The Soviet troops were withdrawn from Austria.

(i) An International Crisis Over Berlin: Soviet Premier Khrushchev precipitated an international crisis when he called for evacuation of West Berlin by Western countries. In November 1958 he declared that East Berlin would be transferred to German Democratic Republic. He pleaded that West Berlin should have a status of a free city which was to be guaranteed by the UNO. The Soviet Premier suggested the replacement of Western forces by the UN forces in West Berlin. The Soviet proposal was rejected by the Western Powers on the ground that West Berlin was closely linked with Federal Republic of West Germany and it could not exist as a separate entity. Moreover, the rights enjoyed by the Western Powers accrued to them from the Potsdam agreement and they had to stay there in Berlin and would exercise their obligations to the people of West Berlin.

(ii) Khrushchev's Visit to the USA: The demise of John Foster Dulles the US Secretary of State in May 1959 paved the way for more intimate relationship between the USA and the Soviet Union. President Eisenhower of the USA extended an invitation to Khrushchev to pay a state visit to America in September 1959. His thirteen day tour of the United States beginning from 15th September turned out to be a memorable one. The Soviet premier proved to be a travelling super saleman for communism. The high light of the visit was a two day meeting with President Eisenhower at Camp David Maryland. Here the two leaders agreed to have another summit meeting in 1960. They also expressed their desire to negotiate all existing disputes, including Berlin. The meeting at Camp David was followed by a period of amity which is often described as 'Spirit of Camp David'. Commenting on the Summit Conference President Eisenhower said "It seemed that at the end of Khrushchev's visit there was less public pessimism than when he came to our shores".

(iii) The Paris Summit Conference a Fiasco: The summit conference involving President Eisenhower, Khrushchev, President de Gaulle of France, and Prime Minister Mac millian of Britain was scheduled to be held on 16th May 1960. It was expected to resolve the Berlin dispute and other controversial issues of cold war. Unfortunately the summit conference was ruptured by the sensational U2

affair. An American plane U2 engaged in photographic espionage of Soviet military installations was shot down deep inside Soviet territory on 1st May 1960. This incident sparked off sharp reaction in the USA. The world public opinion went against the USA because the US action was a clear violation of the canons of international law. Soon after arriving at Paris, Khrushchev demanded an apology from US President Eisenhower. Khrushchev declared "I cannot be among the participants in negotiations when one of them has made perfidy the basis of its policy towards the Soviet Union," US President Eisenhower replied "there was no possibility that I would apologise for acts that I thought necessary to the security of the United States, particularly in view of the proof in our hands of persistent and flagrant espionage activities in our nation by a number of Soviet agents". The Paris Conference thus ended in a fiasco and nothing could be done for relaxing cold war tensions.

There was tension in the air and everybody was guessing what would happen next. American Defence Secretary Thomas Gates who was President Eisenhower's military adviser ordered from Paris a state of alertness in US armed forces around the world. The cold war appeared to be more blighting and frigid than at any time. The Soviet Union announced her decision to take the matter of US intrusion in Soviet air space to the UN Security Council. The Soviet Foreign Minister Gromyko flew to New York to present the charges before the Security Council. On May 23, 1960 the Council met and the Soviet Foreign Minister presented the resolution condemning "the incursions of US air craft into other states" and requesting the American government to take necessary steps to put an end to such actions in future. Gromyko called Eisenhower's statement on the incident as "full of spirit of hypocrisy and aggressiveness". Henry C. Lodge the US delegate produced in the Security Council a listening device allegedly planted by Russians in US ambassador's office in Moscow. The Security Council rejected the Soviet resolution. Only the Soviet Union and Poland voted for it. Premier Khrushchev had taken a very serious view of the U 2 incident. Francis Garry Powers a member of US Central Intelligence Agency who was the pilot of U 2 plane was caught alive and the US government admitted that the plane was on spying mission. Reacting to this incident Khrushchev told the USA "You will not fly over our country. We are no Guatemala. South Korea or Pakistan". He threatened Pakistan, Turkey and Norway with annihilation if they allowed their bases to be used by America for anti-soviet activities. The atmosphere was surcharged with emotion. However, US President Eisenhower offered to open negotiations with the Soviet Union on outstanding issues despite

"the zigzags of the Kremlin's policies". In response the Soviet Union accused the President of perfidy and hypocrisy.

(iv) Summit Meeting between Khrushchev and President Kennedy at Vienna (1961): US President Eisenhower was succeeded by John F. Kennedy a leader of democratic party as the President of the United States. The new President of the United States felt it necessary to meet Soviet Premier Khrushchev to resolve the Berlin problem. The two leaders met in Vienna from June 3 to 4, 1961. Soviet leader's approach to disarmament and a ban on nuclear tests was not encouraging.

In a bid to hoodwink the young President, Khrushchev handed a note to Kennedy warning the Western countries that unless they accepted the conversion of West Berlin into a free city, the Soviet Union would sign a separate peace treaty with East Germany. The Soviet proposal was a calculated bid to abrogate the West's title to be in Berlin by right of occupation. But President Kennedy remained unyielding and reminded the Soviet leader that the West was legally in Berlin and determined to remain there. When the meeting was over President Kennedy asserted "If Khrushchev really meant what he really said about Berlin there would be war". The net result of the Vienna Summit was neither a victory nor a defeat for either side.

(v) Construction of Berlin Wall: It was contended by the Soviet Union that West Berlin provided an easy escape route for the disgruntled East Germans. More than 3.5 million East Germans migrated to West Germany through West Berlin. In order to put a check on migration of the Germans of East Germany, the Soviet Union constructed a 35 mile long wall between East Berlin and West Berlin. As a result of the sealing of the border between West Berlin and East Berlin in August 1962 all contacts between the people of West Berlin and East Germany including East Berlin stopped. This naturally led to escalation of tension between the Western Powers and the Soviet Union.

(vi) Cuban Missile Crisis: Tension between Cuba and the United States reached its climax when in the defence of the revolutionary regime, Castro installed Russian missiles in his country. On 22nd October 1962, the US declared a quarantine around Cuba. The United States claimed the right of searching the ships of any state approaching Cuba and stopping the same if found carrying arms and ammunition. This signified the determination of US government to stop Russian ships from approaching Cuba. After a lengthy exchange of messages between US President Kennedy and Soviet Premier Khrushchev, and intensive mediatory efforts by the UN

Secretary General U-Thant, the Soviet Union agreed on 28th October 1962 to dismantle the missile bases in Cuba under internatinal supervision. Thus, the most serious international crisis which brought the world almost to the brink of war, was averted.

(vii) Relaxation in Cold War During the Days of Soviet Premier Khrushchev: The Cuban crisis seemed to be a blessing in disguise. During the last week of October 1962 the survival of mankind had hung in the balance. A different decision by Khrushchev would have caused destruction of humanity. According to modest calculations a nuclear war would have caused 30 crores deaths in a day and those who would have survived, would have been worse than those who had perished. The fear of such a tragedy goaded the Soviet authorities to suffer the disgrace of withdrawing from Cuba. Thereafter both the United States and the Soviet Union decided not to precipitate a nuclear war. Although maintaining perennial interest in socialist revolutions all over the non-communist world the Soviet authorities discreetly discarded war with the Western Powers for the sake of attaining that objective. The authorities of the Soviet Union realised that communism could not be transplanted by military force. Similarly, the authorities in the United States became convinced that their arms aid alone could not check the expansion of communism and an international effort for the raising the standard of living of the under priviledged peoples was more effective way of checkmating the world communist movement. These ideas greatly influenced the Super Powers relations. The slanging, the threat and counter threat and denigration of each others way of life and political system were apparently decreasing.

(viii) Moscow Test Ban Treaty (1963): The high water mark in East-West relations was the signature in Moscow on August 5, 1963, of the Test Ban Treaty between the United States, the USSR and the UK. The treaty prohibited nuclear testing in the atmosphere outer space and under water. Ninety nine other countries also became signatories to the treaty. Shortly after this treaty the American Secretary of State Dean Rusk, the British Foreign Secretary Lord Home and Soviet Foreign Minister Gromyko conferred in New York to reconcile their differences on other issues. Lord Home speaking before the UN General Assembly appreciated the Soviet renunciation of war as an instrument of policy. President Kennedy welcomed the Soviet proposal to keep the nuclear weapons out of outer space.

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(4) Relations Between the United States and the Soviet Union During Days of Alexei Kosygin the Soviet Premier and Brezhnev

On 15th October 1964 Nikita Khrushchev was relieved of his duties as Premier at his own request. His place in the Central Committee of the Communist Party was taken by Alexei Kosygin and Leonid Brezhnev. Mr. Kosygin was appointed as Soviet Premier while Brezhnev was elevated to the position of first Secretary of the Communist Party. The reason for the dismissal of Khrushchev as stated in Pravda the official newspaper of the Soviet Union, was his dismal failure to implement the policy of collective leadership. He was charged with subjectivism and laxity in the affairs of the Communist Party. However, Edward Crankshaw has painted a rosier picture of the great Soviet leader Nikita Khrushchev's achievements. He says "He (Khrushchev) had brought the Soviet Union through the great change, he had acted decisively and boldly when others had been afraid to act, he had secured the peace and laid the foundations for prosperity. And in fact he had done all this. He may well have asked who else could have done as well".

(i) Nuclear Non-proliferation Treaty (June 1968): Soviet foreign policy in the post-World War II period was guided by the principle of avoiding any showdown with the West and to act as a leader of the Communist world. The problem of increasing aid to Vietnam was complicated by the Sino-Soviet rift on the border question and ideology. The Soviet Union welcomed the success of Vietnam peace talks at Paris and hailed the withdrawal of American troops from Vietnam. War in Vietnam had stood in the way of normalisation of relations between the United States and the USSR. Both the Super Powers appreciated the danger of a future nuclear war and agreed to a draft of Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty.

(a) Provisions of Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty: (*Note:* For detailed study please see Chapter 17 (B).

(ii) Strategic Arm Limitation Talks (SALT-1): (*Note:* Please see Chapter 17 (c)

(iii) Nixon-Brezhnev Summit in Washington and US-Soviet Agreement (1973) (*Note:* Please see Chapter 17 (c)

(iv) Vladivostok Summit (November 1974): (*Note:* Please see Chapter 17 (c)

(v) Helsinki Peace Conference: (*Note:* Please see Chapter 17 (c)

(vi) Competition in the Conquest of Space Between the USA and the Soviet Union: The launching of a manned spaceship to the orbit

of the moon by the United States on December 27, 1968 was followed by the first manned link up of the spaceships on January 16, 1969. Soviet Space craft Soyuz 4, piloted by Lt. Col. Vlodimir Shatalov and Soyuz 5 piloted by Lt. Col. Baris Volynow locked together in space. Premier Alexei Kosygin said in a message to all countries: "Let the Sixth Ocean outer space become an arena of international cooperation among the countries". The USA achieved spectacular success by landing man on the moon. The research work for exploration of outer space is still going on but unfortunately the recent 'Star Wars project (Strategic Defence Initiative) of the United States has added serious dimensions to outspace exploration programme. The Star Wars programme is the legacy of President Ronald Reagan's administration for the people of the United States.

(5) The Soviet Union under the Leadership of Gorbachev

The actions of the Soviet Union were marked by moderation and conciliation during the days of Gorbachev the Soviet leader who has exhibited the genuine desire of the government of the USSR to work for peace and disarmament. His initiatives in various fields of international politics deserve due consideration and appreciation.

(i) Self-imposed Moratorium on Under Ground Nuclear Tests: In August 1985 the Soviet Union voluntarily committed herself not to conduct under-ground nuclear tests and appealed to the United States to follow suit in the interest of peace. But the United States President Ronald Reagan did not respond to the Soviet appeal and continued the policy of conducting under-ground nuclear tests. However, on 26th February 1987 the Soviet Union staged an atomic blast ending its 19 month unilateral moratorium on under-ground nuclear tests. This nuclear test followed 27th American nuclear test in Nevada since self-imposed Soviet moratorium. General Secretary Gorbachev said that the Soviet moratorium would come into force again any time Americans would agree on bilateral moratorium. The Soviets had imposed the moratorium on themselves on 6th August 1985 to mark the 40th anniversary of the dropping of atom bomb by the USA on the Japanese City of Hiroshima.

(ii) Summit Conference Between President Ronald Reagan and General Secretary Gorbachev in Iceland (11th October 1986): The US President Ronald Reagan and Soviet leader Gorbachev had direct parleys at Reykjavik in Iceland. Both the leaders desired improvement in relations between their countries. President Reagan made an offer to seek ratification of treaties restricting nuclear testing for both military and non-military purposes to no more than 150 kilo tons. The two leaders discussed an accord frame for reducing

intermediate range nuclear missiles, which meant reduction of SS. 20 Soviet missiles and America's Pershing two and Cruise missiles mostly stationed in Europe, The Soviet leader agreed to reduce the SS. 20 missiles stationed in the Far East. The United States was not willing to match the Soviet unilateral moratorium on under-ground nuclear tests. One American expert at the Summit referred to a partial test ban treaty. He said "Now the President says okay, a partial test ban provided the Soviets will let us verify it on the spot inspections". This would mean that the nuclear tests would continue for indefinite period as the elimination of testing would be put off till the time when the United States would not have to depend on nuclear deterrent to ensure international security. The Soviet leader dismissed the US offer to limit the nuclear testing as "nothing but manoeuvre". The summit meeting ended in a fiasco on issue of Star Wars programme of the USA. President Reagan regarded Strategic Defence Initiative (SDI) popularly known as "Star Wars," as indispensable for American security. The Soviet leader insisted on the abandonment of this programme so that the outspace might be free from nuclear arms race, but President Reagan was adamant. Thus, the summit conference between the two leaders proved to be abortive.

(iii) Soviet Flexible Approach to the Problem of Afghanistan: The government of USA viewed the Soviet military occupation of Afghanistan with deep concern and anxiety. Thousands of Afghan refugees had migrated to Pakistan in 1979 when the Soviet troops occupied the country. The US has been bolstering up Pakistan's defence by giving massive military aid. Highly sophisticated F 16 war planes have been inducted into Pakistan where the Afghan rebels are being trained in guerilla warfare. There had been sporadic fighting between Afghan army assisted by Soviet troops and the rebels. The military presence of the Soviet Union was a bitter pill for the USA to swallow and the latter insisted on the end of Soviet military occupation of Afghanistan. The Afghan issue is further complicated by the guerilla warfare and induction of sophisticated military technology in Pakistan. In order to reduce tension Soviet Union had withdrawn a few regiments from Afghanistan but till 1986 complete withdrawal of the Soviet troops had not materialised. The withdrawal of a few Soviet regiments, willingness to reach an amicable settlement and unilateral declaration of cease fire by the Afghan government were some welcome gestures indicative of resilience on the part of the Soviet Union on the issue of Afghanistan.

(iv) Violation of Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty (SALT 2) by the USA: In Novermber 1986 the US President Ronald Reagan au-

thorised the US military forces to put into service the US 131st B 52 Bombers equipped with nuclear tipped cruise missiles thus exceeding SALT 2's ceiling of 1320 strategic war heads. The treaty was signed in 1979 in Vienna by the US administration but never ratified by the US senate. According to the Soviets, the US violation of SALT 2 agreement was an ominous development escalating the cold war. The French President Francois Mitterand said that it would be sensible and wise to observe the treaty at a time when the Super Powers were involved in negotiations on disarmament. The Dutch Foreign Minister said that the American decision to abrogate SALT 2 was "politically unfortunate".

(v) Soviet Offer to Scrap Medium Range Nuclear Missiles from Europe (March 1987): One of the major peace offensives launched by Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev was his offer to scrap medium range nuclear missiles from Europe. President Ronald Reagan of the United States welcomed the offer and in a surprise White House Press appearance he said that Mr. Gorbachev's willingness to delink accord on intermediate range Nuclear Forces (INF) from other areas of negotiation removed a serious obstacle to progress towards a treaty. Even British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher a devout Reagan camp follower in most of the contentious international issues involving the two Super Powers responded positively to the Soviet surprise proposal. West Germany's earlier fears on the continued presence of short-range missiles in East Germany and Czechoslovakia were allayed when the Soviets agreed to withdraw them as part of an overall deal. The Soviet proposal reflected considerable degree of flexibility. Gorbachev no longer insisted on linkage between missile reduction offer and Reagan's pet Star Wars programme. The Soviet leader agreed to take up the strategic nuclear arms reduction talks separately in the wake of a Soviet US accord on the medium-range missiles. By all accounts Gorbachev appeared to be agreeable to work out a mutually acceptable formula on verification and inspection, a firm pre-condition set by Washington to an arms reduction deal. It was most encouraging that the mood in Geneva, the venue of the two-year old super power arms reduction talks, visibly changed for the better as evidenced by the willingness of the American delegation to discuss the Gorbachev's offer in the spirit of give and take.

(D) Sino-Soviet Relations

After the proclamation of new regime on 1st October 1949, the People's Republic of China asked other countries to establish diplomatic relations with her. The Soviet Union and her satellite East European countries, and India, Burma, Ceylon, Pakistan, Indone-

sia, UK and other countries accorded recognition and established diplomatic relations with Communist China. Three days after the proclamation of People's Republic of China, the Soviet Union exploded her first atomic device. This enhanced the prestige of the Soviet Union. In December 1949 Mao Tse Tung the Head of State of Communist China, went to Moscow and remained there for more than two months. This visit cemented Sino-Soviet ties and resulted in conclusion of the following treaty.

(1) Treaty of Friendship, Alliance and Mutual Assistance

On February 14, 1950 the Soviet Union and Communist China signed the Treaty of Friendship, Alliance and Mutual Assistance which contained the following provisions. (i) If either of them was attacked by Japan or countries allied with her and involved in war, the other was to render all assistance including military aid to repel the aggression. (ii) Both China and Russia agreed to work for an early conclusion of the peace treaty with Japan, to consult with each other on all important international problems of common interest, to participate in all international actions aimed at maintaining peace and security throughout the world and to establish close economic and cultural relations. (iii) Agreement between the Soviet Union and China regarding Chinese Changchun Railway, Port Arthur and Dairen was reached. It was stipulated in the agreement that Russia would restore to Communist China the Chinese Changchun railway as well as Port Arthur as soon as a treaty with Japan was concluded. The above railway was to be restored to China latest by 1952. (iv) The Soviet Union undertook to withdraw her troops from Port Arthur. (v) Moscow also agreed that the issue of Dairen would be considered upon the conclusion of a peace treaty with Japan. (vi) Under the terms of this treaty Russia agreed to lend China the equivalent of 300 million US dollars over a period of five years.

(2) Sino-Soviet Agreement (September 1952) and Economic Co-operation Between China and Russia

(i) By a Sino-Soviet Agreement published on 16th September 1952 it was announced that Russia was taking steps to return to China the Changchun railway.

(ii) On 27th March 1950 agreements were concluded for the establishment of joint stock companies for exploitation of oil and non-ferrous metal resources in Sinkiang and to organise and operate civilian airlines between China and the USSR.

(iii) Three joint corporations were established such as: (1) Sino Soviet Petroleum Corporation for production and refining of oil in

Sinkiang, (2) a corporation for the mining of non-ferrous and rare metals in Sinkiang, and (3) Sino-Soviet Civil Aviation Corporation.

(iv) About 70 per cent of China's trade was with the Soviet Union and it continued to rise in volume and value with the passage of time.

(v) Russia sent many technicians and experts to China and thousands of Chinese labourers went to Russia to get training in industrial plants, mines and railways.

(vi) In 1953 the Soviet Union extended more credits to China to implement industrialization programme in China. Russia provided economic aid to China for the construction of ninety one new enterprises and renovation of fifty others.

(vii) The Soviet Union renounced in favour of China her partnership and property rights in the Manchurian railways in December 1953.

(viii) In 1954 the Soviet Union concluded an agreement with China to help the latter in the production of atomic energy, though she was forbidden to test a nuclear device without the prior consent of the government of the Soviet Union.

(ix) The governments of the Soviet Union and Peoples' Republic of China used every opportunity such as national anniversaries, army days, the birth days of their national heroes, inauguration days and anniversaries of treaty signatures, to exchange greetings between each other.

(3) The Sino-Soviet Friendship Association's role for Cultural Ties

This association engaged itself in continuous propaganda to remind the Chinese people of the 'lasting powerful and unbreakable Sino-Soviet friendship and alliance'. It interpreted Soviet life in all its aspects to the citizens of Communist China, organised visits by Russian artists, musicians, scholars and professors and translated the literature of Russia on Marxism-Leninism into Chinese language.

(4) Causes of Differences Between the Soviet Union and China

On the surface, the political, military, economic, technical and cultural co-operation between the Soviet Union and Communist China was such as to indicate that the two countries lived in friendship and that many points of discord and friction that bedevilled their relations in the past had been eliminated. Whether the

two rising giants would allow each other to develop and prosper in their own spheres — Russia in Europe and China in Asia, was a doubtful proposition. The following factors contributed to the split between the Soviet Union and China.

(i) Khrushchev's Programme of Destalinization: The vehement denunciation of Stalin i.e., 'destalinization' as it came to be termed by Khrushchev at the 20th Congress in 1956 was not appreciated in the political circles of Communist China. At the first Party Congress of the post-Stalin era Soviet premier Khrushchev's rise was dramatically confirmed. It was he who delivered inaugural address. In his remarkable address, Khrushchev condemned the cult of one man's rule and launched attack on some of the policies of Stalin such as the purges of many of the old communist leaders and his interference in the conduct of the Second World War. This Congress marked a turning point in Soviet foreign policy. Khrushchev's epoch-making modifications to the rigid Marxist-Leninist line such as peaceful coexistence, different path to communism, revolution without violence etc., were formally adopted at the 20th Party Congress held at Moscow in February 1956. The Chinese government vehemently criticised this departure from Marxism and Leninism and condemned those who favoured adaptations of policy to changing circumstances as revisionists. Mao Tse Tung the Head of State of Communist China denounced Marshall Tito of Yugoslavia as revisionist because the latter believed in the policy of peaceful coexistence with capitalist countries. China did not welcome Soviet gestures of friendship with Yugoslavia.

(ii) Sino-Soviet Rift Over the Issue of Modified Soviet Policy Towards West: The Soviet Premier Khrushchev seemed ready to modify particularly after his state visit to the United States and meetings with President Eisenhower at Camp David in September 1959, his intransigent policy towards the USA, but China's attacks against America continued unabated. Khrushchev met with a cool reception in Peking when he emphasised to Mao Tse Tung the need to create congenial atmosphere in which East and West could work for disarmament and relaxation of international tension. Indeed, communist China felt offended by the suggestion that China should support the Soviet Union in her quest for a 'modus vivendi' with the United States which actively supported Nationalist China (Formosa) and refused to accord diplomatic recognition to China and prevented her from joining the UNO. Khrushchev's failure to get assurance of President Eisenhower about any welcome change in US policy towards China and his asking the Chinese Communists to act to ease international tension, was something which the Chinese hardly

relished. During his visit to China in 1959 , the Soviet Premier Khrushchev declared that force should not be used against the capitalist world no matter how strong the communists were. Such a pronouncement appeared to the Chinese Communists a serious departure from the philosophy of Marx and Lenin and it was a tantamount to victory of forces of reaction over the progressive forces. Khrushchev's appreciation for President Eisenhower's statesman-like wisdom and will for peace after his return to Moscow from American tour was unpalatable to Chinese communists. In fact Soviet Premier's State visit to the United States must have been for the Chinese something of a betrayal.

(iii) Sino-Soviet Differences About World Communist Movement. In 1960 the controversy between Communist China and the Soviet Union regarding the world communist movement continued. On the occasion of the Third Congress of the Rumanian Workers' Party held in Bucharist in June 1960, Soviet Premier Khrushchev reaffirmed his stand that Lenin's theory of the inevitability of war with capitalist states, no longer applied. But on this occasion the chairman of the Chinese delegation declared "As long as imperialism exists, there will always be danger of aggressive wars". Again at the largest international conference of Communist leaders held in Moscow in November 1960 and attended by the representatives of 81 countries, the controversy between the Soviet and the Chinese communist parties continued. Articles published in Soviet newspapers condemned Chinese dogmatism and the Chinese magazines and radio denounced Soviet revisionism. The rupture between the two countries became wider. On November 14, 1962 on the occasion of the Eighth Congress of the Bulgarian Communist Party held in Sophia, the leader of Soviet delegation stated that there was no other reasonable policy except that of peaceful co-existence. But the Chinese delegation did not hesitate in condemning the attitude of the Soviet representative. The Moscow-Peking schism was wide open. The talks held between the parties of the Soviet Union and Communist China in Moscow in July 1963 with the object of reconciling the outstanding ideological differences were abortive. Khrushchev firmly believed that a war with the United States and her allies would bring about the total destruction of mankind including Soviet life and property. Khrushchev openly asserted that he would not agree with those "who believed that society could be built on corpses". This was an obvious reference to the Chinese leaders — Chairman Mao Tse Tung and Chou En Lie the Chinese Premier who considered the United States as "Paper Tiger". But the Soviet leadership was realistic and knew that the so-called 'paper

tiger' had flesh and blood and also nuclear teeth. Commenting on the horror of nuclear holocaust the Soviet leader Khrushchev in an obvious reference to Chinese leaders said "Do these fanatics know that if all types of nuclear weapons were used, those who survived would envy the dead"? The Chinese line of thinking probably was that a third world war fought with nuclear weapons would result in the destruction of the United States and the Soviet Union and that Communist China with her huge population would be left the mightiest power in the world and attainment of world communist revolution would be easier. Obviously the Chinese leaders were suffering from immaturity of perception and dogmatism and were playing the role of war-mongers. It was however inconsistent with the national interest of Soviet Union to subscribe to the philosophy of inevitability of war with the West. Happily enough the saner counsels prevailed in Kremlin and on the occasion of Cuban crisis Khrushchev withdrew the nuclear missiles from Cuba and averted a nuclear war.

(iv) China's Insistence on Parity with the Soviet Union: Chinese did not like the patronising and "big brother's attitude of the Soviet Union. But Red China insisted on being treated as equal and not a dependency of Moscow. The tantalizing question was whether this independent attitude would grow further and China would act independently without the Soviet Union's concurrence. The Sino-Soviet honey moon is now definitely over and it is an open secret that two countries have already rubbed each other the wrong way a number of times over the issue of their common border. Yet the Chairman Mao worked within the framework of international communism and followed the Big Brother's lead on such issues as Titoism, Hungary and the Middle East. The two nations have a common compulsion to drive the Western Powers from Asia and due to cold war considerations the USSR should hug China. However, during the day of Mao Tse Tung the wordy duels between the spokesmen of two countries continued unabated.

(v) Sino-Soviet Border Issue: It is no exaggeration to say that the nationalistic claims and counter claims of Communist China and Russia figured more than ideological niceties. China put forward a claim of more than 580,000 square miles of territory against the Soviet Union, which as alleged by Mao, had been taken from China. In reply Khrushchev asserted that Chinese emperor had occupied Korea Mongolia, Tibet and Sing Kiang though Chinese did not live there. However the Sino-Soviet border dispute has not yet been resolved.

(vi) China's Expansionist Designs in Asia: The Chinese leaders Mao and Chou wished that the Soviet Union must accept their advice and direction concerning Asiatic affairs and that she should not interfere any more in Asia. Indo-Soviet Treaty of Friendship and Co-operation concluded in 1971, Soviet-Vietnam close friendship, and military presence of Soviet Union in Afghanistan were viewed with great displeasure by Chinese leadership because Soviet active intervention in Asiatic affairs poses a challenge to the ambitious designs of China to expand her influence in Asia.

(vii) China's Ambitious Nuclear Programme: Communist China desired that the Soviet Union should provide her with all the nuclear secrets and that the USSR should increase her delivery of heavy arms to China. But the Soviet Union was not willing to pass on sophisticated nuclear technology to China and this resulted in estrangement between the two nations.

However, the Chinese leadership was against any kind of rapprochement between the USSR and the United States. During the Cuban crisis in 1962, the rulers of mainland China felt distressed and aggrieved when Khrushchev decided to dismantle missile bases in Cuba. In July 1963 the Soviet premier denounced the Chinese leaders as "fanatics with belligerent itch who were bitten by the bugs of war". The Sino-Soviet rift had extensive repercussions in the World Communist Movement. The United States has discreetly capitalised on this rift. Evidently after the United States accorded diplomatic recognition to Chinese communist regime, the latter was admitted in the UNO and occupied the position of permanent member state of UN Security Council. It is curious paradox that China which had been unleashing virulent attack on US imperialism, should come closer to the United States. Recently Britain and China concluded an agreement under which the former would cede Hong Kong to China after the maturity of the period of the lease of this colony.

However, the successors of Mao Tse Tung and Chou En lie are realistic and there is no more hurling of polemics on part of the Soviet Union and China and the ideological differences between two nations which were very acute during the 1960s have subsided and China of today subscribes to the principle of peaceful coexistence.

(E) Indo-Soviet Relations

When India attained independence she was recognised by the Soviet Union but the relations between the two countries were not cordial as long as Stalin lived. When Mahatma Gandhi was assassinated on 30th January 1948, no message of condolence came from

the Soviet Union. Not a word of comment appeared in the Soviet newspapers. On the contrary the Soviet press was critical of internal situation in India. The constitution of India which came into force on 26th January 1950 was viewed by Stalin's government as an instrument for keeping power in the hands of the bourgeoisie. Indian economy was considered to be under the control of Anglo-American monopolists. The Pravda of 29th March 1952 expressed the official view of the Soviet Union regarding Indian economy in a very perverted form. It wrote, "India in these days is torn up in the struggles between the Indian and British capitalists. American monopolists are competing with the British who have long established their hold and are unwilling to lose it. It is clear that India continues to be a part of British empire, she is in the English sterling bloc and is in the Imperial Defence System". India under Nehru was considered to be pro-west. However, India during this period (1947-1953) recognised Communist China and played a constructive role to bring about cessation of hostilities in Korea. She supported the Soviet resolution in the UNO for a cease-fire in Korea and refused to brand the Peoples' Republic of China as aggressor. Nehru tried to establish cultural ties with the Soviet Union. He invited Bolshoi troupe from the Soviet Union. On the other hand Dr. S. Radhakrishnan the Indian Ambassador in Moscow, created a favourable impression in that country. Inspite of best efforts of India, the relations between the two countries were cool till the death of Stalin the Soviet premier in 1953.

(1) Shift in Soviet Union's Policy Towards India

Stalin was succeeded by Malenkov who in his report on national and international affairs to the Supreme Soviet observed thus "Of the great importance for the promotion of peace in the East is the attitude of so big a country as India. India has made a substantial contribution to the efforts of peace-loving countries to stop the Korean War. Our relations with India are growing firmer and cultural and economic intercourse with her is becoming wider. We hope the relations between India and the Soviet Union will become stronger and develop in the spirit of friendly co-operation". India denounced American military pact with Pakistan and military alliances like CENTO i.e., Central Treaty Organisation and SEATO i.e., South East Asiatic Treaty Organisation which were designed to encircle the Soviet Union. India on the other hand appreciated the role of the Soviet Union in the Geneva Conference of 1954 which concluded a cease-fire in Indo-China. The Soviet Union agreed to give economic aid to India for the construction of the Bhilai Steel Plant and an agreement to this effect was signed in 1955.

(2) Nehru's State Visit to the Soviet Union (1955) and Return Visit of Soviet Premier

In June 1955 Nehru went to the Soviet Union, won over the hearts and minds of the People and signed with premier Bulganin on June 22 a statement saying that the relations between India and the USSR which happily rested on a firm foundation of friendship and mutual understanding should continue to be guided by Panch Sheel. Only a few months after the visit of Nehru, the Soviet leaders Prime Minister Bulganin and the Communist Party Secretary Khrushchev made a return visit. That was perhaps the first time since the Russian Revolution of 1917 that the Prime Minister of the Soviet Union moved out of his country on a mission of goodwill and friendship with India. It was indeed a glowing tribute to the policy of non-alignment pursued by India. The reception that was accorded to the Soviet leaders was an unprecedented one. About a million people lined up the 12 mile route from the Palam airport to Rashtrapati Bhawan. At a civic reception on the next day the Soviet Premier Bulganin declared that India and the Soviet Union were building their relations on stable and reliable foundations of Panch Sheel. He fervently hoped that the lasting friendship between India and the USSR would pave the way for a durable peace in the world. Addressing the members of parliament Bulganin declared "We are prepared to share with you our economic and scientific experience". At Nangal in the Punjab, Khrushchev said with the tone charged with emotion "we shall share our last piece of bread with you". The Soviet leaders offered technical "know-how" and training facilities to India. They agreed to establish a steel plant at Bhilai. Soviet oil experts arrived in India for helping in the exploration of oil resources. The Soviet help was given for the establishment of a huge mechanized agricultural farm at Suratgarh in Rajasthan. This farm would serve as a model for increasing agricultural production. While in Bombay the Soviet Premier Bulganin declared "Russia has not the slightest intention of interfering with the ideologies of other countries. Nor can we afford to allow any other country to interfere with our way of life. We sincerely believe in the philosophy of "live and let live" "or of co-existence".

(3) Soviet Economic Aid to India

On November 15, 1956 it was announced in New Delhi that India accepted a long-term credit of Rs. sixty crores from the USSR for the purchase of industrial equipment from Russia for the Second Five Year Plan. On 16th November 1956 a five year trade agreement was signed in Moscow. The Soviet Union gave economic assistance

to India to set up a steel plant at Bhilai. This installation is a symbol of Indo-Soviet friendship and economic co-operation.

(4) Soviet Support on the Issue of Kashmir

In June 1962 the Soviet Union exercised her veto against the UN resolution on Kashmir by which the good offices of the United Nations were offered to India and Pakistan. The Soviet Union declared that Kashmir is the integral part of India and there was no question of plebiscite to be held in Kashmir.

(5) China's Attack on India and Soviet Response to India's Appeal for Help

In 1962 China launched an unprovoked attack on India. Although the Soviet Union hesitated in denouncing Chinese aggression, she expressed great uneasiness over the Sino-Indian conflict. First, pressure was exerted upon the Chinese government to resolve the conflict peacefully, but when the Chinese authorities failed to respond, Khrushchev adopted stern attitude. On 12th December 1962 he announced that the Soviet MIG planes to be supplied to India under an earlier agreement would be shipped soon.

(6) Soviet Mediation Between India and Pakistan After the End of War (1965)

Pakistan's attack on India began with hundreds of infiltrators — Mujahids (liberators) as Zulfikar Ali Bhutto the then Pakistan's s Foreign Minister hailed them, streaming into Kashmir. The report of the entry into the State appeared in the Indian press on 9th August 1965. Pakistan followed up the infiltration with a massive attack on 1st September 1965 in the Chhamb sector of Jammu. Now Prime Minister Lal Bahudur Shastri had no choice. He had to attack Pakistan to relieve pressure in the area. Had he not done so, Kashmir would have been cut off from India. The Security Council's unanimous resolution (20th September 1965) called upon India and Pakistan "to withdraw all armed personnel back to the positions held by them before 5th August 1965". Both the United States and the Soviet Union were insisting on its implementation. New Delhi accepted cease-fire on 24th September 1965. When the Soviet Union offered her good offices to bring Shastri and Ayub Khan together, the former accepted the offer of mediation after some hesitation. He agreed to meet Ayub Khan at Tashkent but made it clear that he would not discuss Kashmir. After a see saw of deadlocks and meetings Prime Minister Lal Bahadur Shastri of India and Ayub Khan the ruler of Pakistan signed the historic Tashkent Declaration. The principle accepted by both sides was that the territory they

had occupied during the hostilities should be vacated. India gave up every bit of occupied territory including Hajipur and Tithwal. In return Pakistan agreed indirectly to abjure the use of force reaffirming the obligation under the UN Charter to settle disputes through peaceful means. Thus, post-war settlement was reached between India and Pakistan through the mediation of Soviet Union.

(7) Indo-Soviet Treaty of Friendship and Co-operation (9th August 1971)

On 9th August 1971 as a result of Prime Minister Indira Gandhi's state visit to the Soviet Union, the 20 year Indo-Soviet Treaty was signed. The treaty provided a political and legal basis for further co-operation between the two countries in political, economic, cultural, technical and scientific fields. One important aspect of the treaty was the assurance that in the event of an attack or threat thereof, the two sides shall immediately enter into mutual consultations in order to remove such a threat and take appropriate measures to ensure peace and security of their countries. It was the attitude of China and the USA with regard to Bangla Desh freedom struggle that forced India to enter into the treaty. Pakistan had perpetrated great atrocities on the people of East Bengal. The trickle of refugees flowing into India quickly became a torrent. There was a wave of sympathy for them in India. Pakistan's pre-emptive attack came in the afternoon of 3rd December 1971. The war continued for two weeks. Pakistan surrendered in Dacca on 16th December 1971. It was because of Indo-Soviet treaty that China did not militarily intervene in the Bangla Desh War. Advance of US Seventh fleet into the Bay of Bengal was a bullying measure meant to put pressure on New Delhi and bolster the morale of Pakistani troops in the east. India decided to ignore the Seventh Fleet but Russia kept a watchful eye on it. Soviet nuclear sub-marines and missile ships set out from Vladivostok and stayed on the tail of the US armada. India had invoked article 9 of the Indo-Soviet Treaty which laid down that in the event of attack or threat of attack, the two sides would immediately enter into mutual consultations in order to remove such threat and take appropriate measures to ensure peace and security of their countries. Russia warned the other countries not to interfere in Bangla Desh war. Soviet warning had deterrent value so far as China was concerned. China remained neutral while the advance of US seventh fleet into the Bay of Bengal ended as naval demonstration. The war was fought and won by India. Thus, Indo-Soviet friend stood the crucial test of time.

(8) Indo-Soviet Multi-dimensional Co-operation

Economic planning and international economic integration are the two distinct contributions to the world made by the socialist countries above all by the Soviet Union. Their experience of planning and international economic integration has been of great importance to the developing countries which are not only eager to overcome the legacy of colonialism but also to create a new international economic order. Soviet assistance is co-ordinated with the plans of the aid to recipient countries for their economic development. India provides the best example of this co-ordination with its economic development plans.

(i) Ferrous Metallurgy: Indo-Soviet economic co-operation began with the Soviet offer of assistance to build the Bhilai Steel Plant under the agreement of February 2, 1955. Today the Bhilai plant of 4 million tonne capacity is the trend setter in the steel industry of India. By 1985 Bhilai had given the country over 45 million tonnes of iron, 40 million tonnes of steel and 32 million tonnes of rolled products. Bhilai was the nursery of India's steel specialists and workers. In 1965 an agreement was signed for the construction of Bokaro Steel Plant. At present it has touched the capacity of 4 million tonnes. It is one of the most prestigious plants in the country and is a miracle of technology. In 1979 India and the Soviet Union signed an agreement for the construction of yet another plant the Vizag Steel Plant.

(ii) Non-Ferrous Metallurgy: Today aluminium production has become the leading non-ferrous metal industry in India. The first major public sector aluminium plant was set up under Bharat Aluminium Company at Korba with a capacity of one lakh tonne aluminium products. Under the 1985 agreement between the two countries, the Soviet Union will finance the construction of bauxite mine of about 2 million tonne capacity in Andhra Pradesh and buy back the bauxite. It has been decided to raise the capacity of mine to 4 million tonnes. The USSR is also providing assistance for the production of gallium at Korba.

(iii) Soviet Aid in Oil Industry: Soviet assistance for the development of India's oil industry was comprehensive. The USSR provided credits, know-how, and personnel for the development of all branches of industries such as exploration, drilling, extraction, refining, marketing, personnel training, manufacturing of oil equipment research and designing. The study of India's oil prospects by Prof. Kalinin and his team on on-shore areas and the survey done of India's continental shelf by the Soviet research ship Akademik

Arkhangelsky formed the basis for the development of India's oil industry. Soviet teams have helped exploration work in Gujarat, Tamil Nadu, West Bengal, Assam, Himachal Pradesh and other places as a result of which a number of productive wells have been discovered. The USSR also helped to set up the Hind Oil Design Institute, the research and training institute at Dehra Dun, the Drilling Technology Research Institute at Dehra Dun and the Institute of Reservoir Development at Ahmedabad. The Soviet teams were engaged in major exploration work at Cauvery Basin and Cambay Basin and assisted Oil and Natural Gas Corporation of India in exploration work in West Bengal and Himachal Pradesh. The Soviet Union has already assisted India in setting up three major oil refineries at Barauni, Koyali, and Mathura.

(iv) Soviet Aid for Power Industry: In most of the states of India, one can see today the Soviet assisted power plants — two in Tamil Nadu, one in MP, two in UP, one in Bihar, one in Punjab, two in Orissa, one in Andhra Pradesh amounting in all a power generation capacity of 3.35 million kilowatts.

Today the main thrust of Soviet assistance is directed to develop India's fuel and energy complex. Already a super-thermal power plant of 1260 MW is being built in Madhya Pradesh. Recently an agreement has been arrived at for Soviet assistance to build a major hydropower station at Tehr (UP).

(v) Increase in Volume and Value of Indo-Soviet Trade: On 13th November 1986 the Soviet Union and India signed a trade protocol in New Delhi for 1987 which envisaged a further growth of bilateral trade. The trade protocol for 1987 planned a trade turn over of Rs. 3,800 crores. Of this, Indian imports from the USSR would be of Rs. 1,850 crores and Indian exports to that country would be worth Rs. 1,950 crores.

(9) General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev's Visit to India (November 1986)

India extended the most cordial and warm welcome to Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev. He discussed various problems with Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi such as disarmament, nuclear test ban, Afghanistan, Indo-Pak relations Sino-Indian relations and Super Powers relations. There were identical perceptions of the two leaders on the issues of common interest and other international issues. Earlier Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi had paid a state visit to Moscow. These visits have strengthened the ties of friendship and fruitful co-operation between the two countries.

(F) The Soviet Union And West Asia

The Soviet Union was as much interested in West Asia as Czarist Russia. For sometime after the Bolshevik revolution of 1917, the Soviet Union displayed her disinterestedness in the region and pursued the policy of non-intervention and support of the freedom struggles of West Asian countries. This policy was not an outcome of any renunciation but of necessity — the necessity of consolidation at home. With the passage of time the Soviet Union became stronger internally and framed the policy of active involvement in the affairs of West Asia. The secret Germany-USSR draft agreement of 26th November 1940 contained the following statement: "The Soviet Union declares that its territorial aspirations centre south of the national territory of the Soviet Union in the direction of the Indian Ocean". One reason for the Russian break with Hitler in 1941 was the persistent demand of Stalin that Germany should agree to Russian control of Bosphorus and the Dardanelles and recognise the area stretching from the Caucasus to Persian Gulf as Soviet sphere of influence. At Potsdam Conference in July 1945, the Soviet Premier Stalin asked for a trusteeship in the Mediterranean and a major share in the control of Straits. These demands were rejected by the United States and Britain and consequently the Soviet Union sought to acquire new concessions from Turkey and Iran with which she had common frontier.

(1) Soviet Support of Arab Nationalism

The Soviet Union decided to use to her advantage the Arab resentment against the West due to latter's support of Israel. The communist ideology did not appeal to the Arabs. The USSR supported the Arabs in their struggle against Israel. In 1950 she launched the Partisans of Peace Movement against West. Frequently the delegates from the Arab states were invited to the various peace conferences held in the Soviet Union and her satellite East European states. When in November 1951 the Western Powers attempted to organise a Middle East Command, Moscow raised the bogey of danger to Arab freedom and professed to be the champion of Arab nationalism. In February 1953 the Soviet Union severed diplomatic relations with Israel. When in 1955 some Arab countries expressed their resentment against the Baghdad Pact, the USSR added her voice to their sentiments. She also offered arms aid to Egypt, Syria, Afghanistan, the Sudan, Yemen, and Saudi Arabia. When Britain, France and Israel invaded Egypt following the nationalisation of Suez canal by Col. Nasser of Egypt, Soviet Premier Bulganin threatened to intervene militarily against the aggressors.

Moscow denounced Eisenhower Doctrine as the 'doctrine of aggression and colonialism'.

(2) Soviet Six Point Peace Proposal for West Asia

On February 11, 1957 the Soviet Union put forward her six point peace proposal for West Asia. These points were as follows:

(i) Maintenance of peace in West Asia by settling all disputes by peaceful means.

(ii) Non-interference in the internal affairs and respect for the political sovereignty and territorial integrity of West Asian countries.

(iii) Abandonment of all attempts to bring West Asian countries into military blocs.

(iv) Liquidation of foreign bases and withdrawal of foreign troops from West Asia.

(v) Mutual agreement to refrain from delivering arms and ammunition to the countries of the region.

(vi) Assistance in the economic development of the countries without any strings.

This programme was rejected by the United States as 'propaganda'. The Soviet government denounced the Point Four Programme of the United States as designed to bring the Arab people under Western domination. Moscow asserted that the welfare state existed in the USSR and that the Soviets alone could assist the Arabs in their efforts to raise their standard of living and also to liberate them from the scourge of Western colonialism. The USSR entered into agreement with Egypt to build the prestigious project of Aswan High Dam. The Communist bloc countries became the buyers of Egyptian cotton. Aid was given to Syria to construct the Latakia Kamishili Railway.

(3) Relations of Soviet Union with Iran

In 1944 the Soviet Premier Stalin asked for oil concessions in northern Iran at the same time when American and British companies were seeking new concessions in the south-eastern region of Iran. Heavy pressure was brought to bear on Iran to comply with the Soviet demands. The Soviet Union encouraged the Tudeh Party which had changed its name as the Democratic Party, to launch secessionist movement in Iranian Azerbaijan. Iran protested to Moscow for encouraging the separatist movement. On 19th January 1946 Iran accused the Soviet Union of interference in her internal affairs at Security Council's meeting.

On 19th March the Iranian government charged Moscow with maintaining troops in northern Iran beyond 2nd March 1946. It may be recalled that Soviet Union had agreed to withdraw her troops from Iran by this date. Iran invoked Article 35 of the UN Charter and asked for immediate and just solution of the dispute by the Security Council. On April 5, 1946 Prime Minister of Iran Qavamas Sultana announced the conclusion of an oil agreement with the Soviet Union subject to its ratification by the General Assembly of Iran. By May 9, all Soviet troops were withdrawn from Iran. In October 1947 the National Assembly of Iran adopted a resolution declaring that the oil agreement with Soviet Union concluded in 1946, was null and void and that no fresh oil concession would be given to foreign governments. The Soviet Union accused Iran of treacherously violating its commitments and of hostile actions.

(i) Estrangement Between Iran and the Soviet Union: Toward ard the Soviet Union Iran had feelings of bitterness. Although calm was restored between the two countries after the withdrawal of Soviet troops from North Iran, there was no friendship and cordiality. When in 1955 Iran entered into the Baghdad Pact, the Soviet Union severely protested. Soviet Premier Bulganin stated before the Supreme Soviet that the Baghdad Pact was a new form of imperialism and inclusion of Iran in it was most unfortunate. In the summer of 1956, however efforts were made to promote friendship between the two countries. The Shan of Iran and his queen paid a state visit to the Soviet Union from June 25 to July 12, 1956 in response to an invitation from the Soviet government. Moscow radio announced on July 28, that the Soviet government had decided to relinquish all her claims in the Kevir-Khurjan Oil Company in Iran. It was stated that this decision was taken with a view to strengthening good neighbourly relations between Iran and the USSR. A joint Soviet Iran frontier demarcation commission which had been working for some months on the delimitation of the border between the two countries completed its work on 11th April 1957 when protocols were issued in Tehran the capital of Iran defining the frontier in detail.

However, the military dependence of Iran on the USA continued and the Soviet Union made no secrets of her displeasure. The Soviet Union presented an 'aide-memoire' to the government of Iran on 16th January 1959 expressing alarm that the Iranian government was "taking steps in foreign policy and in military sphere that cannot be assessed otherwise than as directed against the Soviet Union which has a common frontier of considerable length with
r . . ."

In post-war years, thus, Iran moved closer to the United States. Although on certain occasions, gestures of friendship were made to the Soviet Union also, the relations between them could not be cordial. Communism made little appeal to the people of Iran. However, after the abdication of Shah of Iran, the government of Iran passed into the hands of religious fundamentalists headed by Ayatollah Khomeini. Unfortunately the Khomeini regime developed serious differences with the government of Iraq headed by Saddam Hussein. Iran had advanced some territorial claim over Iraq. The hostilities between the two countries commenced on 1st September 1980. Soviet Union is neutral in this Iran-Iraq war and favours an amicable settlement between the two countries.

(4) Relations Between the Soviet Union and Syria.

In the early post-war years Syria had no affinity with the Soviet Union. She was not inclined to accept communism. But in view of hostility with the Western Powers, Syria looked towards the Soviet Union for friendship and military and economic aid. In August 1957 an agreement was signed in Moscow under which the USSR promised to provide Syria economic and technical aid without any political strings. On the basis of equality, mutual economic benefit, non-interference in internal affairs of Syria and respect for national sovereignty of the Syrian Republic, Soviet Union and Syria raised their legations to embassy level. Diplomatic recognition was extended to Communist China on 3rd July 1956 by Syria. German Democratic Republic was also recognised by Syria in October of the same year. Thus, Syria passed under Soviet influence, though the government spokesmen called their policy towards Russia as one of positive neutrality.

(5) Turkey's Trouble with the Soviet Union

Before the end of the Second World War Turkey became involved in trouble with the Soviet Union. Early in 1945 Russia embarked on a war of nerves against Turkey and in March 1945 Soviet Union denounced the Turco-Soviet Treaty of Friendship which was concluded in 1921. On the other hand Soviet Union demanded revision by the Black Sea Powers alone, of the Montreaux Convention of 1936 which had given right to Turkey to remilitarize the Straits. She also advanced her claims to some Turkish territory in the Kars and Aradan regions. Although Turkey was willing to discuss the revision of Montreaux Convention, she was not ready to compromise her sovereignty or territory. She refused to concede Russian demands and relations between Moscow and Ankara became very tense. In order to protect her independence and territorial

integrity, Turkey joined the NATO and accepted military and economic aid from the United States. In March 1948 Turkey was included in the European Recovery Programme.

(6) Israel and the Soviet Union

The Soviet Union had posed until World War II as a friend and supporter of the Arabs in their struggle against the Jews. She considered Zionism as a "by product of British imperialism and a theocratic bourgeois doctrine unworthy of support". After the establishment of Israel, Soviet Union extended recognition to her and established diplomatic relations with Israel. Unfortunately the Israel's ambassador and her diplomatic representatives were disillusioned by what they saw and how they were treated in Moscow. In February 1953, Russia severed diplomatic relations with Israel, after the bombing of the Soviet legation in Jerusalem. On December 29, 1956 Khrushchev in a speech before Supreme Soviet condemned the acts of Israel which had been threatening her neighbours. Israel's Foreign Minister made a strong verbal protest the next day to the Soviet Ambassador in Tel-Aviv the capital of Israel. It may be recalled that Soviet Union had reestablished diplomatic ties with Israel before 1956. In 1956 following the nationalisation of Suez Canal by Col: Nasser of Egypt, England, France and Israel launched military offensive against Egypt. Soviet Premier Bulganin threatened to intervene militarily in this war to support Egypt and appealed for cease-fire. On 15th November 1956 Bulganin welcomed the Anglo-French Israeli decision to accept a cease-fire in Egypt but demanded that they should pay compensation to Egypt for damage done to the latter through their military operations. In August 1958 Moscow criticised Israel for allowing the British and US planes to fly over her territory to Jordan. Later on, the relations between Russia and Israel suffered a setback because the Soviet Union supplied arms to the Arabs. In 1967 Israel attacked the Arab countries and grabbed large chunks of Arab territory in the name of self-defence. On May 23, 1967 the President of the United Arab Republics (UAR) declared that no ship flying the Israel flag would be allowed through the straits of Tiran. Soon after this declaration the UN Security Council's emergency session was convened. The blocking of the Gulf of Aqaba by the UAR closed the port of Eilat which accounted for nearly 20 per cent of Israel's foreign trade. The Soviet Union supported the blockade whereas the USA and Britain supported Israel's stand and denounced the blockade of Gulf of Aqaba as the most flagrant violation of the laws of navigation and a breach of the 1958 International Convention of Maritime Law. The United States

ordered her sixth fleet in Eastern Mediterranean to maintain peace and tranquillity in the region.

(1) Soviet Action in the Arab-Israel War (1967): Soviet warships were ordered to proceed to Eastern Mediterranean on May 31, 1967. On the same day the United States introduced a resolution in the Security Council urging Israel and the Arab countries to comply with Secretary General U-Thant's appeal for restraint in the Western Asian crisis. On June 5, 1967 Israel's war planes made surprise attack on Arab countries and waged a full scale war on four fronts Gaza, Sinai peninsula, Jordan and Syria. Israel conducted simultaneous air raids on military installations and air fields of the UAR. Israel seized the Arab territory from Jordan river to Suez and the Gulf of Aqaba was forced open. The Arabs lay prostrate before Israel in the six day war. The UN Security Council approved unanimously a Soviet resolution urging cease-fire and the same was accepted by the UAR and Israel on 9th June 1967. There was resumption of hostilities in 1973 between the Arabs and Israel and the latter emerged victorious. The Soviet Union still supports the Palestine Liberation Movement launched by the great Arab leader Arafat. The USSR insists that Israel should vacate Arab territories conquered by her in order to defuse tension in West Asia. Unfortunately militant Arab nationalism accords ill with the existence of Israel as a sovereign state. Only military might of Israel is a deterrent to possible Arab attack on her. So an uneasy calm prevails in the area. The Arabs have a just cause. They want a homeland for Arab people of Palestine. But Israel is apprehensive of Arab attack and as such the prospects of just and durable peace seem to be remote due to Israel's unwillingness to vacate occupied Arab territories.

(G) Soviet Union's Policy Towards Japan And Her Role In Indo-China And Afghanistan

(1) Soviet Union's Relations with Japan after the Second World War

After the defeat of Japan in the Second World War, she signed the peace treaty at a Conference at San Francisco on 8th September 1951. The Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia and Poland attended the conference but did not sign the peace treaty. In all 51 states were present at the conference and 48 signed. The treaty restored full sovereignty to Japan. On 8th September 1951 the Japanese-American Security treaty was also signed. This treaty reduced independent Japan to the position of American vassal which would serve as a military, naval and air base for the United States.

(i) Estrangement Between the Soviet Union and Japan: The Japanese found it hard to forget Russia's sudden unprovoked attack on them towards the close of the Second World War when they were desperately defending themselves against devastating attacks from the air. Their past relations with Tsarist Russia were also uniformly unpleasant. The Russians consider their humiliating defeat in the Russo-Japanese war (1905) as an indelible stain on their national history. The Soviet Union could not tolerate Japan's military ties with the United States and it is the prime objective of the Soviet policy to remove American bases from Japan, separate Japan from her American ally and to induce Japan to adopt a position of neutralism towards the communist bloc countries. There were a number of concrete issues on which the USSR and Japan were constantly wrangling with each other. These outstanding issues are discussed as follows.

(a) The Fisheries Dispute Between Japan and the Soviet Union: There was the fisheries dispute between the two countries. Before the outbreak of the Second World War much of the Japanese catch used to come from the areas north of Hokkaido — the Kuriles, Sakhalin and Soviet territorial waters. On account of the occupation of the Kuriles and the Japanese half of Sakhalin by the Soviet Union after the Second World War, Japan lost much of her former fishery bases which are now in Soviet territory. Japanese fishing boats caught in Soviet territorial waters were detained in Soviet ports and Japan on this account was very dependent on Soviet goodwill. In 1956 Japan and the USSR resumed diplomatic relations with each other and this eased the fisheries issue to some extent. The Soviet Union refused to return Etorofu and Kunashiri, the two southern islands of the Kuriles claimed by Japan. However, the Soviet Union agreed to return the Habomais and Shikotan the small islands off Hokkaido only in exchange for Japan's signing a peace treaty with her. But Japan refused to give up her claims to islands of Etorofu and Kunashiri and no peace treaty has yet been signed between the two countries.

(b) Issue of Repatriation of Japanese Prisoners of War and Civilians: Another cause of ill feeling between Japan and Russia was the refusal of the Soviet government to repatriate about 10,000 prisoners of war who were according to Japan, detained in the Soviet Union. Apart from the prisoners of war, many civilians of Japan were detained by Russia during the Second World War. These civilians had not been repatriated for a long time and this was also the cause of ill feelings between the two countries.

(c) Soviet Reaction to Japan's Peace Treaty and Security Treaty with the USA: Soviet criticism of Japan's peace treaty with the USA widened the gulf between the two countries. Japan's security pact with the USA was viewed as directed against the Soviet Union. On May 30, 1952 Tokyo asked the Soviet Union to withdraw its mission from Japan as her peace treaty with the USA had come into force in April 1952. The relations between the two countries are strained because of the military presence of United States in Japan. The Soviet government had protested against the installation of American military bases in Japan and threatened her with total destruction. But Japan could not be weaned from American bloc and she is definitely in Western camp though she has maintained workable relations with the Soviet Union and other communist countries.

(d) Japan's Anti-communist Measures: Japan resorted to certain anti-communist measures which annoyed the Soviet Union. Her remilitarization and the revival of ultra rightists and monopolists made an early rapprochement with Russia almost out of question. On 18th September 1952 the Soviet Union vetoed Japan's entry into the United Nations. This step caused great resentment in Japan. In August 1953, a Russian ship in the territorial waters of Hokkaido was seized by Japan and consequently the tension between the two countries began to escalate.

(ii) Efforts for Normalisation of Relations Between the Soviet Union and Japan: Both Japan and the Soviet Union realised that estrangement between them was suicidal for their national interests. The two countries therefore endeavoured to make up their differences.

(a) Peace Declaration Signed in Moscow (1956): In October 1954 a joint Sino-Soviet Declaration was issued to affirm their desire to establish normal political and trade relations with Japan on the basis of peaceful co-existence. Negotiations with Soviet envoy in England were started to explore the possibility of establishing normal relations between the two countries. But these talks broke down as the Soviet Union clearly stated that she would not cede to Japan Southern Sakhalin and the Kuriles which the latter coveted. The negotiations however were resumed. In August 1956 the Foreign Minister of Japan Shigemitsu went to Moscow for talks to bring about normalisation of relations. Later on Japanese Premier Hatoyama paid a visit to Moscow. On October 16, 1956 a Peace Declaration was signed in Moscow ending the state of war, resuming diplomatic relations, pledging Soviet support for Japan's membership in the UNO, providing for repatriation of Japanese nationals in the Soviet Union and renouncing all claims for war damages. It was

also declared that after the conclusion of a peace treaty between the USSR and Japan, the former would transfer to latter Habomoi and Shikotan, South of the Kuriles. A "Trade Protocol" established reciprocal most favoured nation treatment.

On 2nd March 1960 Japan and the USSR entered into a long-term trade agreement providing for a large increase in trade between the two countries over the next three years. By the end of 1956, the state of war between them was terminated. On 18th December 1956 Japan became the member of the UNO and in February 1957 Japan established diplomatic relations with Moscow.

(ii) Khrushchev's Proposal for Grand Asian Great Power Security Pact: Soviet Premier Khrushchev suggested to cancel both USA-Japanese and Sino-Soviet military alliances and substitute them for one Asian great-power security pact. But Japan which was under the US influence did not respond to this proposal. However, the Socialist Party of Japan reacted favourably to Khrushchev's proposal.

(iii) Soviet Deputy Premier's Surprise Visit to Japan: In May 1964 Anastas I. Mikoyan the First Deputy Premier of the Soviet Union paid a surprise visit to Japan and held talks with affluent Japanese business magnates on trade prospects. The bait he dangled before them was large scale Japanese participation in the industrialisation of Siberia. His concrete proposals were restricted to conventional types of credits and purchases.

(iv) Khrushchev's Wooing of Japan in a Bid to Dislodge USA from Position of Strength in Far East: In September 1964 Soviet Premier Khrushchev told the Japanese socialist parliamentarians team touring the USSR at Moscow that the Soviet Union was ready to return to Japan the two tiny islands which she held since the Second World War if the USA relinquished Okinawa. Khrushchev declared "If the USA returned Okinawa to Japan, then we will begin to trust Japan". This was obviously talking in cold war language and was a further revelation of the main purpose of communist wooing of Japan - to dislodge the USA from her position of vantage in the Far East.

However, the problem of Japan's relations with the Soviet Union or the communist world as a whole became a part of cold war. Unless the United States and the Soviet Union attempted to befriend each other it would be difficult for Japan to have an independent relationship with Moscow.

(2) Role of the Soviet Union in Indo-China

The French had established their hold on Indo-China by a

treaty concluded with the Emperor of Annam in 1874. During the Second World War France was defeated in Europe and she lost her control over Indo-China. Taking advantage of the French weakness Japan moved in Indo-China in 1940. The defeat of Japan in 1945 brought back France in Indo-China. The Viet-Minh the nationalist party which under the leadership of Dr. Ho-Chi-Minh had established a provisional government in the North Indo-China, offered stubborn resistance to France and the fighting ensued in 1946. By the end of 1949 the French position became untenable in Indo-China. In 1949 France tried to strengthen the position of anti Ho-Chi-Minh elements by recognising Bao-Dai as the head of state of Vietnam. Bao-Dai government was recognised by USA, Britain, and other western countries. However, the fighting continued between the forces of Ho-Chi-Minh and the French whose position became untenable in 1954 with the fall of Dien Bien Phu the key fortress of France. Ho-Chi-Minh's government was supported by China and Russia and it received diplomatic recognition by Yugoslavia, China and Russia.

(i) Geneva Conference (1954): The French resistance to Viet Minh forces was on the verge of collapse and she appealed to USA for more re-inforcement. Washington proposed to London a joint military intervention but the latter did not respond. The US Admiral Radford urged unilateral American action and suggested the use of atomic bombs, but President Eisenhower preferred to settle the dispute by peaceful means. From April 26 to July 21. 1954, the Foreign Ministers of the US, UK, the USSR and France and the Chinese People's Republic, Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia met in a Conference at Geneva under the chairmanship of the Foreign Minister of Thailand Prince Wan Waithayakon. As a result of the decisions of Geneva Conference peace was restored in Indo-China where French influence was substituted by American influence. The USA supported South Vietnam. Ngo Dinh Diem's government supported by the USA refused to hold election for the Union of North Vietnam and South Vietnam as stipulated in Geneva Agreement (1954).

(ii) US Involvement in Vietnam War and Soviet Support to North Vietnam: On February 7, 1965 after a raid against American military installations 100 miles east of Pleiku, the USA and South Vietnam took military action against North Vietnam by conducting air strikes on selected military targets posing a direct challenge to the Soviet Union and Communist China. The sense of confrontation posed by the American action became all the more acute when American war planes raided North Vietnam's capital Hanoi where

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the Soviet Premier Mr. Kosygin had arrived on a state visit. He pledged his country's support to North Vietnam against external attack.

The war continued for several years. Truce was however agreed on 27th January 1973 and Paris peace talks ended with the USA agreeing to withdraw her troops. An international Control Commission with Poland, Indonesia, Hungary and Canada was appointed to supervise the cease-fire agreement. These four states together with China, France, Soviet Union and Britain were invited by the belligerent states to attend the peace talks at Paris and the war in Vietnam ended with the withdrawal of American troops.

(3) Role of the Soviet Union in Afghanistan

During the post-World War II period Afghanistan tried to maintain cordial relations with all countries. The Afghans developed serious trouble with Pakistan over the question of regional autonomy for five million Pakhtoons in Pakistani territory. Afghanistan resented American military aid to Pakistan because the possibility of use of American arms against Afghanistan could not be ruled out. In order to protect herself Afghanistan established closer ties with the Soviet Union. But the United States could not ignore the strategic importance of Afghanistan. President Eisenhower made a stop-over visit to Kabul during his tour of thirteen countries in 1959. But in order to counteract American influence Soviet Premier Khrushchev paid a state visit to Afghanistan. The Soviet leader promised to support Afghanistan on the issue of Pakhtoonistan and assured the Afghans all aid and military support.

(i) Soviet Intervention in the Internal Affairs of Afghanistan: On 27th April 1978 Mohammad Daoud was overthrown and Nur Mohammad Taraki was installed as President of Afghanistan. It is believed that the USSR persuaded the political parties in Afghanistan to work unitedly for the overthrow of Mohamad Daoud. Pro-Soviet Afghan government under Taraki did not enjoy popular support. After a year Taraki was overthrown by coup d'etat staged by the Deputy Prime Minister Hafizullah Amin. One of the causes of the failure of Amin's government was that it was wholly identified with Soviet Union. The communist ideology was diametrically opposed to Islam and it aroused the hostility of the people of Afghanistan. Opposition to the government took the form of insurgency. Muntinies and desertions from the Afghan army were frequent occurrences, and the result was that the foundations of the Afghan government were shaken. The Afghan rebels were given military aid by foreign Powers. Many rebels took refuge in Pakistan

which trained them in guerilla warfare. There were sporadic incidents of incursions into Afghan territory by the rebels.

(ii) Close Collaboration in Defence Matters Between Afghanistan and the Soviet Union: The Soviet Union entered into an agreement with the government of Afghanistan to facilitate military intervention in case of necessity. The number of Soviet military advisers stood at 2000 by June 1979. The Soviet Union deployed their first combat unit in Afghanistan in July 1979 by moving an airborne batallion to the Bagram airport near Kabul. The Soviet Union signed a Treaty of Friendship, Good Neighbourliness and Co-operation with Afghanistan in Moscow on 5th December 1978. It was agreed that they would continue to develop military co-operation in order to preserve peace. Article 4 of this treaty provided that the Soviet Union and Afghanistan would consult each other and by mutual consent undertake appropriate measures to ensure their security, independence and territorial integrity.

(iii) Danger Posed by Insurgents and Soviet Military Intervention: The government of Afghanistan failed to pacify the people by its policies and there was spread of insurgency in the country. In order to deal with the rebels the Soviet Union rushed military help to Afghanistan in November 1979. By middle of December 1979, the rebels controlled as many as 23 out of a total of 28 provinces of Afghanistan. On 25th December 1979 Soviet troops landed in Kabul and at other places on a massive scale. Thousands of Soviet air borne troops along with equipment were stationed at Kabul air field. On 28th December 1979, the Soviet Union declared that the government of Afghanistan had invoked the article 4 of the Treaty of Friendship between the USSR and Afghanistan and demanded the Soviet military assistance to quell the armed insurrections of the insurgents. The Soviet government declared that in response to Afghan government's request it had sent its troops to Afghanistan.

(iv) Discussion in the UNO About Soviet Military Presence in Afghanistan: The Soviet military interference in Afghanistan sparked off serious controversy in Western political circles. The United States denounced the Soviet action as the flagrant violation of the political sovereignty and territorial integrity of Afghanistan. The matter was referred to the UN Security Council which in its emergency session discussed the Soviet military action in Afghanistan. On 7th January 1980 the Soviet Union vetoed the US sponsored resolution of the Security Council calling for an immediate and unconditioned withdrawal of the Soviet troops from Afghanistan. Thirteen out of fifteen members of the Security Council voted in

favour of the resolution. In an emergency session on the issue of Afghanistan, the UN General Assembly adopted a resolution on 12th January 1980 calling for immediate and unconditional withdrawal of foreign troops from Afghanistan. But the Soviet Union did not pay heed to this resolution. On 20th January 1980 President Carter of the United States declared that the US Olympic team would not participate in the Olympic games to be held in Moscow in 1980 in case the Soviet troops were not withdrawn from the soil of Afghanistan by 20th February 1980.

(v) International Reaction to Soviet Military Action in Afghanistan: Apparently the presence of Soviet troops in Afghanistan was tantamount to flagrant violation of UN Charter and sovereignty of Afghanistan. The Soviet action led to sharp reaction in the Western world. On 7th March 1980 the Foreign Ministers of European Community condemned the Soviet military intervention in Afghanistan. On 22nd May 1980 the Foreign Ministers of the Conference of Islamic States passed a resolution at Islamabad demanding immediate and unconditional withdrawal of Soviet armed forces from Afghanistan. On 16th July 1980 the Foreign Ministers of India and Pakistan agreed in New Delhi that they favoured the withdrawal of Soviet army from Afghanistan and they opposed making the region as a cockpit for rivalry between the two Super Powers. On 19th July 1980 the Olympic games were opened in Moscow. Eighty one countries took part in the games while 80 countries led by the USA boycotted the games as a mark of protest against Soviet military intervention in Afghanistan. On 8th September 1980 the delegates of 16 Asian and Pacific Commonwealth nations met in a conference in New Delhi and appealed for a just solution of Afghan issue. On 7th October 1980 the 38 Nation Islamic Conference adopted a resolution urging the Soviet Union to withdraw her troops from Afghan territory without delay. In December 1980 Prime Minister Indira Gandhi told Brezhnev the Soviet President "We sincerely hope that the independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and non-aligned status of the countries of the region will not come under strain or jeopardy through conflict and interference".

On 19th February 1981 the Non-aligned Foreign Ministers' meeting in New Delhi underlined the need of taking all possible steps to end Soviet military presence in Afghanistan. They opposed all forms of foreign interference in the internal affairs of the states and threat or use of force in international relations.

(vi) Soviet Economic Interest in Afghanistan: Soviet military intervention in Afghanistan was also motivated by economic consid-

erations. According to the survey of 1978 the annual output of natural gas in Afghanistan was about 2.6 billion cubic metres. This entire product was exported to the Soviet Union by pipeline at a very low price. Afghanistan also possessed huge stocks of oil and copper deposits. The iron ore deposits of Afghanistan in the mountains of Bamiyan province are considered to be the biggest in the world. Afghanistan has salt mines, emeralds and coal. The Soviet Union therefore wanted to exploit all these resources to her advantage and this necessity led to Soviet military occupation of Afghanistan.

(vii) Political Motives of the Soviet Union: Afghanistan is of great strategic importance because of its border with Iran, China and Pakistan. The Soviet Union's apprehension was that 40 miles of Chinese border with Afghanistan could be used by China to foment trouble in Afghanistan and Pakistan could do the same by helping the rebels against the pro-Soviet Afghan regime. The long-term Soviet strategy could be a thrust into the Indian Ocean. The Super Power like the Soviet Union lacks all weather ports. Most of the Soviet ports are in the Baltic Sea or in the Black Sea. The Soviet Union could not afford to remain an idle spectator to the increase of Western influence in the Middle East specially in Turkey which has the common border with the Soviet Union.

(viii) American Military Aid to Pakistan Stepped Up: The Soviet military presence in Afghanistan was a territorial danger to Iran in the West and Pakistan in the East. After having lost Iran as a friend and ally, the United States would certainly like Pakistan to be an ally in the region against the Soviet Union. That explains the reason why the United States has given massive military aid to Pakistan. Squadrons of most sophisticated F 16 war planes have been inducted into Pakistan. The sale of the Air borne Warning and Control System (AWACS) has been under active consideration by the US administration under President Ronald Reagan. India has lodged protest with US government and she declared that the danger to Pakistan's security from Afghanistan was imaginary and these arms viz. F 16 Fighter Bombers and AWACS would be used against India.

(ix) Geneva Talks for Political Settlement of Afghan Tangle: The rebels who migrated into Pakistan have been trained in guerilla warfare. There has been constant incursions into Afghan territory by these rebels. Though Afghan Head of State Najibullah declared unilateral cease-fire in January 1987, yet the cease-fire violations by Afghan rebels continued unabated. Lt. Gen. Shah Nawaz Tanai Chief of Afghan army declared that between 15th January 1987 and

15th February 1987 the Afghan rebels had violated the cease-fire 570 times. However, talks had been going on in Geneva in 1987 between Afghan, Soviet and Pakistan's delegates to solve the Afghan tangle. Pakistan insisted on Soviet troops withdrawal from Afghanistan within a few months, whereas the Soviet Union insisted on the continuation of Soviet military presence in Afghanistan for a few years. The Soviet Union is interested to install pro-Soviet government in Afghanistan and would withdraw her troops from Afghanistan only after a political settlement guaranteeing the territorial integrity and independence of Afghanistan. However, United Nations mediator Diego Cordoves had been using his good offices to facilitate an amicable solution of Afghanistan's problem at the Geneva talks.

(H) The Soviet Union And Disarmament

(*Note*: Please see Chapter 17(c).

20

FOREIGN POLICY OF INDIA

OUTLINE:

(A) Salient Features of India's Foreign Policy
(B) Relations Between India and Pakistan
(C) India's Relations with the People's Republic of China
(D) India's Relations with Asian Countries
(E) Liberation of Foreign Enclaves
(F) Indo-American Relations
(G) Indo-Soviet Relations
(H) India's Relations with Britain
(I) India and the United Nations Organisation
(J) India and Commonwealth of Nations

(A) Salient Features Of India's Foreign Policy

The foreign policy of India which was formulated and elaborated by Jawaharlal Nehru and which was adopted by Lal Bahadur Shastri and Indira Gandhi and now being pursued by Rajiv Gandhi is a product of complex historical circumstances. India's foreign policy is called 'originality in continuity". Nehru had maintained that this policy was inherent in the circumstances of India, inherent in the conditioning of the Indian mind during the struggle for freedom and inherent in the circumstances of the world today". Neither the circumstances of India nor of the world have remained static and indeed it was one of Nehru's basic postulates that they were constantly and rapidly changing. India's foreign policy had, therefore, the quality of moving with the times and adapting itself to changing circumstances while holding on to certain broad prin-

ciples and having a certain vision of India and the world. It was far from being a dogma and it cannot be encapsulated in one word, "Non-alignment."

"Non-alignment in itself is not a policy", said Nehru in one of his speeches in the Union Parliament, "it is only part of a policy. The policy, therefore, can be a policy of acting according to our best judgment and furthering the principal objectives and ideas that we have. Our foreign policy has thus this positive aspect of peace. The other positive aspects are enlargement of freedom in the world and replacement of colonialism by free and independent countries and a larger degree of cooperation among the nations". The distinctiveness of India's foreign policy lay neither in idealism and internationalism which impelled the country to espouse the larger causes mentioned above, nor in the pursuit of national interests and objectives but in continuous endeavour to reconcile and bring in line with each other these two sets of consideration in the formulation and implementation of policy. On the one hand India tried to pursue her national interests in such a way as to promote larger interests of the world and on the other she worked for international causes in such a manner as to safeguard her enlightened national interests. However, circumstances favoured the maintenance of a balance between Indian and international interests but at times things happened to upset this delicate and complicated equilibrium and then like any other country India pursued that course of action which was consistent with national interest. What is remarkable in Indian foreign policy is the ceaseless endeavour to strike a balance of this kind between realism and idealism.

(1) Salient Features of India's Foreign Policy

India's foreign policy as formulated by her first Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru was characterised by certain distinguishing features which are discussed as follows:

(1) Policy of Non-alignment

After India attained independence, the world was divided into two Power blocs known as the American bloc and the Soviet bloc. In the international field various military pacts and alliances such as the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO), the South East Asiatic Treaty Organisation (SEATO) and the Warsaw Pact were concluded. This led to a cold war between the member states of the American bloc and the Russian bloc. However, at the height of cold war when the world was divided into two military blocs pulling almost every nation on earth into one or other of the armed camps, a genuinely independent foreign policy on the part of a country like

India was of tremendous significance. The new and developing nations which joined these blocs, were subservient to the major partners in the alliance and they lost independence of judgment. Elaborating the policy of non-alignment Nehru had remarked thus, "In any event, speaking for India whatever happens, I am not prepared merely to say ditto to any country in the wide world. I think it is degrading for a country as it is for an individual just to be an automaton just to be a puppet and to repeat what others say". Again Nehru said "If any country imagines that we are going to change our policies and sell ourselves for a mess of pottage from any other country, she, I submit, is completely mistaken. I am quite sure in my mind that if at any time help from abroad depends upon the slightest variation of our policy, we shall give up that help the whole of it and prefer starvation and everything to it. So it is in this way that we accept help and I think the world knows it well enough".

The policy of non-alignment means independence of action. India's policy is not to commit herself previously to follow a certain line. This independence of action enables India to judge each issue on its own merits and without any prejudice. Broadly speaking, the fundamental premises of India's foreign policy at the time of its original formulation were sound. Non-alignment spared our country of several complications. It was the policy of non-alignment which made it possible for the Indian public opinion to endorse the policy of receiving and asking for aid from any quarter. India received aid without strings not as a satellite state but as an independent nation committed to non-alignment. The non-aligned position of India made it easier for Russia to give economic aid to India. It is contended that India would have received more economic aid than she actually got in case she had aligned herself withone of the Super Powers. But that would have meant political subjugation in the guise of economic aid. India did not adopt the policy of non-alignment because she wanted aid from both the Super Powers. As a matter of fact, on account of her policy of non-alignment India had to suffer considerable indifference at the hands of the Super Powers in the initial stages. Denouncing India's policy of non-alignment, the American Secretary of State John Foster Dulles said "Neutrality is immoral". But on account of her policy of non-alignment India was able to serve the cause of world peace. Because of her non-aligned status India played an important role in bringing the Korean war to a close. India refused to support US sponsored resolution in the UNO branding China as aggressor in Korean war. As an independent and non-aligned nation India had no hesitation in telling the American government that the UN armed forces must not cross the 38th

parallel because the UN army's thrust beyond 38th parallel was tantamount to invasion of North Korea and it was likely to escalate the hostilities. It was because of her policy of non-alignment that India refused to sign the peace treaty between the United States and Japan at San Francisco in 1951. However, she signed a separate treaty with Japan in 1952. It was because of her non-alignment that India accorded recognition to People's Republic of China and pleaded the cause of her membership of the UNO. This had caused great resentment and ill feeling in the USA. India played a significant role in preventing the outbreak of hostilities between the United States and the Soviet Union over Cuba. Nehru was able to persuade the Soviet Premier Khrushchev to dismantle the anti-ballistic missiles base in Cuba.

(2) Anti-Colonialism

It was the Indian national movement which struck a fatal blow, though a non-violent one at the mightiest imperialism in history, thereby crippling morally and politically the entire colonial order. Through its indefatigable diplomacy in the United Nations, India helped to speed up the decolonisation process. The liberation of Goa, the sympathy and support given to liberation movements in Asia and Africa were conspicuous manifestations of India's dedication to anti-colonialism and enlargement of freedom in the world. Commenting on the anti-colonial stand of India, Jawaharlal Nehru said "We in Asia who have ourselves suffered all these evils of colonialism and of imperial domination, have committed ourselves inevitably to the freedom of every other colonial country. There are neighbouring countries of ours in Asia with whom we are intimately allied. We look to them with sympathy, we look at their struggle with sympathy. Any power great or small which in that way prevents the attainment of freedom of these peoples does an ill turn to world peace. Great countries like India who have passed out of that colonial stage do not conceive it possible that other countries should remain under the yoke of colonial rule". It was in pursuance of this policy that India supported the cause of the independence of Indonesia against Holland. Libya owes her independence almost entirely to Indian initiative. India played a significant role in bringing to an end the war in Indo-China which was the colony of France. She also advocated the cause of the liberation of Tunisia and Algeria. There was great resentment in India over the virtual annexation of Tibet by Communist China. India denounces the efforts of Great Powers to exploit the people of the Middle East. She stands for a policy of non-intervention in the internal affairs of other countries. She neither liked the Cominform nor the Eisenhower Doctrine. Commenting on

the role of India against imperialism President Nasser of Egypt has aptly remarked thus, "The records of the cases of Palestine, Tunisia and Morocco not to mention other cases, bear witness to the invaluable support which India is generously ready to extend to the cause of freedom".

(3) Co-operation with Asian Countries

Yet another hall mark of India's foreign policy has been cooperation with Asian countries. It was Nehru who called the first Asian Relations Conference in New Delhi in 1947. In 1949, he called another important conference in New Delhi which brought together the Asian nations on the burning question of Indonesian freedom. There was, then, the Colombo Conference of Five Asian Prime Ministers which made a profound impact on the 1954 Geneva Conference on Indo-China. There was the Bandung Conference of 1955 which was one of the greatest landmarks in Asian-African history and which symbolised the advent of Afro-Asia on the world scene.

(a) Formation of South Asian Association of Regional Cooperation (SAARC) : During the days of Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi South Asian Association of Regional Cooperation consisting of India, Pakistan, Bangla Desh, Nepal, Shri Lanka, Bhutan and the Maldives, has been established to promote economic, social and cultural ties among the member states. In the Dacca Summit Conference held in 1985 a resolution was adopted to combat terrorism and stop drug trafficking. Tracing the glorious history of the region Prime Minster Rajiv Gandhi said that it contributed a great deal. to world civilisation. To this region could be traced the most dramatic breakthrough in philosophical thought, scientific perception and creative expression. Rajiv Gandhi also said "We were the wonder of the World whom the explorers of the West sought. We recovered control over our destinies more or less at the same time. Now the future is in our hands. Generations to come will judge our wisdom by our ability to build peace, goodwill and fellowship among our peoples".

(4) Opposition to Policy of Apartheid

India is committed to oppose the policy of apartheid pursued by South Africa. This policy of racial discrimination has jeopardized the political and civil rights of the coloured people of South Africa. India has raised her voice at various international forums against this policy. In 1954 India abolished the office of the Indian High Commission in the Union of South Africa as a matter of protest against the policy of apartheid. India has boycotted South Africa even on the plane of playing international cricket and thus manifested her displeasure with the South African government. Due to this policy

South Africa had to renounce its membership of the Common Wealth of Nations on 31st May 1961. In a speech delivered before the UN General Assembly on November 3, 1948 India's Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru outlined India's attitude towards colonial and racial issues. He said "Great countries like India who have passed out of that colonial stage, do not conceive it possible that other countries should remain under the yoke of colonial rule. There is another problem which we, in Asia, regard as a vital problem and it is a question to which I want to draw attention, that is the question of racial equality which is something which is laid down in the provisions of the United Nations Charter".

(5) Peaceful Coexistence

India has been following the five principles of coexistence popularly known as Panch Shila. These five principles are: (1) Mutual respect for each other's territorial integrity and sovereignty; (2) Non-aggression; (3) Non-interference in the internal affairs of f other countries; (4) Mutual benefit and equality; and (5) Peaceful coexistence. These principles were embodied in the treaty signed between India and China on the issue of Tibet on 29th May 1954. At a banquet given in the honour of Prime Minister of Indonesia on 23rd September 1954, Jawaharlal Nehru introduced the term Panch Shila into the domain of international relations to mean the above mentioned five principles embodied in Sino-Indian Treaty of 1954. On 22nd December 1954 Marshall Tito of Yugoslavia accepted the five principles of coexistence. Unfortunately the great shock came for Nehru when in violation of all the principles of Panch Shila Communist China attacked India in 1962. Commenting on Panch Sheel Acharya Kripalani said "This great doctrine was born in sin because it was enunciated to put the seal of our approval upon the destruction of an ancient nation (Tibet) which was associated with us spiritually and culturally". Before launching a massive military offensive against India, China had annexed Tibet and latter's political head Dalai Lama migrated to India and sought political asylum which was granted to him. However, India is unilaterally following the policy of peaceful coexistence. Some critics are of opinion that India's unwillingness to sign the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty and her underground nuclear explosion at Pokran in Rajasthan clearly indicate India's quest for armaments. But India is genuinely interested in disarmament and her policy is practical and rational so far as Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty is concerned. This treaty makes no provision for nuclear disarmament and it is discriminating against non-nuclear nations. It gives the monopoly of nuclear resource to the Super Powers and the non-nuclear signatory states will

have to seek approval of the nuclear nations even for using the atomic energy for peaceful purposes. India's nuclear explosion was designed to use atomic energy for peaceful purposes. The press release by the Atomic Energy Commission said that "the experiment was part of the Government's study of peacefulness of nuclear explosion" India assured all concerned that nuclear power would be used for peaceful purposes. But the Western Powers are sceptical of India's designs and they have been conniving at Pakistan's nuclear programme. The USA has removed the restrictions on her military aid to Pakistan in violation of her avowed policy of stopping aid to countries engaged in any nuclear programme leading to manufacture of an atomic device. During President Ronald Reagan's administration, highly sophisticated war planes F 16 have been inducted in Pakistan. This has vitiated the security environment of the region. The tension is further heightened by the fact that Pakistan is on the threshold of manufacturing an atom bomb. India is confronted with hostile Pakistan and unfriendly China and in such a situation India's policy of peace will have to face a severe test. The 1971 Bangla desh war convinced India of the need to be self-reliant and to develop her economic and military potentials. From time to time the government of India has been allaying the doubts and fears about India's nuclear programme which is exclusively dedicated to peaceful uses of nuclear energy.

(6) Faith in the UNO

On many occasions India has exhibited faith in the UNO. At the forum of this world organisation India supported disarmament. She raised her voice clearly and powerfully for the end of Korean war and Vietnam war. She pleaded for just solution of Arab-Israel conflict and urged Israel to vacate the occupied Arab territory and to work for a negotiated settlement in collaboration with Palestine Liberation Organisation. India participated in UN military operations in Congo for the latter's unification. She gave the services of her eminent military officers in UN military operations in Cyprus where outside interference was imminent due to conflict between Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots. India has been participating in various specialised agencies of the world body. Undoubtedly India has abiding faith in UN Charter and regards the UNO as a great and decisive means for the maintenance of world peace.

(7) Security of India

A more concrete objective of foreign policy is to look after the defence and security of the country. While maintaining a fairly large army, India did not rely for security on arms only. Nehru believed

that security of a country could be protected by policies apart from the force of arms. Hence peace and friendship withthe nations of the world specially with the neighbours, was considered desirable in itself as well as a strategy for security. Immediately after independence India was caught in difficult choice of deciding between priority for defence and economic development and Nehru unhesitatingly chose the latter. There was another choice that of depending on some outside Powers for defence through military alliances. This alternative was rejected on valid domestic and international grounds. As regards diverting resources to build a strong army at the expense of economic progress, it was considered an unsound and unbalanced approach, as economic, industrial and technological development was the basis of modern defence and unless India developed this fundamental infrastructure, its defence apparatus would be an edifice erected on sand. The defence was not however neglected. Even more important was the programme of self-reliance in defence production which was undertaken and which enabled the manufacture of tanks, planes, ships and a variety of arms and ammunition in the country. The wisdom of the policy of self-reliance in defence production, was vindicated in Indo-Pakistan wars of 1965 and 1971. After the military occupation of Afghanistan by the Soviet Union in December 1979, the United States had given massive arms aid to Pakistan which had become a conduit of American arms to be supplied to Afghan rebels who were engaged in guerilla warfare against Soviet troops in Afghanistan. The United States has supplied the most sophisticated war planes F 16 to Pakistan and has connived at the clandestine efforts of Pakistan to assemble an atom bomb. This ominous shift in the balance of power in the Indian subcontinent has caused deep concern and anxiety to India which has lodged strong protest with the US government. President Ronald Reagan played down India's concern over Pakistan's military built up and he tried his best to waive the restrictions on the US military aid to Pakistan. According to declared American policy, a country engaged in nuclear armament programme, would not be entitled to get US military aid. But in case of Pakistan this condition was waived and highly sophisticated military technology was inducted in Pakistan. In such a situation the chief objective of India's policy is the protection of the independence and integrity of the country. Prime Minister Rajiv had rightly provided more funds for defence in the budget for 1987-88 and in various public statements he stressed the need to modernise Indian armed forces and equip Indian-army with latest weapons. Unfortunately due to Pakistan's nuclear armament programme, there appears to be the formidable prospects of

nuclear arms race between India and Pakistan. However, it is hoped that saner counsels would prevail in Pakistan and she would abandon her nuclear armament project in the interests of peace and stability in the subcontinent.

(B) Relations Between India And Pakistan

The partition of this subcontinent in 1947 generated bad blood between India and Pakistan. In the years following the partition, millions of people started leaving their homes from both the sides of the border and became refugees. The post-independence upheavals were of such an inhuman nature that the relations between the two countries were naturally strained. The financial and other problems connected with the issue of refugee rehabilitation handicapped both the governments. The refugees came to India like a flood and the tragedy of uprooted humanity was of greatest magnitude. During the years after independence, the two countries developed some trade and economic relations but unfortunately the cooperation between the two countries was far from being cordial. While India retained her neutrality from Power blocs, Pakistan chose to join the Western bloc. In 1954 Pakistan became a member of the SEATO which was primarily designed to contain the expansion of communism in South East Asia. Pakistan and the United States had entered into a military pact and American equipments and personnel began to flow into Pakistan. India complained that US military assistance given to Pakistan was negating US economic aid to India by compelling New Delhi to engage in an arms race which Indian economy could ill-afford.

(1) Indo-Pak Relations During the Days of Jawaharlal Nehru

(i) Kashmir Problem: In January, 1948, India brought before ore the Security Council of the UNO its dispute with Pakistan over Kashmir. Jammu and Kashmir, the northernmost state of India, was given like the other princely states, the right of self-determination according to the Indian Independence Act, 1947. About 2,000 Pakistani tribesmen passing through Abbotabad entered Kashmir territory on 22nd October, 1947, looted the people and destroyed their homes in Muzaffarabad and Domel. The Pakistani raiders succeeded in occupying a large portion of Kashmir territory in the Poonch area. They reached the vicinity of Srinagar and threatened its occupation. At this juncture, the Maharaja of Kashmir approached the Government of India for military support. On October 25, 1947, V.P.Menon, Secretary in the Ministry of State, flew to Srinagar and told the Maharaja that New Delhi could not give any such military aid without the State's accession to India. The

Maharaja finding himself in an unfortunate position of being overpowered by the tribesmen, acceded to India on October 26, 1947, and thus, the state became an integral part of India. Immediately after the act of accession was complete, the Indian army was put into action to save Kashmir. In January, 1948, India brought the situation to the attention of the UN Security Council and requested the latter to call upon Pakistan not to allow the tribesmen to commit subversive activities in Kashmir.

On 17th January, 1948, the Security Council passed a resolution asking the disputants to take measures within their power to improve the situation. The Security Council also appointed in April, 1948, the United Nations Commission for India and Pakistan to examine the situation on the spot, to keep the Council informed and to exercise a mediatory influence. On August 13, 1948, the Commission adopted a resolution embodying cease-fire and truce agreement. The resolution was accepted by both the sides and a cease-fire order became effective on January 1, 1949.

On 14th March, 1950, the Security Council adopted another resolution and replaced its Commission with a UN representative Sir Owen Dixon of Australia, to act as mediator. He held several conferences with the Prime Ministers of the two countries and on September 15, 1950 reported to the Council that he had not been able to achieve any agreement between the parties for implementing either demilitarisation or the holding of a plebiscite.

On April 30, 1951, Dr. Frank Graham, President of the North Carolina University, was appointed UN Representative in Kashmir to make another attempt to arrange demilitarisation, preparatory to a plebiscite. But on October 10, 1952, after the conference of Indian and Pakistani representatives failed in Geneva, Graham declared the failure of his mission. Again, on the request of Pakistan, the Security Council took up the Kashmir issue in January 1957. Krishna Menon, the leader of Indian delegation, told the Council that India had no intention of consenting to a plebiscite as in February, 1954, the Constituent Assembly of Kashmir had finally retified its accession to the Indian Union. On 24th January, 1957, the Security Council reiterated its appeal for a plebiscite and called upon the parties to maintain the status quo. The Indian government ignored this appeal and declared Kashmir an integral part of India.

On 18th February, 1957, the Soviet delegate in the UNO said that the talk of plebiscite was useless as the people of the state had already, through their Constituent Assembly, acceded to India. The situation in Kashmir continued to be deadlocked after fifteen years

of UN attempts at a solution. It is hoped that through bilateral negotiations, this issue would be amicably solved by both the counties.

(ii) Indus Water Dispute : The canal water dispute arose over the use of the Indus-waters. Six tributaries of Indus flow from the Indian side of the Punjab into Pakistan. India agreed to allow Pakistan the use of Punjab rivers out of humanitarian considerations according to an agreement signed in 1948. This agreement was not of permanent nature. Pakistan was allowed some time to construct link canals to join-up her irrigation works with the tributaries allotted to her. Pakistan neglected to construct link canals and in 1954 when India opened the Bhakra Nangal Dam, Pakistan raised her objection to the project. India was prepared to negotiate a settlement with Pakistan so that the agricultural production in Pakistan might not be adversely affected. David Lilienthal the Chairman of Tennessee Valley Project (USA), suggested the manner in which the river waters of Indus Basin could possibly be shared by the two countries to their mutual advantage. However, it was through the efforts of Eugene Black the President of World Bank that the Canal water dispute between India and Pakistan was settled.

(a) Indus Waters Treaty (19th September 1960) : This treaty which was signed by India and Pakistan on 19th September 1960, was based on the scheme drawn by the World Bank in 1954. (1) It divided the total water of the Indus system in the proportion of 80:20 between Pakistan and India. (2) Under this treaty India undertook to allow for all times to come, the flow of the Indus, the Jhelm and the Chenab to Pakistan. However, it was stipulated in the treaty that the present irrigated area in India comprising about one million acres, should continue to receive water from these rivers. (3) India was entitled to store a total of 2.85 millions acres feet of water for various purposes. Such storage was to be on the tributaries of the three Western rivers (the Chenab, the Indus and the Jhelm) (4) Provision was made for the development of new irrigation facilities in India for another seven lakh acres. (5) This agreement provided for a transition period of ten years during which Pakistan would construct canals to replace supplies hitherto received from eastern rivers viz., the Ravi, the Sutlej, and the Beas. India agreed to make a fixed contribution of Rs. 83.3 crores towards the cost of the construction work to be undertaken by Pakistan. The amount was to be paid by India in ten equal annual instalments to the World Bank. Australia, Canada, Germany, New Zealand, Britain and the United States were also to contribute generously to this Indus Basin Deve-

lopment Fund. The total amount to be given to Pakistan was Rs. 333.3 crores. With this money Pakistan was to undertake the construction of irrigation reservoirs and link canals to connect her irrigation works. (6) The treaty provided for a permanent Indus Commission which was to assume general responsibility for implementing the terms of the treaty and reconcile the points of disagreement that might arise in future. If the differences or disputes between the parties could not be resolved by negotiations, the same should be referred to a neutral expert for final decision. The matter could also be referred to the Court of Arbitration.

(b) Reaction to Indus Waters Treaty : Indian public opinion was was not satisfied with this treaty as it gave the country a small share in the river waters. Moreover, India was required to pay a substantial amount to Pakistan for the construction of link canals and irrigation reservoirs. However, Jawaharlal Nehru went to Karachi to sign the Indus Waters Treaty and expressed his gratification at the amicable settlement of a difficult question. He hailed 19 September as 'a memorable day". At the time of signing the treaty Nehru told President Ayub Khan "This Treaty Mr. President is the happy symbol of the larger cooperation between your country and mine. I should like to express my deep gratitude to the International Bank and to all those who have laboured within Pakistan, in India and other friendly countries and to all who have come to our assistance in this matter and generously made contributions towards solving this problem". In reply Pakistan's President Ayub Khan said "I have no doubt that if we work in the same spirit and harmony it will promote trust and understanding between the peoples of the two countries".

But Pakistan's President was not satisfied with the settlement of river water dispute. He wanted to seize Kashmir valley the "Switzerland of India" with its scenic beauties and its attraction for tourists. In his address to a meeting of the Pakistan Institute of International Affairs on 25th August 1961 Ayub Khan said "Now just look at the map of Kashmir. Just look at the location of the three rivers on which the life of whole of West Pakistan of some 45 million people depends. As our population increases, every drop of that water has got to be husbanded stored and utilised".

(iii) Pakistan's Reservations Regarding Farakka Barrage Scheme: Pakistan raised serious objections to the Farakka-Barrage scheme in West Bengal. The scheme was meant essentially for the protection of port of Calcutta from becoming useless through the process of silting. When Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru and President Ayub Khan were in London in 1961 in connection with the

Commonwealth Prime Ministers Conference, they held discussions regarding the implications of Farakka-Barrage Project. Prime Minister Nehru assured the President of Pakistan that the Farakka-Barrage would be constructed without any adverse effect on the interests of East Pakistan. Nehru also agreed to a thorough examination of the issue by the delegates of the two countries. Inspite of these solemn assurances, Pakistan launched a campaign of misrepresentation against the project. Commenting on Pakistan's campaign of villification against India, Nehru told Lok Sabha on 16th August 1961 "I see a kind of propaganda gradually being started in Pakistan and to some extent in other countries by Pakistan's representatives to the effect that we are trying to do enormous injury to the people of East Pakistan by the Farakka-Barrage and that millions will die because of it".

(2) Indo-Pak Relations During the Days of Prime Minister Lal Bahadur Shastri

Pakistan's President Ayub Khan coveted Kashmir and he was seeking a opportunity to launch a military offensive against India. He tried to isolate India diplomatically. He paid a state visit to China in March1965 and was able to secure a commitment from Chinese leaders for help against India. In the same month a Chinese delegation paid a return visit to Pakistan. On 4th April 1965 President Ayub khan and Foreign Minister Bhutto paid a state visit to Moscow. President Ayub khan tried to persuade the Soviet leaders to adopt neutral attitude in the disputes between India and Pakistan. Thus, efforts were made to get military support of China in case of conflict with India. With possible Soviet neutrality and Sino-US support, Pakistan's President hoped to overrun Kashmir. Thus, in 1965 the political horizon was overcast with clouds of ominous developments.

(a) Pakistan's Occupation of Indian Territory in the Rann of Kutch: The External Affairs Minister said on 3rd March 1965, in the Lok Sabha that Pakistani intrusions into Indian territory had been continuing since 25th January 1965. The Minister of State admitted in the Rajya Sabha the same day that 3,000 acres of Indian territory had actually been occupied. Pakistan had occupied two or four square kilometres around Kanjarkot and 50 to 75 square kilometres in the Biarbet area. Pakistan's main purpose was to establish the existence of territorial dispute. India asked Pakistan for the restoration of the *status quo ante.* Pakistan replied to India's demand for the restoration of *status quo ante* by a further military advance on 9th April 1965. Shastri was reluctant to go to war with Pakistan. The cornerstone of his foreign policy was to have good relations with all

neighbouring countries. Shastri offered a no-war pact to Pakistan. Unfortunately, Pakistan did not respond to the offer. Shastri felt relieved when Britain came out with a proposal to refer the matter to arbitration. Wilson, the then British Prime Minister, had also created a favourable climate by sending to Delhi, Lord Mountbatten, India's first Governor-General after independence to suggest the reference of the Sind-Kutch border dispute to the World Court on the plea that India had "an unassailable case".

The Kutch dispute was referred to a tribunal consisting of three members, one nominated by India, another by Pakistan and the chairman by the UN Secretary-General. India's nominee Ales Bebler of Yugoslavia kept New Delhi in the picture all along and informed, toward the end of the tribunal's discussion, that chairman Gunnar La-Gergun of Sweden was tilting towards the view of the Pakistani nominee Iran's Nasrullah Entezeam who supported Pakistan's claim of 875,000 square kilometres in toto. According to Tribunal's verdict, 800 square kilometres of Kanjarkot in Kutch were to be given to Pakistan. New Delhi's only consolation was that the area given was about 9.43 per cent of what Pakistan had claimed.

Shastri learnt many lessons from the Rann of Kutch episode. The greatest lesson that he learnt about Pakistan was that it was not to be trusted. To add to his disillusionment, he discovered that the Kutch operation was only a diversionary tactic as some military leaders had predicted at that time. Irrefutable evidence was later brought to him to show that Rawalpindi was preparing to launch an attack on Kashmir the very day Ayub's representative in Delhi was signing the Kutch agreement.

(b) Pakistan's Aggression against India: Pakistan's attack tac began with hundreds of infiltrators — Mujahids (liberators) as Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, the then Pakistan's Foreign Minister hailed them, stealing into Kashmir. The report of the entry into the State appeared in the Indian press on 9th August 1965. L. P. Singh, the Home Secretary, reported personally to Shasti regarding the infiltration of Mujahids. The Prime Minister's reaction was, "It means Pakistan wants war". Since the sheet anchor of his policy was to befriend Pakistan, he wanted more proof.

Pakistan followed up the infiltration with a massive attack on 1st September 1965, in the Chhamb sector of Jammu. Now Shastri had no choice. He had to attack Pakistan to relieve the pressure in the area. Had he not done so, Kashmir would have been cut-off from India. Indian forces began a three-pronged advance into Pakistan.

It is alleged that Shastri opted for war against Pakistan because he wanted a cause that would give him status and reputation of a tough man. Things changed after the war. He became a hero overnight. Shastri once a dove was now a hawk. To all plans for cessation of hostilities, including the one from the Security Council, his reply was, "We cannot go from one ceasefire to another and wait till Pakistan chooses to start hostilities again".

Even hints of economic sanctions against India did not soften him. He placed before U-Thant, the then UN Secretary General, who flew to Rawalpindi and New Delhi when hostilities engulfed the subcontinent, three conditions. They were: (1) Pakistan's responsibility for starting the war should be recognized; (2) Pakistan must withdraw its armed and unarmed infiltrators; and (3) It must give an effective guarantee not to do it again.

But what Shastri really wanted was that India should occupy sufficient territory in Pakistan so as to exchange it with the area Rawalpindi had grabbed in Kashmir. Till that was achieved, Shastri kept U Thant waiting. New Delhi accepted a ceasefire on 24th September 1965. Now Shastri could rightly claim, "As it is we are in a much better position than they".

Unfortunately, the British Prime Minister, the hub of the Commonwealth, accepting Rawalpindi's version said on 6th September 1965, that he felt deeply concerned at the news that Indian forces had attacked Pakistani territory across the international border in the Punjab. While Shastri criticised London privately, Mrs. Gandhi attacked it publicly. She said, "One of the strange quirks of the contemporary scene is that countries which are pledged to democracy and freedom so often lend their support to dictatorship and to censure of freedom". Shastri's cabinet colleagues and his party men realised that he had gained new strength. He was receiving a hero's welcome.

He gave a new way of salutation Jai Jawan-Jai Kisan (Victory to the soldier, Victory to the farmer).

The Security Council's unanimous resolution (20th September 1965) called upon India and Pakistan "to withdraw all armed personnel back to the positions held by them before 5th August, 1965". Both America and Soviet Union were insistent on its implementation.

(c) Tashkent Declaration: When the Soviet Union offered its good offices to bring Shastri and Ayub together, the former accepted the offer of mediation after some hesitation. He agreed to meet Ayub at Tashkent but made it clear that he would not discuss Kashmir.

After a see-saw of deadlocks and meetings, Shastri and Ayub signed what was called at Pakistan's instance the Tashkent Declaration. The principle accepted by both sides was that the territory they had occupied during the hostilities should be vacated. India gave up every bit of occupied territory including Hajipir and Tithwal. In return Pakistan agreed indirectly to abjure the use of force reaffirming the obligation under the UN Charter to settle disputes through peaceful means.

At Tashkent, Shastri was at his best. He proved that his frailty and smallness of stature were beguiling almost a disguise for his political skill and tenacity.

When at one point, the Soviet Prime Minister Kosygin asked Shastri not to insist on Pakistan's pledge not to use force in future, he replied, "You will have to talk to another Prime Minister". The Tashkent Declaration was a personal triumph. But he did not live to hear and see in print praise for his statesmanship. Within a few hours after signing Tashkent Declaration, Shastri died of heart attack on 10th January 1966.

Shastri was an architect of India's victory. However, It was during his time that the Indian army which had been humiliated at the hands of China in 1962, regained its self-confidence and re-kindled national pride.

It was during his period that pragmatism took precedence over ideology. But his was too short a period for any impact. For 16 out of 19 months of his tenure, he remained vulnerable to the pressures and pulls in and outside the Congress Party. It was a pity that he passed away when he had gained the stature to withstand them.

(iii) Indo-Pak Relations during the Days of Prime Minister Indira Gandhi

The United States, Britain and China criticised the Tashkent Declaration because their friend Pakistan had suffered a defeat at the hands of India a friend of Soviet Union which earned the credit of restoring peace in the subcontinent. While the London Times described the Tashkent Declaration as being "far from no war declaration", the Peking People's Daily described the Pact as a "service to imperialism". President Ayub Khan was highly impressed by the sharp reaction to Tashkent Declaration in West Pakistan and hence decided to soothe the feelings of the people. On 14th January 1966, he reaffairmed Pakistan's traditional stand on Kashmir in a radio broadcast. He said "Complicated issues are not easy to solve and the government has to adopt various means to solve

them according to circumstances". In an address to Pakistan Institute of International Affairs on 2nd March 1966, Altaf Gauhar, Information Secretary went to extent of tearing the Tashkent Declaration to pieces. Thus, the Tashkent Declaration failed to achieve just and durable peace in the sub-continent on account of lack of the spirit of conciliation in Pakistan. Referring to it President Ayub Khan in an interview on 15th November 1966 said "It settled nothing. All it did was that it enabled the two countries to disengage their armies from each other". Russell Brines had aptly remarked that Tashkent was a lid put on a boiling kettle. The Indians were convinced that Pakistan had actually launched a well-planned attack in 1965 and that Pakistan had not renounced the design of revenge. Hence every effort was made to strengthen the armed forces of India during the days of Prime Minister Indira Gandhi. President Ayub Khan paid a state visit to the Soviet Union in September 1967 and tried to get military aid from Soviet government. In April 1968 Soviet Prime Minister went to Pakistan on a state visit and on this occasion request for Soviet military aid was repeated. In June 1968, General Yahya Khan led a Pakistani military delegation to Moscow and succeeded in getting military aid from the Soviet Union. India expressed great concern over Pakistan's military preparations and appealed to Super Powers to refrain from giving arms to Pakistan.

(4) Indo-Pak War (1971) and Birth of Bangladesh

India had been sincerely trying to normalise relations with Pakistan after the war of 1965. India had lifted the embargo on trade, proposed the opening of all border checkposts, released the 1965 war-seized cargoes, invited cultural delegations and liberalised visa procedures. There was no response from Pakistan which continued to insist on the solution of the basic dispute on Kashmir before any bilateral negotiations could be held. From the Indian point of view, Kashmir was not negotiable as it was an integral part of India. Earlier, India made an informal suggestion to Pakistan that it should agree to an arrangement whereby the candidature of either country for election to any UN agency would automatically be supported by the other. Rawalpindi replied that there was no point in finding a solution to peripheral matters when the basic question of Kashmir remained unsettled. This was despite India's gesture allowing the surplus waters of the Beas and the Ravi to flow down to Pakistan even after the expiry of the Indus Waters Treaty on 31st of March, 1970. This was in consonance with Nehru's humanitarian view. Ayab Khan was succeeded by Yahya Khan. That he was reluctant to open a dialogue with India was not surprising. Elections were due in Pakistan and he did not want politicians to make capital

out of the charge that he was trying to build up an image for himself at the expense of Pakistan's honour.

(i) Sheikh Mujib Rahman's Victory at Polls : In the election, Sheikh Mujib Rahman swept the polls in East Pakistan and Zulfikar Ali Bhutto in West Pakistan. Mujib wanted autonomy so as to lessen East Pakistan's exploitation by West Pakistan. There was no prospect of compromise between the two wings of Pakistan. Yahya Khan and Bhutto joined hands to fight what they considered a secessionist movement and to keep Pakistan as one unit. Mujib was arrested. His party, the Awami League, was declared illegal.

(ii) Reign of Terror in East Pakistan and Exodus of Refugees : A reign of terror was let loose in East Pakistan. The military crackdown by Rawalpindi resulted in murder and plunder and the trickle of refugees flowing into India quickly became a torrent. As the new flood of refugees began, there was a wave of sympathy for them in India. At the same time, there was wishful thinking in the country that East Pakistan would one day break away from West Pakistan. Little did anybody realise that it would happen soon and Bangladesh would emerge.

(iii) Serious Refugee Problem and Role of India in the Formation of World Public Opinion Regarding East Pakistan Issue : India was more concerned with the unending stream of refugees than anything else. Mrs. Indira Gandhi first wrote to heads of State that a prolonged refugee presence in India would not only put heavy economic burdens on her government but also result in social and political tensions. Indian Cabinet Ministers later visited member countries of the Aid Pakistan Club requesting them to withhold economic assistance to Islamabad. Besides, 13 ministerial delegations went to 70 countries to acquaint them with the grim situation in East Pakistan.

At the same time, New Delhi made it clear that the refugee problem could not be delinked from a satisfactory political solution to the Bangladesh question. The UN Secretary-General was asked to intervene. The world attention was particularly invited to the atrocities committed by Pakistan's armed forces in East Bengal.

(iv) Government's Efforts for Resource Mobilisation : Parliament gave full support to the government's measure to impose special taxes to meet the cost of feeding and housing the refugees, though the Planning Commission feared that the new levies would be more than what the overburdened Indians could afford to bear.

Foreign countries also gave assistance but very little, £150 million. India's own expenditure was roughly 500 million pounds.

But none of the foreign countries was willing to treat the issue other than as an internal affair of Pakistan. There was sympathy for the refugees, nothing beyond that.

(v) Indo-Soviet Treaty of Friendship and Co-operation (9th August 1971) : On 9th August 1971, as a result of Indira Gandhi's state visit to the Soviet Union, the 20-year Indo-Soviet Treaty was signed. The treaty provided a political and legal basis for further co-operation between the two countries in political, economic, cultural, technical and scientific fields. One important aspect of the treaty was the assurance that in the event of an attack or threat thereof, the two sides shall immediately enter into mutual consultations in order to remove such a threat and take appropriate measures to ensure the peace and security of their countries. It was the attitude of China and the USA that forced India to enter into the treaty. Peking had pledged its support to Pakistan by stating officially : "Should the Indian expansionists dare to launch aggression against Pakistan, the Chinese government and people will as always firmly support Pakistan".

Earlier when the Indian Parliament passed a unanimous resolution to express sympathy for and solidarity with the people of East Bengal in the struggle for a democratic way of life, China described it as "tumultuous interference in Pakistan's internal affairs". As for Washington, it stepped up military supplies to Pakistan.

This treaty with the Soviet Union is a symbol of Indira Gandhi's realism. It did not mean that Mrs. Gandhi had jettisoned the policy of non-alignment which is still the major plank of India's foreign policy.

(vi) Indira Gandhi's Visit to Foreign Countries: In order to impress on the world powers the urgency of a solution to the Bangladesh problem, Mrs. Gandhi in October-November, 1971, visited Austria, Belgium, Britain, France, West Germany and the USA. She found them sympathetic to the plight of refugees camping in the border States of India but wary about the ultimate solution of the Bangladesh problem. The US Administration was reluctant to condemn the atrocities committed by Pakistan's armed forces in East Bengal.

(vii) *Support of Britain and France:* Britain and France first looked at the Bangladesh problem with indifference but eventually came round to support India. Britain gave up the policy of balance of power in the subcontinent and openly stood on the side of India. It was because of British attitude towards the problem of Bangla-

desh that Pakistan later on renounced its membership of the Commonwealth. In France, the support of persons like Mendes and Malraux made its government realise the desirability of a political solution of the Bangladesh problem.

(viii) Pakistan's Attack on India: As the internal pressures within East Pakistan increased due to the activities of Mukti Bahini, an Organization of freedom fighters who enjoyed Indian support, Yahya Khan struck India on the western frontier. Pakistan's pre-emptive attack came in the afternoon of 3rd December 1971. India struck back on 4th December after declaring a state of emergency in the country. Officially, there was no declaration of war.

The war lasted exactly two weeks and most of the fighting was on the eastern front. The Pakistani forces in East Pakistan surrendered in Dacca on 16th December 1971. Within a few hours of the surrender in East Pakistan, India announced a unilateral cease-fire on the western front on 17th December. Pakistan also declared a cease-fire. Nearly 90,000 Pakistani troops became prisoners of war.

(ix) Advance of US Seventh Fleet into the Bay of Bengal: Towards the end of the conflict, when Pakistan's debacle was certain in the East, the USA ordered its Seventh Fleet led by the nuclear-powered aircraft carrier "Enterprise" from Vietnam waters to go into the Bay of Bengal. News of this first came from Moscow. It was a bullying measure meant to put pressure on New Delhi, and to bolster the morale of Pakistani troops in the east. The step irritated Indian opinion even more than the US administration's statement, naming India as aggressor and insinuating that the entire liberation movement was instigated by her.

India decided to ignore the Seventh Fleet but Russia kept a watchful eye on it. Soviet nuclear submarines and missile ships set out from Vladivostok and stayed on the tail of the US armada. India had invoked Article 9 of the Indo-USSR Treaty which laid down that in the event of attack or threat of attack, the two sides shall immediately enter into mutual consultations in order to remove such threat and take appropriate measures to ensure peace and security of their countries.

On the other hand, for a long time, China went on saying that Bangladesh was created by India's aggression against Pakistan and that the UN could not condone the dismemberment of a member state.

The war had been fought and won. But India was staggered by the heavy economic burden resulting therefrom. The cost of war and

refugee relief was crushing her economy which was already showing terrible strains.

(x) Mid-term Lok Sabha Election (1971) : On December 27, 1971 President V. V. Giri dissolved the Lok Sabha and ordered mid-term elections on the recommendation of the Prime Minister, Mrs. Indira Gandhi. She launched a whirlwind campaign and won a landslide victory. Her party could secure 350 seats out of 515 seats in the Lok Sabha. The Congress (O) suffered the most humiliating reverses. It was almost wiped out everywhere.

However, Indira Gandhi's Congress swept the Legislative Assembly polls in March, 1972. In this fifth general election, her party captured 71 per cent of the seats contested.

The Congress (O) faced a rout in many parts of the country and in states like Andhra and Maharashtra, it was wiped off the legislative map.

(xi) Simla Conference (June 1972) : The Conference between Mrs. Indira Gandhi and Bhutto, Pakistan's Prime Minister, was fixed on 29th June 1972, at Simla. At the Simla Summit Conference, Bhutto's main effort was to get back the territory lost during the war because the refugees from those areas were creating a problem for him, particularly in Sind which was his home state. The Simla Conference looked like a fiasco till the very last minute. However, when it appeared that it would break up, India decided to accommodate Pakistan on the question of territory taken in the war. According to the Simla Agreement signed on 3rd July 1972, the two sides agreed to refrain from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity and political independence of each other. In Jammu and Kashmir, both sides agreed to accept the line of control resulting from the cease-fire of 17th December 1971. Neither country would seek to alter the line of control unilaterally by threat or force. Both countries also agreed to withdraw their forces to their side of the international border and accepted a step-by-step approach for normalization of relations. Such steps were resumption of communications, travel facilities, trade, cooperation in economic and other agreed fields.

India expected that the bilateral approach would make Pakistan realise the futility of her habit of bringing Kashmir before the UN. Mrs. Gandhi had won the war and appeared to have also won the peace. She was the undisputed leader of the country. The cynicism of the intellectuals had given way to admiration and masses were even more worshipful.

(5) India's Relations with Pakistan During the Days of Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi

The 1971 Bangladesh war convinced India of the need to be self-reliant and to develop the economic and military potentials. From time to time the government of India has been allaying the doubts and fears about India's nuclear programme which is exclusively dedicated to peaceful uses of nuclear energy. Accession to power by Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi after the death of his renowned mother was hailed as the continuation of Nehru legend. The new Prime Minister is wedded to the policy of non-alignment and peace and he is following the foot steps of his mother as far as foreign policy is concerned. There is absolutely no departure from the foreign policy pursued by late Prime Minister Indira Gandhi. Like her Rajiv Gandhi is interested to cultivate good neighbourly relations with Pakistan but no adequate response is forthcoming from that country.

(a) Induction of Sophisticated Technology in Pakistan and Her Nuclear Armament Programme: After the military occupation of Afghanistan by the Soviet Union in December 1979, the United States has given massive arms aid to Pakistan which has become conduit of American arms to be supplied to Afghan rebels who were engaged in guerilla warfare with Soviet troops. The United States has supplied F 16 war planes which are considered to be the most sophisticated in the world. The United States has connived at the clandestine efforts of Pakistan to assemble an atom bomb. This ominous shift in the balance of power in Indian sub-continent has caused deep concern and anxiety to India which has lodged strong protest with the US government. President Ronald Reagan of the US ignored India's concern over Pakistan's military built up and decided to give massive military aid to Pakistan and waived all the restrictions to the aid to her. According to declared American policy, a country engaged in nuclear armament programme would not be entitled to receive US military aid. But in case of Pakistan this restriction has been waived and besides the F 16 Figher Bombers, the USA is considering the supply of Airborne Warning and Control System (AWACS) to Pakistan to bolster up her defence potential. Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi has expressed India's serious concern over these developments in unequivocal terms and had appealed to President Ronald Reagan to exercise his influence to restrain Pakistan from pursuing the nuclear armament programme which would not augur well for peace and stability of this region. But this appeal evoked little response from US government. In these circumstances there are grim prospects of inauguration of nuclear arms race in the

sub-continent because India would have to reconsider her nuclear policy to suit her security requirements.

(b) Formation of South Asian Association of Regional Cooperation (SAARC) :

(*Note* Please see Point A 3 of this Chapter.)

(C) India's Relations With The People's Republic Of China

In the early years of independence, all-out friendship with China was the cornerstone of India's foreign policy. She repeatedly sponsored the claim of Communist China to the Chinese seat in the United Nations. There were friendly official visits and exchange of cultural delegations between the two countries. But the Sino-Indian War of 1962, revealed that Nehru had been treacherously lulled into a false sense of security by the Chinese leaders. As early as 1950, the Chinese maps included in Chinese territories large areas that really belonged to India.

(i) Indo-Chinese Treaty of 1954: In 1954, India reached an agreement with China. India recognized China's sovereignty over Tibet. The Chinese recognized Indian trading rights in Tibet. The preamble of this treaty embodied Nehru's famous Panch Shila (Five Principles of Peaceful Co-existence), namely, mutual respect for territorial integrity, non-aggression, non-interference in each other's internal affairs, equality and mutual benefit and peaceful co-existence. The Chinese respected the terms of the treaty up to 1959. According to this treaty, the Chinese had to exercise nominal suzerainty over Tibet which was to be given a great measure of autonomy.

(ii) Chinese Road in Indian Territory of Ladakh : In 1957, the Indian Government discovered that the Chinese had built a road across the Aksai-Chin of Ladakh and felt perturbed. In the spring of 1958, the Indian Government sent two detachments to examine the new Chinese road in the Aksai-Chin area. One detachment was captured by the Chinese and India protested in vain.

(iii) Chinese Strangle-hold over Tibet: The Chinese violated the treaty of 1954 and suspended the autonomy of Tibet where they committed great atrocities. The Chinese tightened their hold on Tibet in 1959. They spread a reign of terror. The Dalai Lama, the supreme temporal and ecclesiastical head of Tibet, fled to India followed by thousands of Buddhist refugees. The stories of ruthlessness and brutality of the Chinese in Tibet spread and they were later confirmed by the International Commission of Jurists. The Mc-Mahon line is the real boundary line between India and China.

(iv) Chinese Incursions into Indian Territory : The Chinese troops dispositions in the area of encroachment really threatened Nepal, Sikkim and Bhutan. This awoke Nehru to the realities of the danger and for the first time, he spoke bluntly of Chinese aggression and warned China that any encroachment on the three Himalayan states would be resisted by India with force, if necessary. Nehru hoped to settle the matter by negotiations. But he failed miserably due to Chinese intransigence. In 1960, Nehru admitted that the Chinese claimed sovereignty of over 52,000 square miles of Indian territory and had occupied 14,000 square miles in Ladakh. The Chinese were well-equipped for mountain warfare and had made careful preparation for their aggressive designs. India's northern frontier is about 2,600 miles. It is indeed impossible to guard such a long boundary solidly and in depth.

(v) Sino-Indian War (October 1962) : In October 1962, China launched a military offensive in Ladakh and rapidly seized more areas than they had previously claimed. In the North-East Frontier Agency (NEFA), they came down the mountain slopes in several places. It was clear that their design was to capture the entire valley of the Bhrahmaputra and the important oilfields of Assam. Indian soldiers were heavily outnumbered by the Chinese who were well-equipped and well-trained for mountain warfare. On 29th October 1962, Nehru sent urgent requests to the USA and United Kingdom for military aid and both the countries readily and generously responded. Nehru sought help from the Soviet Union. But the promised MIG figher planes did not come in the hour of need. The non-aligned Afro-Asian countries remained non-aligned in the hour of India's need and counselled negotiations for a cease-fire. The Chinese, perhaps because of the consequences of the military aid by the USA and the UK and the possible Russian aid to India, suddenly on 21st November made a unilateral offer of a cease-fire. Without an agreement on the matter, both sides stopped fighting and the Chinese pulled back as much as they had promised but not as India had demanded.

The six Colombo Powers (Ceylon, Burma, Indonesia, Cambodia, the United Arab Republic and Ghana) negotiated for long to bring about a settlement between China and India but failed due to the uncompromising attitude of China over relinquishing a large part of the newly-occupied territory. The conference of these countries held at Colombo immediately after war could not bring about rapprochement between India and China.

Although ill-equipped and unprepared for war, the Indian soldiers fought bravely and inflicted heavy casualties on the Chi-

nese. V. K. Krishna Menon, the Defence Minister, was no doubt a man of great experience in foreign affairs; but unfortunately, he was held responsible for the Indian debacle in this war. He was relieved of his portfolio and Y. B. Chavan, the Chief Minister of Maharashtra, was appointed Defence Minister.

(vi) Pakistan's Collusion with China Against India: The leaders of China and Pakistan had the first opportunity of personal contacts at the Bandung Conference in April 1955. The Pakistani Prime Minister assured Chinese Premier Chou Enlai that Pakistan's membership of the SEATO was not directed against China. Pakistan made it clear that her sole objective of involvement in western alliances was to acquire arms from the Western Powers so that she could use them against India. After Bandung Conference Pakistan began to develop friendly relations with China. Pakistan's Prime Minister Suhrawardy paid a 12 day state visit to Peking in October 1956. Mr. Chou En Lai the Chinese Premier declared that Pakistan was a member of SEATO but since its government and people had expressed friendliness with China, there was no reason why China could not be friendly with Pakistan. In December 1956 Chou En Lai paid state visit to Pakistan. Both the countries exchanged cultural delegations and formed friendship societies. On 27th December 1962, both China and Pakistan announced that the mutual understanding had been reached between them on the location of boundary existing between the two countries from the Tri-junction of Afghanistan to Kara Koram Pass. China and Pakistan signed the boundary agreement on 2nd March 1963, under which Pakistan ceded to China 2050 square miles of Kashmir territory under her occupation.

(a) Reaction to Sino-Pak, Border Agreement: As regards the Border Agreement with Pakistan, China gloated over her territorial gains from Pakistan at the expense of India. Chinese Premier described the agreement as historic. Ayub Khan Pakistan's President described it as "a notable milestone". Chou En Lai declared in Dacca "The majestic Kara Korams have become the bonds of friendship between the Chinese and Pakistani people". According to the government of India, the agreement was denounced as invalid and illegal, and violation of international law and the UN Charter. It was Pakistan's nefarious act to barter away as many as 2050 square miles of territory of Kashmir which was illegally occupied by her. The real motive behind Sino-Pak border agreement was to malign India and to show to the world community that it was India's bellicosity which was mainly responsible for the continuation of the Sino-Indian border dispute.

(b) Chinese Support to Pakistan in Case of Bangla Desh Crisis: On 11th April 1971, Chinese Premier Chou En Lai sent a message to President Yahya Khan of Pakistan in which he assured full support to Pakistan against India. On the eve of commencement of hostilities between India and Pakistan over the issue of Bangladesh, Chou En Lai gave an interview to Neville Maxwell of the Times of London and expressed his concern and anxiety about India's designs in Bangladesh and pledged China's support to Pakistan. Within three hours of Pakistan's air attack on India on 3rd December 1971, China dubbed India as aggressor. The Director of Institute of Defence Studies and Analysis disclosed that China had supplied Pakistan infantry and artillery equipment for her two divisions. Pakistan had played a significant role in bringing about Sino-US rapprochement. At present Sino-Pak-US axis is a matter of deep concern and anxiety for India.

(vii) Construction of Heli-Pad by China in Indian State of Arunachal Pradesh: In 1986 China intruded in Sumdorong Chu Valley in Arunachal Pradesh. She has improvised a helipad at Wang Dung in Arunachal Pradesh and thus she has again embarked on her imperialistic programme of grabbing Indian territory. India has lodged strong protest with the Chinese government. It is heartening to note that Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi has not internationalised the issue of these recent border incursions. India has declared that she does not want to settle the border dispute with China by force but through peaceful negotiations. China wants that the Sino-Indian border dispute should be resolved by "mutual accommodation, and mutual concessions". China has refused to recognize the Mc Mahon line as the border line between India and China. Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi has made it clear that there is no question of India's giving territorial concessions to China to resolve the border dispute and that the basis of the discussion of this problem is the Mc Mahon line which is the border line between the two countries.

(viii) China's Interference in the Internal Affairs of India : In 1986 the Parliament of India raised the status of Arunachal Pradesh to that of full fledged state having its Legislative Assembly and a Council of Ministers. Formerly it was a centrally administered state. China raised her objection to this change in the status of Arunachal Pradesh and raised the bogey of India's interference in China's territory. China holds the view that Arunachal Pradesh belongs to her. This shows the magnitude of China's unsatiable thirst for grabbing India's territory. She had already devoured more than 16,000 square miles of territory in Ladakh and NEFA during the war of 1962. Recent Chinese incursions and her claims on Arunachal

Pradesh have caused a great set-back to the process of normalisation between the two countries.

(D) India's Relations With Asian Countries

(i) Jawaharlal Nehru and Asia: To stimulate cooperation and promote mutual understanding among Asian and African nations was Nehru's policy. In March 1947, before India attained independence he convened the Asian Relations Conference in Delhi under the auspices of the Indian Council of World Affairs. Twenty-five Eastern countries including the Soviet Union and Egypt attended the Conference. Two years later at the offical level, he convened a similar conference. This was attended by representatives of nineteen Asian governments. The Conference registered protest against the Dutch military action against Indonesian nationalists and asked the UN Security Council to order the complete independence of Indonesia within a year.

Nehru was one of the sponsors of the Bandung Conference of April, 1955. Representatives of twenty-nine nations, including Communist China, attended this conference whose object was to bring Asian nations into harmony. It was soon found that there was no unity among the nations at the conference. The non-aligned countries were divided in their aims and objectives. There was estrangement between Malaya and Indonesia. The Arab countries headed by Iraq demonstrated their hostility towards Israel, Pakistan, Thailand, and the Philippines while others refused to follow Nehru's policy of close friendship with China. However, Nehru's prestige among non-aligned countries rose.

Jawaharlal tried to establish cordial relations with Burma. Economic Nationalism of Burma deprived Indians of their property in Burma and most of them returned to India as refugees. India did not officially protest against the expropriations.

Ultimately, Nehru managed to maintain good relations with the Government of Burma. After independence, group rivalries and conflicts developed between the Tamil-speaking Ceylonese and Sinhalese. While giving government jobs, descriminatory treatment was meted out to the Tamil-speaking Ceylonese. The notification that Sinhalese was the sole official language of the country further exacerbated the feelings between the Sinhalese and the Tamils. Since 1948, Ceylon's Indians have been progressively debarred from citizenship and franchise. Nehru treated this issue as an internal affair of Ceylon and tried to cultivate cordial relations with the Government of Ceylon.

According to the treaty signed at Gangtok in 1950, India took the responsibility of defence, external affairs and communications of Sikkim. Similarly, according to the treaty of 1949, Bhutan was to be guided in foreign relations by the Government of India. India continued to meet its defence requirements. As regards these protectorates, Nehru said: "Any aggression against Sikkim and Bhutan will be considered aggression against India".

(2) India's Relations With Sri Lanka

Prime Minister Lal Bahadur Shastri took initative in mending fences with the neighbouring countries. He sent Foreign Minister Swaran Singh to Nepal, Ceylon, and other South-Asian countries on a good will mission and appointed eminent public men as envoys to Sri Lanka and Nepal. He himself visited Colombo and tried to settle the long pending problem of the people of Indian origin in Ceylon which had been impairing friendly relations between the two countries. Of the 975000 people involved, India agreed to accept the responsibility for 525000 and Ceylon undertook to give full citizenship to 300000 people left in that country.

(a) Indira Gandhi and Ceylon: In order to sustain cordial ial relations Mrs. Indira Gandhi did not like that there should be any dispute between the two countries. To Sri Lanka, India agreed to hand over Kachchativa island lying half way in the Palk Straits between Rameshwaram and Sri Lanka's Delf island. While M. C. Setalvad former Attorney-General upheld New Delhi's claim over the island, Niren De, one of his successors said that "on balance the sovereignty over Kachchativa island was and is with Sri Lanka".

The Tamil Nadu government was unhappy because the island was one of its talukas since 1948 under the Madras Zamindari Abolition Act but it played on a low key. When Kewal Singh visited Madras to discuss the matter, Chief Minister Karunanidhi told him that he agreed with New Delhi's decision but to keep up appearances, he would protest against it in public. He did not criticise the transfer but struck a low profile note.

In November 1983, riots broke out between Tamils, the people of Indian origin, and the Sinhalese. Tamil-speaking Sri Lankans have been clamouring for grant of autonomy but the government of Sri Lanka headed by Jayawardene dubbed this demand as a secessionist move instigated by India. During the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference in 1983, Mrs. Indira Gandhi met Sri Lankan President and gave India's assessment of the situation in Sri Lanka. The Government of India is not interested in the dismemberment of Sri Lanka and it should be distinctly understood by Sri Lanka that

India stands for the unity and integrity of Sri Lanka. However, some measure of autonomy should be granted to Tamil-speaking Sri Lankans. India does not and will not allow its territory to be used for military operations against Sri Lanka and Sri Lanka government's allegations that Tamil territorists are being trained in the State of Tamil Nadu is baseless. These ideas have been expressed by the Indian government from time to time. The atrocities committed by the majority community of Sinhalese against the minority community of Tamil-speaking population were on an unprecedented scale. On the other hand, the inaction of the administration of Sri Lanka to put an end to the massacre was still more intriguing. Indian sympathy naturally lies with the Tamil-speaking Sri Lankans. Though the whole issue is within the domestic jurisdiction of the Government of Sri Lanka, yet India gives moral support to the Tamils in Sri Lanka. The Government of Sri Lanka was however, convinced that Indira Gandhi's government recognised this issue as Sri Lanka's internal matter and that there is no threat to Sri Lanka's security from India.

(b) Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi and Sri Lanka: During the he year 1986-87 the ethnic violence assumed horrible proportions. There is an organisation called Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) which has been engaged in bloody guerilla warfare with government troops of Sri Lanka with a view to seeking autonomy for Sri Lankan Tamils. The perceptions of Lanka's President Jayewardene and the Tamil leaders of LTTE regarding the scope of autonomy for Tamils in Sri Lanka were diametrically opposite. India under Rajiv Gandhi has been trying to reduce the area of disagreement between President Jayewardene and Tamil leaders. India does not intend to seek military solution of this problem and she has warned Sri Lanka against use of force to settle the ethnic problem. Jaffna is a peninsula in Sri Lanka which is thickly populated and it is inhabited by Tamils. The government troops have perpetrated untold atrocities on the Tamils in Jaffna. In 1987 oil supplies to Jaffna were stopped and government troops indiscriminately used force to demoralise the Tamils fighting for human rights. In January 1987 India cautioned Sri Lanka against exercising a military option in Jaffna peninsula the strong hold of LTTE militants to solve the ethnic problem. India's views were conveyed by the Indian High Commissioner Mr. J. N. Dixit when he met President Jayewardene in January 1987. Mr. Dixit also briefed the envoys of the USSR the US, the UK, Australia and several other socialist countries about the serious developments in Sri Lanka and India's view point in this regard. The English Daily "Sun" of Sri Lanka reported that the

government of Sri Lanka was determined to retaliate against the plans of the LTTE to set-up a defacto administration in Jaffna peninsula which is predominantly Tamil area. This ethnic violence which was continuing unabated resulted in estrangement between India and Sri Lanka. Thousands of Tamils had migrated to India and these refugees had been rehabilitated in Rameshwaram. They will be allowed to return home as soon as normalcy is restored in Sri Lanka. There had been exchange of top level delegations between India and Sri Lanka to seek a negotiated settlement of Lanka's ethnic issue. Unfortunately due to unabated violence, the mediatory efforts of India till June 1987 had not led to an amicable solution of Lankan Tamils problem. It is hoped that the saner counsels would prevail and that both the sides would eschew violence and reach an understanding about this ethnic problem in the spirit of friendship and mutual accommodation.

(3) Relations with Nepal and Sikkim

India's basic principle of foreign policy has been to cultivate cordial relations with her neighbouring countries in particular and other countries, in general.

(a) Nepal: During the goodwill visit of Mrs. Indira Gandhi in 1973, the King of Nepal revived its Peace and Friendship Treaty with India. Signed on 31st July 1950, this treaty was a defence pact which said that "either government shall not tolerate any threat to the security of the other by a foreign aggressor."

But relations between India and Nepal had many ups and downs. There was some freeze in the relations between the two countries after the death of King Tribhuvan.

But in September, 1951, when Chou En Lai, the Prime Minister of China, proposed a tripartite conference of China, India and Nepal to discuss Tibet, New Delhi ignored the suggestion without informing Nepal. When the late King Mahendra established diplomatic relations with Peking in 1955, India took it as a challenge and did nothing to prevent the armed supporters of B. P. Koirala, the former Nepalese Prime Minister, from entering Nepal. Mr. Koirala had fled into exile. The King retaliated by closing India's military mission in Kathmandu, and asked New Delhi to wind-up her observation posts on the Sino-Nepalese border. The sixties were probably the worst years in Indo-Nepalese relations. Though India was liberal as regards economic aid, the palace openly encouraged anti-India feelings.

King Birendra succeeded his father in January 1972 but there was no immediate improvement in the relations. There could have

been none at all but for the intervention of Mrs. Gandhi. She visited Nepal and assured the King that Koirala would not be allowed to use Indian territory for his activities. When the King paid a state visit to India in 1974, he was told that an 80-kilometre border zone had been set-up to ensure that no raids took place from Indian territory. In fact, following a few border incidents, Koirala had been politely warned not to force New Delhi to take action agaist him. But Nepal's mania to play India against China and *vice versa* marred relations once again. What Kathmandu could not understand was that it could not run away from the facts of geography and history. Its population is Hindu. It has to willy-nilly tailor its foreign policy to suit its national interests as well as India's security. However, India has financed various projects of Nepal. In 1984, it was proposed to set-up Indo-Nepalese Joint Commission for mutual cooperation.

Accession of Sikkim to Indian Union: Prior to India's independence, Sikkim was a part of India. It was a member of the Chamber of Princes, a body which looked after the interests of princely states in British India. As Sir Olaf Caroe, Secretary of External Affairs Department under British rule, had written that Sikkim was very much a part of India, it was an Indian state, subject to British paramountcy. After independence, Sikkim was given the status of an Indian protectorate. The three subjects of Defence, Foreign Affairs and Communications were to be dealt with by India.

On 22nd April 1975, the Sikkim Congress, a pro-New Delhi party, won 30 seats in a 32-member national assembly. The Chogyal, the feudal Sikkim ruler, refused to part with his powers despite the national assembly's resolution of 20th June 1975, making him only a titular head. Indira Gandhi vainly argued with the Chogyal to act as a constitutional king as the Sikkim assembly resolution enjoined upon him. But he was defiant and consulted constitutional experts in India and abroad and even desired to go to the International Court at the Hague. Chinese propaganda that India had annexed Sikkim helped him to malign New Delhi abroad, particularly in Western countries. Peking also sent him feelers to take refuge in China as the Dalailama had done in India but he declined to do so. India's representative then to Sikkim Bajpai sent a note to New Delhi to propose the integration of Sikkim with India as suggested after the partition of the sub-continent. Mrs. Gandhi appeared to be in favour of it at one time but then at the Political Affairs Committee meeting, the government developed cold feet.

It was not prepared to face the avalanche of criticism that such a move was bound to set-off abroad. Therefore, it was decided to

accord Sikkim the status of an "associate". On September 4, 1974, the Lok Sabha voted the Constitution 35th Amendment Bill to associate Sikkim with the Indian Union, paving the way for the end of protectorate status. The Sikkimese were given representation in both the Houses of Indian Parliament. The National Assembly of Sikkim had ratified the integration of Sikkim into the Indian Union. Nepal's King Birendra vehemently criticised India's action. Mrs. Gandhi was so annoyed by Nepal's propaganda that she recalled India's envoy to Kathmandu for consultation and did not send him back for many weeks till the Nepalese Prime Minister visited New Delhi to soften his country's initial reaction. Even then Mrs. Gandhi did not forget or forgive and that was evident when she sent only Vice-President Jatti to take part in the Nepal King's coronation in February, 1975. Earlier coronations had been attended by the President. The above mentioned Amendment bill ending the protectorate status of Sikkim was passed on 4th September 1974 and the people of Sikkim approved the acceptance of statehood of the Indian Union by a referendum held on 14th April 1975. The Indian constitution was once more amended (38th Amendment) to recognise Sikkim as a full-fledged State of India.

(E) Liberation Of Foreign Enclaves

Portugal had occupied Goa in 1510 and it was liberated during the days of Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru on 19th December 1961. On the same day the Portuguese rule in Daman and Diu also came to an end. The liberation of Goa from the foreign yoke was a triumph of India's policy of non-alignment. Before taking military action to liberate Goa, India explored all the peaceful avenues for a negotiated settlement but Portugal adopted intransigent attitude due to support given to her by her NATO allies and she did not care to discuss the question of peaceful transfer of Goa, Daman and Diu to India. Hence, India was justified in taking military action for liberation of these territories. Thus, last vestiges of Portugal's imperialism were removed. However, India's peaceful efforts for the transfer of French possessions in India were crowned with success. The French settlement of Chandernagar was transferred to India on 2nd May 1950. Chandernagar was merged in the State of West Bengal after a bill was passed by the Indian Parliament in 1954. In the same year the other French settlements of Pondicherry, Karikal, Mahe, and Yanam were transferred to India by the French government. The transfer of these territories was formally completed on 18th August 1962.

Praising the friendly gesture of French government, Jawaharlal Nehru expressed great satisfaction and appreciated the political

sagacity of the French in effecting peaceful transfer of Pondicherry. In a speech at Pondicherry, Nehru applauded the French in these words "This is the civilised way of dealing with problems. The uncivilised way is that of war, even though the so-called advanced countries may fight. Thus, while Pondicherry may be a small part of India, Pondicherry has now become a symbol of friendly solution by negotiated settlement by nations".

(F) Indo-American Relations

The government of India during Nehru's days took care to cultivate the most cordial relations with the USA. India was indebted to the USA for the influence which President Roosevelt exerted on the British government to grant independence to her. The US ambassador, Chester Bowles, contributed significantly to the establishment of friendly relations between the two countries. Being the biggest democracies in the world, both the countries share the common ideals such as dignity of individual, freedom of press, grant of civil liberties to the people, sovereignty of the people and independence of judiciary. When Jawaharlal Nehru formed the Interim Government in September 1946, he mentioned the people of the United States first of all to whom greetings were sent by him. There were many Americans like Louis Fischer, who were in favour of close co-operation and friendship between India and the United States.

But the cordial relations between the two countries suffered set-back due to the following developments.

(1) India's Recognition of Communist China and US Resentment

Differences arose between India and the United States regarding Communist China. The People's Republic of China emerged as an independent state on 1st October 1949 and India accorded her recognition to Communist China by the end of December 1949. This was greatly resented by the government of the United States as she was not in favour of recognising new communist regime in China.

(2) India's Refusal to Participate in Operations of the United Nations Military Force in Korea

In 1950 North Korea supported by the Soviet Union invaded South Korea which appealed to the security council to provide military help to repel the unprovoked aggression of North Korea. After discussions and deliberations in UN General Assembly and Security Council, UN military force was constituted. The United States contributed the largest number of American troops to this force. India refused to become a full-fledged participant in the United

Nations Military Command. When the US military forces crossed the 38th parallel in Korea inspite of warnings from India, there was a lot of anti-American feeling in India. During the course of hostilities in Korea (1950-53), India only offered the red cross services. At one stage India opposed the United Nations "Uniting for Peace" Resolution which was backed by American government. India also opposed the American move to brand Communist China as aggressor in South Korea. She also opposed the American move to impose an embargo on the shipments of strategic materials to Communist China.

(3) India's Support to Communist China for Admission into the UNO

On 27th October 1962, a day after Nehru's request to US government for military help against Chinese aggression, India voted in General Assembly in favour of the admission of Communist China into the United Nations. This shocked the American press which denounced this vote as "shocking beyond reasonable explanation". It was considered incredible that India should continue to support Communist China while the Himalayan snows were stained red with Indian blood.

(4) Liberation of Goa

Yet another factor which strained Indo-US relations was India's military action for the liberation of Goa. American expression of disapproval of India's military action in Goa was not liked by Indians.

(5) US Support to Pakistan on Kashmir Issue

In the UN Security Council USA, France and Britain had on several occasions supported Pakistan's stand on Kashmir. Thus the United States took partisan approach on the Kashmir issue and the relations between the two countries came under heavy strain.

(6) American Military Aid to Pakistan

In 1954 the US Government announced its decision to enter into a military pact with Pakistan. This announcement was received with grave concern and anxiety by Indian government. In his report to the New York Times the leading news paper in America, Robert Trumbell wrote from New Delhi. "Nothing in the realm of foreign affairs has so influenced India since she became free. There is no doubt that if the Karachi arms deal comes through the United States will have forfeited its position in India whatever that may be and whatever that may be worth".

The United States tried to remove the fears of India by giving an assurance that American arms supplied to Pakistan would not be used against India and if Pakistan ventured to do so the United States would rush to assist India.

This assurance was given in a personal letter addressed by US President Eisenhower to Prime Minister Nehru. The following extract of this letter reveals the motives of the US government. "Our two governments have agreed that our desires for peace are in accord. It has been understood that if our interpretation of existing circumstances and our belief in how to achieve our goals differ it is the right and duty of sovereign nations to make their own decisions. Having studied long and carefully the problems of opposing possible aggression in the Middle East, I believe that consultation between Pakistan and Turkey about security problems will serve the interests not only of Pakistan and Turkey but also of the whole free world. Improvement in Pakistan's defensive capability will also serve these interests and it is for this reason that our aid will be given. This government's views on this subject are elaborated in a public statement I will release, a copy of which Ambassadar Allen will give you. What we are proposing to do and what Pakistan is agreeing to is not directed in any way against India. And I am confirming publicly that if our aid to any country including Pakistan is misused or directed against another in aggression I will undertake immediately in accordance with my constitutional authority appropriate action both within and without the United Nations, to thwart such aggression".

Prime Minister Nehru did not appreciate the sentiments of this letter and he did not hesitate to denounce US arms aid to Pakistan in Indian parliament. Indian public opinion was also critical of US arms deal with Pakistan. India's apprehensions regarding the possible use of American weapons against her were however vindicated in war with Pakistan, in 1965.

(7) Denunciation of the SEATO

The United States was making frantic efforts to organise defensive alliances such as NATO, SEATO and CENTO; in order to stem the tide of communist expansion. India voiced her grave concern and anxiety regarding the conclusion of the South East Asiatic Treaty Organisation. (SEATO). Nehru criticised this in emphatic terms and charged the US government with imperialistic designs.

(8) Indo-Chinese Treaty (1954) and Ties of Friendship with the Soviet Union

There was a lot of resentment in the United States, when India signed a treaty with the Chinese government regarding Tibet in 1954. The uneasiness in the American political circles was further heightened when Chinese premier Chou En Lai was given an enthusiastic reception in New Delhi in June, 1954.

In 1955 Jawaharlal Nehru was given red carpet treatment during his state visit to the Soviet Union. Bulgamin and communist party Chief Khrushchev paid a return visit and supported the stand of Indian government on Kashmir and Goa. These visits aroused the susceptibilities of the United States regarding India's political aims.

(9) Soviet Military Intervention in Hungary (1956) and India's Reaction

When the Soviet Union invaded Hungary in 1956, India refrained from criticising the Soviet aggression and voted against the UN resolution condemning the Soviet Union. This posture of India was in variance with Indian condemnation of the United Kingdom, France and Israel when they attacked Egypt because the Suez Canel was nationalised by Colonel Nasser of Egypt. This created the impression in the United States that Nehru was unprincipled and he was leaning towards the Soviet Union.

(10) The United States Critical of India's Policy of Non-Alignment

The United States was not satisfied with the pursuit of independent foreign policy by India which was committed to non-alignment. Relentless pressures were exerted on Jawaharlal Nehru to abandon the policy of non-alignment and join the Western Bloc. Reacting to India's foreign policy, the US Secretary of State John Foster Dulles remarked "Neutrality is immoral".

In other words, those countries which were in alliance with the USA were true friends and supporters of the USA and the entire free world while those countries which pursued an independent foreign policy were unreliable.

(11) American Economic Aid to India and Nehru's State Visit to USA (1956)

Basically the United States is not hostile to India as both the countires share the common ideals of democracy, and freedom and dignity of individual. The United States has a global strategy to protect the free world against communist expansion and subversion. In the freeworld India is the largest democracy. So stability in India

was in the interests of the United States; which had given massive economic aid to our country. As early as 1951 the USA gave India a loan of 190 million dollars for the purchase of two million tons of US food grains. Under the Indo-USA Technical Co-operation Programme India received a lot of money. Many of the community development projects in India had been financed by the American government. In December, 1956, Nehru paid a second state visit to the USA. He was accorded the most enthusiastic reception. This visit cemented the ties of friendship between the two countries despite certain differences in their perceptions of foreign affairs. Millions of dollars were given to India to finance the development work undertaken by the government under the Second Five Year Plan.

Another American loan of 350 million dollars was offered to India so as to enable her to purchase wheat under P.L. 480 agreement. It was due to the help of the United States that India could tide over the difficulties created by droughts.

(12) Indo-American Friendly Ties during the Days of US President John F. Kennedy

In 1960 President John F. Kennedy of Democratic party came to power. Chester Bowles became under Secretary of State, and Prof. J.K.Galbraith the American ambassador in India. The policy of non-alignment was better understood by President Kennedy. The bonds of friendship between the two countries were further strengthened by Nehru's third state visit to the United States in November, 1961. In July 1962, International Aid Consortium under the influence of President Kennedy sanctioned 1.07 billion dollars as aid to India. Nehru reciprocated Kennedy's gesture by expression of friendship and cordiality with the United States.

(a) *Chinese Attack on India and American offer of Military Aid:* Indo-American relations suddenly changed when on 20th October 1962, the Chinese troops invaded India. In a short time the Chinese soldiers made advances in Ladakh and NEFA. Prime Minister Nehru was shocked and disillusioned. He appealed to the United States and other Western countries for military help to meet the emergency. On 21st October 1962, the State Department of America gave out the first official reaction and stated that the United States was shocked at the violent and aggressive action of the Chinese Communists against India.

Nehru's letter containing request for military assistance was received by President Kennedy on 29th October 1962. The same day, the American ambassador in India informed Nehru that the United States would air-lift infantry weapons to India as quickly as pos-

sible. President Kennedy supported the Indian stand on Mac Mahon line which is the border line between India and China. Unfortunately President Kennedy, a staunch supporter of Indo-American friendship was assassinated and he was succeeded by President Johnson. In April 1964, Prime Minster Nehru sent his daughter Indira Gandhi to Washington as his personal envoy to President Johnson. In a personal letter addressed to the American President, Nehru pointed out how the Sino-Pak collusion was going to hurt India. However, the United States continued economic aid to India. On 6th June, 1964 the Aid-India Consortium pledged more than a billion dollars as aid to India. Thus despite strains and stresses Indo-American friendly ties continued during the days of Jawaharlal Nehru.

(13) Indira Gandhi's state visit to USA :

(a) The US President, Johnson was eager to meet Mrs. Gandhi dhi to judge for himself whether she was favourably inclined to the free world. He was genuinely anxious to make amends for the hurt he had caused to India by cancelling Shastri's visit to the USA at the last minute in December 1964. However, the meeting between Mrs. Indira Gandhi and the US President Johnson was a great success.

Once she reaffirmed India's willingness to devalue the rupee, she found all doors in Washington open. Johnson made an unusual gesture by staying back for dinner at the Indian Embassy in Washington after the talks with Mrs. Gandhi. While in Washington, Mrs. Gandhi followed up her government's request for 20 million tonnes of food. America had been approached for urgent help after food riots had broken out in Kerala and West Bengal. Johnson, whose doubts about Mrs. Gandhi's political leanings were set at rest, sent a message to the US Congress to allocate 3.5 million tonnes of food to India and also called upon other countries to match America's contribution. In addition to giving foodgrains, Johnson suggested an urgent meeting of the Aid-India Club to look into New Delhi's long-term needs and announced America's initial contribution of 900 million pounds in non-project aid. He also requested the World Bank to reschedule the loans that India found hard to repay in time. American businessmen too expressed their willingness to invest in India in a big way and start all types of ventures. Raw materials and spares that the Indian industry required were also released.

It was an embarrassment of riches. Even the rightist parties wondered whether Western aid was guided only by philanthropy or it had some political strings. Leftists thought that India would have to give up her socialist policies if she were to tie herself so closely to

America. Mrs. Gandhi explained that socialism did not become any less acceptable if it was attained through foreign aid. The common man would suffer if foreign aid was stopped.

(b) *Indira Gandhi's State Visit to Soviet Union (July, 1966) :* Before paying a State visit to the Soviet Union, Indira Gandhi participated in a tripartite summit (India, Yugoslavia and the UAR) held in New Delhi in July 1966 to demonstrate her faith in the validity and viability of non-alignment. In July 1966, Mrs. Gandhi went to Moscow. Soviet leaders were discreet. Not once did they mention Kashmir, devaluation of rupee or Washington's pressure on her. Indian journalists noted that the Soviet Prime Minister Kosygin exuded confidence following Mrs. Gandhi's reported assurance that India would not abandon the path of non-alignment and the Indo-Soviet communique condemned the aggressive actions of imperialists and other reactionary forces in Vietnam. The US State Department reacted promptly and conveyed to New Delhi America's distress and disappointment. President Johnson imposed a food freeze.

(14) First Underground Nuclear Explosion by India

Whether Nehru would have gone to the extent of detonating a nuclear device is difficult to say. He was against all nuclear tests overground or underground, but he was for a nuclear development programme. But Shastri had toyed with the idea of making a nuclear bomb when China exploded its first one in October 1964. But according to the Atomic Energy Commission Chairman, Homi Sethna, there was nothing on the files to show that Shastri had such an intention.

But Indira Gandhi opted for underground nuclear explosion for peaceful purposes and this explosion was not in violation of the Moscow Test Ban Treaty (1963) to which India was a signatory. The above treaty was signed by many countries, including nuclear nations, except China and France. The nuclear test in the atmosphere had been banned according to this treaty.

Nevertheless, India's underground nuclear test at Pokran in Rajasthan on 18th May 1974, came as a big surprise. It was a well kept secret. Military officers who proposed the site in Rajasthan used the pretext of military manoeuvres to clear the people from that area. So strict were the security steps that except for Mrs. Gandhi and the Defence Minister Jagjivan Ram, none in the Council of Ministers knew about the test until it had been carried out.

The cabinet was summoned at noon, hours after the explosion. The Prime Minister announced that India had succeeded in conduct-

ing an underground explosion at Pokran in Rajasthan. The Ministers were jubilant when they heard the announcement.

(a) *Reaction to India's Nuclear Explosion :* When Kewal Singh called the envoys of nuclear nations to the External Affairs Ministry, he found that they were not happy to hear the news that India had joined the nuclear club. Pakistan's main objection was that India might pass on the technical know-how or material to other nations to encourage nuclear proliferation.

Once Washington was assured that New Delhi would take care to guard the secret more than the other members of the nuclear club, USA's protests lessened but the USA wanted that India should sign the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty.

(b) *India's Opposition to the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty*: In her nuclear policy, Mrs. Gandhi did not allow herself to be unduly influenced by Nehru's idealistic notions which would have foreclosed her options. With the international power pattern altered from bipolarity to multi-polarity, the effectiveness of nuclear umbrella became dubious. Though India was still opposed to the manufacture, testing and stockpiling of nuclear weapons, she was no longer committed to non-nuclear existence. Her opposition to the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty was based as much on practical considerations as on principles of equity and equality among nuclear and non-nuclear weapon countries. It was apparent that India under Mrs. Gandhi did not want to foreclose her options to go nuclear when the circumstances governing her security demanded such a step. Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty sought to impose an obligation on India not to go nuclear under any circumstances. India opposed such a discriminating treaty and kept her options open to go nuclear or not according to the circumstances.

However, the country was overjoyed by the display of its nuclear capability. Even the Opposition parties hailed the successful nuclear test. So widespread was the feeling of pride in this achievement that some of Mrs. Gandhi's partymen felt that she should have delayed the explosion till the eve of elections.

The government of the United States has been pressurising India to sign the Nuclear Non-proliferation treaty but India does not seem to be amenable to the pressure and she has kept nuclear option open. At present India is committed not to manufacture nuclear weapons in the overriding interest of world peace.

(15) Advance of US Seventh Fleet into Bay of Bengal during Bangladesh War (1971)

Note : Please see point B of this Chapter.

(16) India's Opposition to American Base in Deogogarcia

Note : Please see Chapter 18 D Point VII.

(17) India's Opposition to US Support to the Policy of Apartheid Pursued by the Union of South Africa

Note : Please see Chapter 18 E

(18) India's Opposition to Supply of American F 16 War Planes to Pakistan

The Soviet military presence in Afghanistan was a territorial danger to Iran in the West and Pakistan in the East. After having lost Iran as a friend and ally, the United States would certainly like Pakistan to be an ally in the region against the Soviet Union. That explains the reason why the United States has given massive military aid to Pakistan. Squadrons of most sophisticated F 16 Fighter Bombers have been inducted in Pakistan. The sale of the Airborne Warning and Control System (AWACS) to Pakistan had been under active consideration by the US administration under president Ronald Reagan. The induction of these two types of war planes would cause ominous shift of the balance of power in the region in favour of Pakistan. Consequently India's security would be jeopardized. India has lodged strong protest with US government against supply of F 16 war planes to Pakistan and reminded the American authorities that in the past Pakistan had used American arms against India. The induction of sophisticated military technology in pakistan would reverse the process of normalisation of relations between India and Pakistan and would increase undue pressure on India's economy because huge funds would be diverted to defence equipment at the cost of development projects. One unfortunate development is the nuclear armament programme of Pakistan which is on the verge of manufacturing an atomic weapon. The American government headed by President Ronald Reagan waived the restrictions attached to US aid to Pakistan a potentially nuclear Power. According to the declared American policy the US military aid is not to be given to any foreign country which is engaged in nuclear armament programme. Despite the fact that Pakistan is engaged in her efforts to manufacture atom bombs as is evident from various indications, US President Ronald Reagan deliberately waived these restrictions in order to bolster up Pakistan's defence so that the latter might be used as fitting counterpoise to Afghanistan which was under military occupation by the Soviet Union. Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi has expressed India's serious concern, at Pakistan's nuclear armament programme and requested the US authorities to exercise their influence over Pakistan's government in order to

restrain her from embarking on such a dangerous course. India has made clear to the US government that India would be constrained to revise her present nuclear policy in the event of the manufacture of Pakistan's atom bomb. It is a sad commentary on the political sagacity of US authorities that they paid no heed to India's concern to the military situation in the region.

(19) General Appraisal of Indo-US Relations

Basically the policies of the United States are not directed against India but they are designed to contain the international communism. What the United States wants is the support of India for American global strategy for containment of communist expansion. India's geographical position and her national interests do not permit any role which may fit well in American designs to arrest the onward trend of communist expansion. The authorities of the USA believe that India has been neutral only in favour of communist bloc. The Americans maintain that India's voting pattern in the United Nations vindicates their assessment that on most of the international issues India has voted against West sponsored resolutions in the UNO and that her so-called non-alignment has been in favour of Communist bloc. In the world body India emphatically denounced the aggression of Britain, France and Israel on Egypt in 1956 following the nationalisation of Suez canal. But when Soviet Union invaded Hungary, India's reaction was mild. The Western statesmen noted with surprise the Indian support to Chinese admission to the United Nations at the time when the Himalayan peaks were stained red with Indian blood following Chinese aggression. India refused to support American sponsored resolution in UNO branding Communist China as aggressor in Korean War. On the other hand in Arab-Israel conflict India has supported Arab cause and denounced Israel's occupation of Arab territories. So there is a wide gulf between Indian perceptions and the US perceptions with regard to international issues. India does not fall in line with America's national interests and international strategy.

Besides this, there is another cause of American disenchantment with India's foreign policy. The ruling circles of the United States are sceptical about India's designs in view of Indo-Soviet Treaty of Friendship (1971) under which both the countries are to consult each other in case of armed attack on either of them. The USA believes that India is pro-Soviet in view of this treaty though India has not jettisoned her policy of non-alignment by entering into this treaty under which military assistance is not automatic in case of attack on any partner. India's leanings towards the Soviet Union

and her multi-dimensional collaboration with that country have tilted the balance of power in Asia in favour of the Communist bloc. It is in this context that the United States has been giving massive economic and military aid to Pakistan. In 1987 the USA proposed to extend military cum economic aid worth over 4 billion dollars to Pakistan. In order to provide this aid the US Congress began hearings on the administration's proposals to waive the Symington's amendment which prohibits US aid to a country engaged in nuclear weapon programme. In March 1987 President Zia-Ul-Haq of Pakistan told the representative of the Time Magazine "you can write today that Pakistan can build the bomb whenever it wishes. Once you have acquired the technology which Pakistan has, you can do whatever you like". Later on however Pakistan's President denied this statement and declared that Pakistan has no atom bomb and does not intend to manufacture it. Dr. A. Q. Khan the renowned Pakistani scientist had made it clear that Pakistan's nuclear programme was in advanced stage. Though Pakistan has not exploded a nuclear device, yet there are credible indications that she can assemble the atom bomb not in distant future. The United States seems to have acquiesced in Pakistan's nuclear armament programme against her declared policy and extended massive aid to the latter and this has vitiated the security environment in the subcontinent. India has potentiality for being a Super Power and her rapid strides in science and technology have caused jealousy in other countries. As long as India is close to Soviet Union, the USA will not like to see the meteoric rise of India.

Despite all these differences between India and the USA both the countries are friendly to each other. Both the nations share the common ideals of democracy, freedom and dignity of individual. India is the largest democracy in the world. The survival of democratic institutions in India is deemed to be essential for the interests of the Free World. It is heartening to note there has been cooperation between India and USA in the implementation of the Five Year Plans of India. At the time of drought during the days of Indira Gandhi the USA had given massive economic aid to India. The USA has extended economic aid for many projects and recently the transfer of sophisticated technology of super computer to India is under active consideration of US administration. Apart from this, there has been exchange of cultural delegations between the two countries. The Festival of India (1986) arranged in the USA registered a deep impact on the mind of Americans who are now in a better position to understand and appreciate India's cultural heritage and her scientific advancement. The exhibits displayed in the Festival of

India revealed the changing complexion of Indian society in modern times. When in 1985 Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi paid a state visit to United States, President Ronald Reagan appreciated Indo-US friendly relations and Americans gave great ovation to the Indian Prime Minister. It is hoped that there will be better understanding and fruitful cooperation between the USA and India.

(20) Indo-Soviet Relations

Note - Please see Chapter 19 E.

(H) India's Relations With Britain

During Nehru's days, India had very cordial relations with Great Britain.

Though Great Britain ceased to be a ruling power in India, yet we inherited many legacies of the British rule such as the English language, the British administrative system, and the parliamentary system of government. Our constitution is based mostly on the Act of 1935 and we have adopted the English model, i.e., the parliamentary system. The exemplary manner in which the British government granted independence to India won over the hearts of the people of India, and a lot of goodwill was created in favour of Great Britain.

Although India became a Republic in January 1950, she continued to sustain links with the Commonwealth of Nations.

Before the transfer of power, Indian politicians and economists had condemned the link between the rupee and sterling as harmful to Indian interests. In September 1949, Sir Stafford Cripps announced the devaluation of the pound and within a few hours, to the surprise of the world, the Indian Cabinet decided on a corresponding devaluation of the rupee so that close connection between the economy of Britain and India might be established.

When France, Britain and Israel took millitary action against Egypt on the issue of nationalisation of the Suez Canal by Egypt, Nehru condemned this aggression in emphatic terms. Britain was not happy with India's sharp reaction. Yet another factor which strained the relations between the two countries was the policy of non-alignment. Britain was one of the major powers of NATO and like her ally, the USA, Britain wanted to draw India closer to the Western bloc. But India could not be weaned away from the path of non-alignment.

In the case of Kashmir issue, Britain like the USA, took a partisan approach and supported Pakistan's stand on Kashmir in the UNO; and South Africa on the issue of policy of apartheid.

Despite these differences, India had established closer relations with Great Britain and these was fruitful cooperation between the two countries in economic, educational, social and cultural fields.

The cordial relationship between the two countries was well symbolised by the tumultuous welcome given to Her Majesty the Queen Elizabeth II when she paid a state visit to India. Her Majesty's presence on 26th January 1961, side by side with the President of India at the Republic Day celebrations well illustrated the breadth and flexibility of the Commonwealth.

After the attainment of Independence, India harboured no resentment against Britain. "The end of British political control in India will not mean a departure of the British as individuals from India. The Indian system of administration and of law, education, medicine, police and other professional services is very largely based on British practice and it is appropriate and convenient that the government should continue to engage Britishers under contract to fill positions for which suitably trained Indians are not yet available." The above observation has rightly been made by R. G. Casey. Even today relations between the two countries are cordial, despite the stresses and strains in the past.

(I) India and the UNO

It is desirable to analyse India's relationship with the United Nations during the days of Nehru. The multiplicity of India's contribution to the world body during the days of Nehru has been widely recognized.

(1) India's Abiding Faith in the UN Charter

The founding fathers of the UNO strove to create a world order which would not only prevent war but also endeavour to usher in those positive conditions which would remove the wider causes of conflict and tension in the world arena. India's faith in these principles and purposes was and remains nearly complete.

Jawaharlal Nehru affirmed it several times in unmistakable terms. In his first address to the UN General Assembly in 1948, Nehru declared : "I should like to state on behalf of my people and my government that we adhere completely and absolutely to the principles and purposes of the United Nations Charter and that we shall try to the best of our ability to work for the realisation of those principles and purposes". India's subsequent behaviour showed that in practical terms, the words of her Prime Minister were not meaningless.

(2) India's Contribution to the UNO in Political and Security Matters

India's contribution to this world body can be studied under two broad heads : (a) political and security matters; and (b) economic and social matters.

The very first clause of the first article of the UN Charter lays down that one of the main purposes of the new world body is to maintain peace and international security. During the post-World War II period, the world has witnessed a variety of incompatible situations. Some of them resulted in armed conflicts compelling concerned parties to seek the help of the UN. The UN response to each such case had been shaped by many factors, the main factor being the temper and tenor of international politics dominated by relationship of the two super-powers. Leaving aside minor operations, the UN made various major efforts at peace keeping.

(a) A UN Emergency Force was created in 1956 and it functioned for about ten and a half years to deal with the problems arising out of the Egypt-Israel border conflict.

(b) During 1960-64, the UN Congo military operation was organised to bring about the unification of Congo and ward off foreign military intervention.

Ultimately, Katanga which had tried to secede from Congo was incorporated into Congo by the UN military operations there.

(c) In 1962-63, the UN Security Force was created for West Irian to bring about an amicable settlement between Netherlands and Indonesia.

(d) During 1963-64, the UN Yemen Observation Group was set up in a situation which though formerly described as internal matter of Yemen had definite sign of external involvement.

(e) In 1964, a UN Force in Cyprus was established to resolve the crisis arising out of the conflicts between Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots. The main objective of this force was to bring about the reconciliation between these two communities of Cyprus and avoid Greek or Turkish military intervention in Cyprus. The UN succeeded in this mission and the explosive situation was handled adriotly.

Thus, these armed conflicts had been localised by decisive UN military action. India's role in these operations was fairly impressive. Both in establishing UN forces and groups and in their operation, her statesmen, displomats and military officers played a role which was second to none. The UN Secretary General used Indians

as his special representatives and military advisers in most of these operations. But unfortunately, India became involved in a dispute with Pakistan over Kashmir. Pinning her faith in the fair-mindedness of the world body, India took the initiative in raising the dispute in the UNO in the hope that she would receive justice. Nehru was actuated by soaring idealism in placing the Kashmir issue before the Security Council, ignoring the realistic and worthy counsel of Sardar Patel who favoured prompt and decisive military action on the part of India following the declaration of accession of Kashmir to India by its Maharaja. To her sorrow, India discovered that the dispute got involved in a cold war between the two blocs of international politics. The USA, Britain and France took a partisan approach on this issue which remained deadlocked in the UNO.

(3) India's Role in the Economic and Social Activities of the UNO

The other set of principal purposes of the UN is to achieve international cooperation in solving international problems of an economic, social, cultural and humanitarian character. India's interest in these non-political activities of the UN has been active and positive.

(a) India and ILO : India benefited a good deal by the activities of this organisation. The Government of India took into account the ILO standards before undertaking any labour legislation. ILO experts were working in India in fields such as productivity, management development, employment, information and counselling, under-employment, social security, vocational guidance, vocational training, training for the blind, teaching techniques, workers' education, apprenticeship, industrial relations, industrial hygiene, mines safety, occupational classfication, consumer co-operatives, and industrial engineering.

(b) India and FAO : FAO's contribution to India can be understood in terms of what it has been doing by way of technical assistance in fisheries, forestry, nutrition, animal husbandry, poultry, irrigation, soil and water management, horticulture, dairying, seed production, etc. During Nehru's days the FAO launched various large-scale projects in the above fields in India. In addition to this, it has organised various seminars in India.

(c) India and UNICEF : Since 1949 the UNICEF has contributed millions of rupees to India under different schemes. This specialised agency of the UNO has strengthened the health services such as maternal and child health and family planning. It has rendered service in providing good drinking water to the rural areas.

Various public sector dairy plants have been equipped with the help of UNICEF. Finally, the UNICEF has helped improve science education and supported projects aimed at promoting an integral approach to the basic needs of children and youth.

(d) India and UNESCO: Likewise, UNESCO's work in improving India's technological research and training has been considerable. Many institutions such as Chandigarh's Central Scientific Instruments Organisation, the Power Engineering Research Organisation at Bhopal and Bangalore, Ranchi's National Institute of Foundry and Forge Technology and Dehradun's Indian Institute of Petroleum have been benefiting from its assistance. In fields like exact sciences, school education, adult literacy, agricultural education and research and television training, UNESCO's contribution has been helpful to our development.

(e) India and WHO : In promoting the improvement of health services in India, the WHO has contributed a good deal as a result of which death rate and infant mortality have gone down. The life expectancy has increased. WHO efforts to eradicate diseases like plague, malaria, small pox and communicable diseases merit special mention.

(f) India and the World Bank : Lastly, the World Bank has assisted India in many projects dealing with transportation, electric power, telecommunications, agriculture and others. Our country is the largest single recipient of aid from the Bank.

In conclusion, let us say that the United Nations needs the active support of the member states in order to achieve the objectives embodied in the Charter.

(J) India And Commonwealth of Nations

According to the Independence of India Act, 1947, India had the option of remaining out of the Commonwealth or remaining in it. Nehru discreetly opted to establish link with the Commonwealth. During the year 1963-64, Derek Ingram while interviewing Nehru referred to him as "the father of Modern Commonwealth". The Prime Minister smiled and looked obviously pleased. The compliment was indeed well-deserved because if Nehru had opted to leave the Commonwealth in 1949, it would have ceased to be the organisation as it is today. The Commonwealth can boast today that although it has no structure of constitution, and no legal sanction to its decisions, it still continues to exist. Lord Clement Attlee, the then British Prime Minister, helped to reshape the basis of modern Commonwealth to accommodate the Republic of India. Explaining the new meaning of the Commonwealth, Prime Minister Attlee said : "It

exists in the minds of men. The Commonwealth meeting is a talk round the table between friends. Foreigners find it difficult to understand how such loose methods can be effective but the answer is that they are".

The two other factors which bind the peoples of the Commonwealth are the game of cricket and the English language. To the three white autonomous states of Canada, Australia and New Zealand which enjoyed dominion status within what was then known as the British Commonwealth of Nations, free India was the first non-white state to be added. When Nehru attended the first Commonwealth Prime Ministers' meeting in London in 1948, he was favourably impressed. That visit was indeed crucial for India deciding to remain in the Commonwealth, for she could have left it in 1949 when the constitution which declared India a Republic was completed. But Nehru had already made up his mind to remain in the Commonwealth and the Congress Party at its Jaipur session in December, 1949, endorsing Nehru's views welcomed India's association with independent nations of the Commonwealth for the promotion of world peace.

During the present stalemate between India and Sri Lanka (both members of the Commonwealth) on the question of citizenship of the stateless persons of Indian origin in Sri Lanka and the severe attack on the Indian Tamils in July 1983, no tangible support had come from the member states of Commonwealth on Indian stand. On the issue of economic sanctions on South Africa England and India do not hold identical views.

However, India sees some advantage in the field of diplomacy from her membership of the Commonwealth. On the other hand, link with the Commonwealth is consistent with India's policy of friendship with all nations.

During the prolonged negotiations over Korea, Indo-China and Formosa, her membership of the Commonwealth provided an easy access to Washington through London and also to Britain herself which otherwise would have been difficult.

In 1962, when China invaded India, some Commonwealth countries were the first to come to her aid. However, Nehru and his successors, specially Indira Gandhi, have valued the extra inches the Commonwealth platform added to their stature and to India's non-aligned diplomacy. Britain herself highly values India's membership of Commonwealth because India is the most populous Commonwealth country and is the largest democracy in the world. India also gives the Commonwealth a multiracial character.

Economically speaking, India benefits from her membership of the Sterling Area. The demands which her fast economic growth makes on her balance of payments leave India often in acute need of foreign exchange which she can draw from the Sterling Area's dollars as well as gold reserves. In the circumstances, it is worth while for India to sustain her link with the Commonwealth.

21

FOREIGN POLICY OF PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA

OUTLINE:

(A) Objectives of Communist China's Foreign Policy.

(B) Sino-Soviet Relations.

(C) Relations of People's Republic of China with India.

(D) China's Relations with the United States.

(E) Relations between Communist China and Pakistan.

(F) Communist China and Asian Countries (Korea, Indo-China, Burma, Japan, Indonesia, Formosa, Thailand, and Tibet).

(A) Objectives of Communist China's Foreign Policy

After the proclamation of new regime on October 1, 1949, the People's Republic of China asked other countries to establish diplomatic relations with her. The Soviet Union, the East European countries, India, Burma, Ceylon, Pakistan, Indonesia, the UK the Scandinavian countries and several other states accorded recognition and established diplomatic relations with Communist China. In September 1949 at a session of the People's Political Consultative Conference a clear expression of the foreign policy of China was given. It was declared that the main objective of China's foreign policy was to protect her independence and territorial integrity. China would work for lasting international peace and friendly co-operation between the peoples of all countries and opposition to imperialist policy of war and aggression. China would examine the

treaties and agreements concluded between the Kuomintang and foreign governments and recognise, abrogate, revise or renegotiate them according to the changing circumstances. China would restore and develop commercial relations with foreign countries on the basis of equality and mutual benefit. The government of China would do its utmost to protect the legitimate rights of the Chinese residing in foreign countries. She would also protect the law-abiding citizens of foreign countries residing in the mainland of China. She would accord the right of asylum to foreign nationals who would seek refuge in China. The major objective of China's foreign policy is spread of communism throughout the world. In other words the purpose of Chinese foreign policy is to create revolution everywhere, to unite the proletariat of the world and ensure the victory of the proletariat over the capitalists and imperialists. A united front must be established against the imperialists and the struggle against the imperialists must be aggressive one. According to the Chinese, communism is the immutable enemy of imperialism and there can be no compromise between the two.

Chairman Mao Tse Tung of China had spoken of "lean to one side" policy. He declared, "The forty years experience of the San Yat Sen and the twenty-eight years experience of the Chinese Communist Party have convinced that in order to attain victory and consolidate it we must incline to one-side. According to these experiences the Chinese people must either incline towards the side of imperialism or towards that of socialism. There can be no exception to this rule. It is impossible to sit on the fence, there is no third road. Neutrality is merely a camouflage, a third road does not exist".

(B) Sino-Soviet Relations

Note: Please see Chapter 19 (D)

(C) Relations Of People's Republic Of China With India

Note: Please see Chapter 20 (C)

(D) China's Relations With The United States

The bitterness of Chinese Communists was germinated during the long years of their hardships in the civil war with the Kuomintang. The United States had given great military support to Chiang Kai Shek who was the head of Kuomintang government of China. In the civil war between nationalist forces under Kuomintang and communist forces under Mao Tse Tung the latter emerged victorious. Chiang Kai Shek was forced to leave the mainland of China in the hands of the communists and he settled in Formosa where he formed his government. Obviously the attitude of the United States towards Communist China could not be one of friendship. As a

matter of fact, the victory of communist forces under Mao came as a profound shock to American public opinion. The result was that throughout the year 1950 there was a continuing tendency of the American statesmen to regard the communist regime in Chinese mainland as temporary. The Americans entertained the hope that the China's mainland would be inevitably seized by the Nationalist forces of Chiang Kai Shek. It was this illusion which was responsible for the policy pursued by the USA from 1949 to 1971 towards Communist China. The United States refused to accord diplomatic recognition to the Communist regime in China. Till October, 1971 Communist China was not allowed to become a member of the United Nations due to American opposition.

(1) Chinese Participation in Korean War

On 25th June, 1950 over 60,000 North Korean communist troops spear-headed by 100 Russian built tanks invaded South Korea. The United States immediately submitted the matter to the UN Security Council which adopted a resolution declaring that North Korean action constituted a breach of peace. On 7th July, 1950 the Security Council took a decisive step authorising the creation of a unified command under the UN flag and requesting the United States to designate its commander. On 8th July the President Truman designated General Mac Arthur as the Supreme Commander-in-Chief of the UN military force. By the end of September, 1950 the North Korean troops were quickly driven back to the 38th parallel. On 20th October Pyong Yang the North Korean capital was captured by the UN forces and the US 7th division reached the Manchurian border. As the UN forces advanced towards the Yalu river which separates Korea from Manchuria, the People's Republic of China complained about violation of the Manchurian border by American aircrafts. The Chinese foreign minister conveyed through India's ambassador K. M. Pannikar a clear warning that if the UN forces continued to push towards China's frontier, she would be compelled to enter the war. In any case a new phase in the Korean war was inaugurated with a counter-attack by 200,000 Chinese communist volunteers who crossed the Yalu river on 26th November 1950 and forced the evacuation of 105,000 UN troops at Hungnam on 24th December. The Chinese pushed across the 38th parallel and drove the UN troops who were mostly Americans 70 miles into South Korea. The USA thereupon urged the UN General Assembly to brand Communist China as an aggressor. The American move was opposed by India as it was designed to escalate the war. However, the hostilities continued for three years and on 27th July, 1953 the armistice was signed. It is heartening to note that it was because of UN

military operations that the territorial integrity and independence of South Korea could be preserved.

(2) Sino-US Approach to Indo-China

When the French suffered a crippling defeat at Dienbienphu in April, 1954 and the United States intended to launch large-scale military operations to save Indo-China from Viet-Minh, there was a very real danger of conflict between America and Chinese communists. The war was however averted by the Geneva agreement. So deep was the bitterness between Peking and Washington that while the Soviet Union was in a mood to reconcile differences with the US there was little willingness of China to come to terms with the United States.

(3) Denunciation of American Military Alliances and other Anti-American Steps by China

America's conclusion of various security arrangements — SEATO, NATO, ANZUS and Baghdad Pact was denounced as aiming at dominating the whole world. Communist China severed relations with the United States. Even the newsmen of America were not permitted to stay temporarily in China. Several American citizens in prisons were not released, freezed property was not released and trade relations were severed. No contact social cultural and diplomatic was established between the two countries. American imperialists and the American ruling cliques were denounced by the Chinese. Other communist countries also joined the chorus of condemnation of Americans. In January, 1960 when the United States signed a security pact with Japan, the Peking radio accused the US of imperialist designs in Asia. On 9th September, 1962 a U2 reconnaissance aircraft of Chinese Nationalist Air Force was shot down over the Chinese mainland by Chinese Communist Air Force. China accused the United States of complicity in espionage mission of U2 aircraft of Nationalist China. She lodged a strong protest with the USA and Nationalist China and intensified anti-American campaign. The hostility of China towards the United States continued unabated and there was no possibility of relaxation of tension between the two countries.

(4) Vietnam War and Escalation of Tension between the USA and Communist China

In South-East Asia following the Geneva Agreement (1954) the United States pursued the policy of containment of communism. The United States believed that South-East Asia was a power vacuum. The threat of international communism posed a serious problem for

the free world. Though South Vietnam was not a signatory state, yet protection was extended to her under a protocol of South-East Asiatic Treaty Organisation (SEATO). In August 1964 US fleet in the Gulf of Tonkin was bombarded by North Vietnam communist forces. In retaliation to this unprovoked aggression American air force struck at strategic military targets in North Vietnam and gradually and progressively American policy of containment of communism was radically changed into one of confrontation with communists of North Vietnam. Americans suffered heavy casualities during the days of President Johnson who on November 1, 1968 announced a complete cessation of hostilities in Vietnam. This paved the way for peace talks at Paris. In this war China had given effective military support to North Vietnam. The Paris peace talks were interrupted by American military offensives against North Vietnam's military installations during the days of President Richard Nixon of the United States. China also participated in Paris Peace talks to end the war in Vietnam and as a result of deliberations of Paris Conference an agreement was concluded on 27th January 1973 ending the prolonged war in Vietnam. The USA agreed to withdraw her forces from Vietnam. Eventually South Vietnam surrendered to the revolutionary army of Vietcong on 30 April, 1975 and this paved the way for unification of North Vietnam and South Vietnam. Thus United States lost her ground in South Vietnam which was taken over by Communists of North Vietnam which was aided by China and the Soviet Union. US debacle in Vietnam war tarnished the image of America and it constituted a serious set-back to the Free World because it paved the way for preponderance of Communists in the region of South-East Asia.

(5) American Recognition of Communist China

In February 1972 US President Richard Nixon paid a state visit to Communist China. This was for the first time that the Head of US government paid a state visit to China and normalisation of relations between the two countries was thus facilitated. China was granted UN membership and she became a permanent member of Security Council in place of Nationalist China. It was a happy development that China was accorded rightful place in the world body which is now truly representative of world community. After the establishment of diplomatic relations between the USA and Communist China, there has been no exchange of polemics between them. The tension between the two countries has eased and they have established workable relations with each other. However, under the facade of normalisation of relations there is an undercurrent of mutual suspicion because both the countries have not

abandoned their basic objectives in the international affairs. The US has not abandoned the policy of containment of communism where as the Chinese have not given up their designs of expanding their influence in non-communist countries of Asia and Africa. Thus, the basic objective of US foreign policy cuts across the expansion of communism which is the objective of China. On the other hand China has not signed the nuclear test ban treaty and Nuclear Non-proliferation Treaty and naturally China a nuclear nation is a force to be reckoned with. The West derives some comfort from Sino-Soviet differences and tries to wean away Communist China from the orbit of the Soviet Union in a bid to create split in the world communist movement. The United States is playing the Chinese card carefully and tactfully and consistent with the paramount interests of the Free World.

(E) Relations Between Communist China And Pakistan

(*Note*: Please see Chapter 20, (C) point 6).

(F) Communist China And Asian Countries (Korea, Indo-China, Burma, Japan, Indonesia, Formosa, Thailand And Tibet)

In Asia the People's Republic of China worked for fellowship and leadership of other nations. Explaining the Chinese foreign policy Premier Chou En Lai said, "We Asians have common memories of oppression and suppression. I know in the distant past, China interfered in Korea, Japan and other places, but I disavow all that. We do not take pride in that tradition which is in itself a part of the folklore of imperialism. On the contrary we are anxious to be helpful and friendly". China hailed the nationalist aspirations of those Asian nations which were struggling for liberation from Western imperialism. In order to disavow any aggressive or expansionist ambitions of her own, Communist China entered into an agreement with India on 29th April, 1954 on trade, cultural exchanges, and facilities of pilgrimage and travel between Tibet and India. The preamble of this agreement contained what was known as Panch Shila or five principles of coexistence. China declared that these five principles of coexistence such as: (1) Mutual respect for each other's territorial integrity and sovereignty; (2) Mutual non-aggression; (3) Non-interference in each other's internal affairs; (4) Equality and mutual benefit; and (5) Peaceful coexistence, were the guidelines on which Chinese foreign policy was based. At the Bandung Conference in April 1955 Chinese Premier Chou En Lai identified Chinese interests with those of Asian and African countries and showed keenness to co-operate with them in all fields.

(i) China's Efforts for Leadership: But there was another aspect of Communist China's foreign policy in Asia and that appeared to be more real and substantial. That was a bid for leadership in Asia. Having emerged victorious in their struggle with Kuomintang and having entrenched themselves on the mainland, the Chinese communists proceeded on the mission of expansion of their influence in Asia.

In December, 1949 The Chinese convened in Peking a major international conference of the trade unions of Asian countries and Australia and set-up the Asian-Australian Liaison Bureau of the World Federation of Trade Unions and it degenerated into a propaganda media for communist expansion in Asia. In 1952 the Chinese convened Asian Pacific Peace Conference which was attended by about 400 delegates and observers from 37 countries. It set-up a permanent Peace Liaison Committee and passed resolutions against the rebirth of Japanese militarism, for a just and amicable solution of Korean problem, for support to Asian national movements for freedom and for the promotion of economic and cultural relations between the Asian and Pacific peoples. The two organisations viz the Liaison Bureau of the World Federation of Trade Unions (WFTU) and Peace Liaison Committee constituted a sort of Chinese Cominform for Asia. A Far-Eastern Bureau had already been established in 1920, in Shanghai for the coordination of communist activities throughout Asia. Now all these organisations provided an effective institutional basis for the implementation of programme of China's leadership in Asian region.

(ii) China and Korea: A major decision in China's international relations was to intervene in Korea in late 1950, and send her troops to the aid of North Korea. This was occasioned by the approach of the American led UN forces to the border of China and Korea in the North. For nearly three years (1950-53) China's soldiers fought in Korea to protect in Chinese thinking an Asian neighbour from the on-slaughts of American imperialism. It may be recalled that it was Communist North Korea which committed aggression against South Korea in 1950 and that military operations of UNO were being conducted under the leadership of the USA to protect South Korea the victim of aggression. China participated in the negotiations to bring about cessation of hostilities in Korea. On November 23, 1953 China signed an agreement of Economic and Cultural Cooperation with North Korea and agreed to give an aid of 300 million dollars between 1954 and 1957 for the economic reconstruction of North Korea.

(iii) China and Indo-China: In the internal struggle for power in Indo-China between Viet Minh of Ho Chi Minh and Viet Nam of Bao Dai, China supported the former and during 1953-54 gave huge aid. On 16th January 1950 the People's Republic of China recognised the Viet Minh government. The communists of Indo-China received moral and material aid including sinews of war from China. When in April 1954, the French forces were suffering serious military reverses at Dien bien phu at the hands of communist forces of Ho Chi Minh there was possibility of American military intervention in the war of Indo-China. At his juncture China gave stern warning to the United States against latter's intervention in Indo-China which would be converted into another Korea in case the US intervened militarily in that country. But the crisis was averted and saner counsels prevailed. Indo-China's problem was solved in Geneva Conference (1954) in which China was also one of the participant countries.

(iv) China and Burma: When Burma attained independence, ıce, the Chinese communists congratulated her and expressed the hope that the boundary dispute between the two countries, would be amicably settled. In 1950 Chinese Premier Chou En Lai sent a note to the government of Burma that China had no territorial ambitions in Burma, and that the maps showing the boundary line between the two countries would be redrawn at convenient time. During the civil war between the communist forces and Kuomintang troops as many as 12,000 Kuomintang troops had migrated in Northern Burma while beating a retreat due to communist pressure. These troops were operating in Southern areas of Communist China and were indulging in guerilla warfare. Werner Levi was of opinion that these troops were being provided with military supplies by Nationalist China through Thailand. The operations of these soldiers created estrangement between Communist China and Nationalist China on one hand and between Burma and Communist China on the other. However, these troops of Nationalist China left Burma through the efforts of the United States and the imminent danger of Communist Chinese reprisals in Burmese territory was averted. Towards the end of 1954, Mr. U Nu the Prime Minister of Burma paid a state visit to Peking. On the conclusion of his visit the Burmese Premier said that there was no longer any suspicion left between the two countries and that hence forward the ties of friendship between the two countries would be strengthened. Chinese Premier Chou En Lai who also visited Rangoon, conferred with Mr. U Nu and in a joint communique declared China's adherence to Panch Shila. In 1958-59 trouble arose on the issue of demarcation of boundary line between the two

countries. However, the differences were ironed out by mutual negotiations. On 28th January 1960, Burma and China concluded a treaty of friendship and non-aggression and also an agreement settling the border dispute.

(v) Relations of China with Japan: The inevitable consequence of Japan's moving into the American orbit was her estrangement with the Soviet Union and Communist China. Japan's peace treaty with the USA and her security pact with that country were viewed with great concern by the communist bloc countries. Premier Chou En Lai denounced the peace treaty between Japan and the USA in emphatic terms. He said "The American British Draft Peace Treaty with Japan completely violates international agreements, infringes upon the interests of Allied Powers which took part in war with Japan, is hostile to China and the Soviet Union, signifies a threat to the peoples of Asia, violates peace and security throughout the world and will be detrimental to the interests of the Japanese people." Besides this peace treaty, certain other factors also contributed to strained relations between Peking and Tokyo.

(1) Effect of China's Friendship Treaty with the Soviet Union and Her Involvement in Korean War

Premier Yoshida of Japan expressed the desire to have political peace and commercial intercourse with Communist China but Japan could not defy the United States. Particularly after China's friendship treaty of February 1950 with the Soviet Union which seemed to Japan to be directed against her and the USA and after Chinese particpation in the Korean war on the side of aggressor state of North Korea, no serious thought was given in Japan to establish diplomatic relations with China.

(2) Japan's Peace Treaty with Nationalist China

In 1952 Japan concluded the peace treaty with Nationalist China and this precluded the possibility of according recognition to Communist China by the government of Japan. She opened her embassy in Formosa and established trade relations with the latter. Both the countries exchanged economic and cultural delegations. Japan's relations with Formosa were misunderstood and misinterpreted by Communist China. In 1957 Japanese Premier Kishi declared "The time is not yet opportune for entry of China into the UN and for the establishment of diplomatic relations with Peking". In this respect Japan was decisively influenced by the United States.

(3) China's Sharp Reaction to Japan's Military Pact with USA (1960)

When in January, 1960 Japan entered into Military Pact with the United States, the Chinese Vice-President Li Hsien-nien denounced it as an extremely grave step aimed at encircling China and the Soviet Union. He declared "It is very clear that the formation of the alliance signifies the revival of Japanese militarism and Japan's open participation in the aggressive United States military bloc. World forces of peace must guard against the scheme of the United States and strive persistently and tirelessly to frustrate the new aggressive and expansionist activities of the United States".

(4) China's Trade Relations with Japan

Although Japan did not establish diplomatic ties with China, she began to realise the importance of the Chinese market for the revival of her dilapidated economy. Japan concurred with the United States in the imposition of embargo on the strategic export to Communist China but Japan developed trade in non-strategic items. In 1952 Japan concluded a Trade Agreement with China and this was followed by other agreements for trade expansion in October 1953 and in May 1955. However Japan's International Technical Co-operation Association and Agricultural Machinery Industry Association and other organisations entered into the fields of cooperation in science and technology with the People's Republic of China.

(vi) China and Indonesia : Indonesia was beyond direct accessibility to the Chinese Communists and therefore there was no border problem as between China and Indonesia. The Chinese pledged moral support to the communists in Indonesia. In 1959 the two countries developed friction over the status and nationality of the Chinese minorities in Indonesia. The government of Indonesia imposed severe restrictions on the Chinese who were engaged in profitable trade in the country side and this put them in a very uncomfortable position. China denounced Indonesia's stringent measures against Chinese nationals and there was a lot of heart burning in the two countries. During January and March 1960 notes were exchanged between the two governments regarding the repatriation of Overseas Chinese and gradually the relations of the two countries improved.

(vii) Relations of Communist China with Formosa : It was in 1895 that the island of Formosa (Taiwan) was given by China to Japan according to the Treaty of Shimonosheki. The island was under Japanese occupation till her defeat in 1945 in World War II. The island of Formosa was given back to China in October, 1945 and

it remained an integral part of China upto 1949. The problem arose when the government of Chiang Kai Shek was ousted from the mainland of China and he established his control over the island with Taipei as its capital.

(1) Formosa's Reaction to Chinese Communists' Participation in Korean War

The Korean war broke out on 25th June 1950. On that occasion Chiang Kai Shek offered 33000 soldiers to the United Nations Unified Military Command to fight in Korea; but the offer was not accepted. In July 1950 the Chinese attack on Formose seemed imminent. For two days Chinese shore batteries shelled Quemoy island. However, on 27th June 1950 US President Truman neutralised Formosa by posting the American Seventh Fleet in between Formosa and Chinese mainland so that neither Formosa might be attacked by Chinese communists nor Chinese Nationalists under Chiang Kai Shek could attack the Chinese communists. Explaining American policy regarding Korean war President Truman declared "It (North Korea) has defied the orders of the Security Council of the United Nations issued to preseve international peace and security. In these circumstances the occupation of Formosa by Communist Forces would be a direct threat to the security of the Pacific area and to the United States forces performing their lawful and necessary functions in that area. Accordingly I have ordered the Seventh Fleet to prevent any attack on Formosa. As a corollary of this action I am calling upon the Chinese government of Formosa to cease all air and sea operations against the mainland. The Seventh Fleet will see that this is done. The determination of the future status of Formosa must await the restoration of security in the Pacific, a peace settlement with Japan or considerations by the United Nations." This state of affairs continued upto January 1953 when President Eisenhower, cancelled the orders of President Truman and issued instructions to the effect that the Seventh Fleet would no longer be used to shield Communist China. Now Nationalist China was given option to attack Chinese mainland and the Chinese Communists were allowed to attack if they so wanted. Eisenhower elucidated the new American policy in these words. "In June 1950 the US Seventh Fleet was instructed both to prevent attack upon Formose and also ensure that Formosa should not be used as base of operations against Chinese Communist mainland. This was meant in effect that the US navy was required to serve as the defensive arms of Communist China. There is no longer any logic or sense in a condition that required the US Navy to assume defensive responsibilities on the behalf of Chinese communists. This permitted those communists

with great impunity to kill our soldiers and those of our United Nations allies in Korea. I am therefore issuing instructions that the Seventh Fleet no longer be employed to shield Communist China. Permit me to make crystal clear that this order implies no aggressive intent on our part. But we certainly have no obligation to protect the nation fighting us in Korea".

(2) China's Designs to Liberate Formosa

The avowed policy of Communist China was to liberate Formosa and incorporate it into Chinese mainland. Chinese Premier Chou En Lai declared, "Only by liberating Taiwan from the rule of the traitor Chiang Kai Shek, only by fulfilling the glorious task, will be achieved the complete unification of our great motherland, will we complete victory in great cause of liberating the Chinese people, will we further safeguard the peace and security of Asia and the whole World". He informed the government of the United States that China would work for the liberation of Formosa and would try to achieve this objective by military means. The United States thereupon pledged full support to Formosa and entered into a military alliance with the government of Chiang Kai Shek. Due to this development Chinese communists refrained from invading Formosa. Now China could not attack Formosa at risk of military confrontation with the USA.

(3) China's Membership of the UNO and Expulsion of Taiwan from the World Body

In February 1972 US President Nixon paid a state visit to Peking. In the joint communique issued towards the end of the seven day visit of the US President, it was declared that the United States acknowledged that there was but one China and Taiwan was a part of China. The United States reaffirmed her interest in a peaceful settlement of the Taiwan question by the Chinese themselves. This communique sparked off great controversy in Taiwan. It was officially declared in Taiwan that she would consider null and void any agreement involving the rights and interests of Communist China which might affect Taiwan. Lin Yutang, Taiwan's celebrity in philosophical thought said that President Nixon's trip to Peking was like that of Neville Chamberlain to Munich in 1938. He considered the move to be the first great breach in US Taiwan relations. He said "Mr. Nixon is a man of peace. So was Neville Chamberlain." Formerly Taiwan was a member of the UNO and she was the permanent member of Security Council. But after the reconciliation between the United States and Communist China, the latter was admitted into the UNO and she was given the status of permanent member of

Security Council in place of Taiwan which was expelled from the world body.

(viii) China and Thailand : Relations between China and Thailand had not been cordial for a long time because of the affluent Chinese minority which controlled the major portion of Thailand's trade and commerce. During the post-World War II period the Thai government did not make any effort to improve its relations with Communist China and it increasingly passed under Western influence. Thailand recognized the Nationalist government in Formosa and maintained strict control over the Chinese. The entry of Chinese communists, and their literature, even news papers were forbidden and China denounced Thailand as the running dog of American imperialism. Thailand has pro-Western government and is the member of the SEATO. In 1952 the communist party in Thailand was declared illegal. Thailand and the Philippines are two non-communist countries having common border with China and Vietnam.

(ix) Communist China's Relations with Tibet : In 1906 a convention was signed between China and Britain in which Chinese suzerainty over Tibet was recognized. The Chinese implemented their suzerainty in 1908 by seizing the administrative powers in Tibet. The Dalai Lama who used to exercise the administrative powers was now reduced to the position of mere ceremonial head. Taking advantage of internal dissensions of China in 1911 the Tibetans expelled the Chinese troops and the Dalai Lama declared the independence of the country. The President of the Chinese Republic Yuam Shih-Kai tried to re-establish his authority over Tibet but he failed. In April 1914, a convention was signed by China and Britain whereby Chinese suzerainty over Tibet was confirmed. Tibet was proposed to be divided into Outer Tibet containing Lhasa and Inner Tibet which is an area adjoining China. The Chinese government recognized the autonomy of Outer Tibet and promised not to interfere in its administration, not to have it represented in the China's parliament, not to send its troops or station civil servants there and to establish Chinese colony in that territory. But this convention was not ratified by China's parliament on account of disagreement on the border line between Inner and Outer Tibet.

(a) China's Effort to Re-establish Her Authority Over Tibet : In 1933 a Chinese mission arrived in Lhasa and asked Tibetan government to allow the Chinese to handle Tibet's foreign affairs and have some share in its internal administration. This proposal was rejected by Dalai Lama and even the Chinese suzerainty was not

accepted by the Tibetans. In 1939 the Chinese government again attempted to establish its authority over Tibet but it failed. During the Second World War the Nationalist forces in their drive towards the West necessitated by the Japanese army's onward march, occupied some Tibetan territory. When the war ended, Dalai Lama sent his good will mission to China. The mission asked Chaing Kai Shek for the restoration of Tibetan territory occupied by the Nationalist forces during the course of hostilities. But the demand was turned down and whatever the cordial relations between Tibet and China were established during the Second World War were spoiled.

(b) Communist China's Stranglehold Over Tibet: When in 1949 the communists came to power, they looked upon Tibet as an integral part of mainland of China. In the spring of 1950 they began to talk of liberating Tibet. In October Chinese Communist troops invaded Tibet on the pretext of liberating three million Tibetans from imperialist rule. The Tibetan troops were not in a position to face Communist China's might. In April 1951 a Tibetan delegation went to Peking and on May 23, an agreement was concluded between China and Tibet. Under this agreement China promised to respect Tibetan autonomy, preserve its political system, guarantee religious liberty, and maintain its cultural indentity. China permitted the joint authority in Tibet of Dalai Lama and the Panchen Lama but assumed the responsibility to conduct Tibet's foreign affairs. China integrated Tibet's armed forces into Chinese army and established military committees for Tibet. In October 1951, the Chinese Communist troops moved into Lhasa and began to extend their control over the entire region.

(c) Erosion of Autonomy of Tibet and its Out-right Annexation by China: In April 1954 India finally conceded Peking's suzerainty over Tibet in an agreement with China. Under this treaty China promised to grant autonomy to Tibet, not to change the existing political system in Tibet, to maintain the cultural identity of Tibetans and to respect their religious beliefs. Close on the heels of this Sino-Indian treaty the Chinese began to tighten their strangle-hold over Tibet. The Chinese communists' infiltration into Tibet began to increase and they began to interfere in every aspect of Tibetan life. There was widespread anti-Chinese feeling in Tibet and in March 1959 there occurred a large-scale rebellion in Lhasa. The Tibetan insurrection was suppressed with iron hand. Dalai Lama was stripped of all his authority and became a homeless fugitive. He fled to India and sought political asylum which was given by the government of India. On March 28, the Tibetan government was dissolved and it was replaced by a 16 member Preparatory Committee for the

Tibetan Autonomous Region, headed by Panchen Lama and containing four Chinese representatives. The ruthless suppression of Tibetan rebellion and the flight of Dalai Lama aroused deep concern all over the world. India denounced China's action as a flagrant violation of Sino-Indian agreement of 1954. On September 9, 1959 the Dalai Lama sent a cable to UN Secretary General asking for the intervention of the United Nations in view of violation of human rights and freedom of religion and Chinese atrocities in Tibet. On September 25, 1959 Ireland and Malaya jointly sponsored a resolution in the UN General Assembly calling for the restoration of civil and religious liberties of the Tibetan people. The resolution was adopted but China described it as illegal, unlawful and slanderous. The International Commission of Jurists a non-governmental organisation of some 35,000 lawyers of 53 countries with consultative status with UN Economic and Social Council issued a report at Geneva, regarding the plight of Tibetans, on June 5, 1960. This commission accused Communist China of a deliberate attempt to destroy the Tibetan people as a national, ethnical racial and religious group. It also charged China of commiting acts which constituted the crime of genocide.

Communist China persisted in her intransigent attitude and did not care to respond to appeals of the UN Secretary General or the International Commission of Jurists.

The Chinese government subsequently introduced a programme of reforms in Tibet and made the region as a province of People's Republic of China. Heavy restrictions were imposed on Indian travel and trade in Tibet. On May 28-29 1960, an All India Convention on Tibet was held in Delhi with the aim of mobilising world public opinion to enable Tibet to exercise her right of self-determination. China had lodged protest with India for granting political asylum to Dalai Lama and denounced India as being a protege of Dalai Lama whom the Chinese dubbed as the reactionary element. India declared that the grant of political asylum to Dalai was within her sovereign rights. She pointed out that Communist China did not uphold the sanctity of her treaty obligations by ousting Dalai Lama and supplanting the existing Tibetan government. India also drew the attention of Chinese government to the problem of migration of Tibetan refugees. However, China's expansionist designs were not restricted to the annexation of Tibet. She launched an unprovoked aggression against India in 1962 and grabbed large chunks of Indian territory in Ladakh and NEFA (Arunachal Pradesh) in utter disregard of Panch Shila and cannons of international law and morality.

22

SOUTH-EAST ASIA ON INTERNATIONAL SCENE

OUTLINE:

(A) Resurgent Nationalism in Indo-China.
(B) Indonesia in World affairs.
(C) Emergence of Malaysia.
(D) Burma after the Second World War.
(E) Political Vicissitudes of Cambodia.
(F) Thailand in International Relations.
(G) The Philippines and the West.
(H) Ceylon (Sri Lanka).

(A) Resurgent Nationalism In Indo-China

Indo-China was situated north of the Malaya Peninsula and east of Thailand. It was made up of Cochin-China Cambodia, Annam, Laos and Tong King. By the end of 19th century France was successful in bringing this entire region under her effective control. Cochin-China was put under direct French control, became a colony of France and was administered by a French Governor. The other four regions were made French protectorates each under a French Resident. The entire peninsula was put under a French Governor General responsible to the French Government in Paris. The policy of assimilating the native population into French culture, language and customs was pursued and voice of the people was disregarded. Their participation in the administration was advisory and ineffective. During the First World War the people of Indo-China were

inspired by US President Wilson's lofty ideal of self-determination for the dependent peoples. About a lakh of Annamese served in Europe as soldiers and labourers during the war and brought home the new ideas of liberty, equality and social justice. But unfortunately there was no unified nationalist movement in the country but the people in general began to resent the French control. France suppressed the nationalist ambitions with iron hand, but began to associate the natives with the administration of the country.

(1) Indo-China and World War II

When in 1940 France fell to Germany, the French in Indo-China could not offer adequate resistance to the advancing Japanese troops. In France Germany had installed a new government under Vichy. On 21st July 1941, Japan signed an agreement with the Vichy government of France. This agreement is known as Franco-Japanese Mutual Defence Agreement where by the Japanese troops were allowed to enter into Indo-China. The Japanese utilised the resources of the country to serve the purpose of their military operations in the war. In March 1945, Japan unseated the French administration in Indo-China. Bao Dai, the ex-Emperor of Annam who was almost a figure head before and during the Second World War united the two Kingdoms of Tongking and Annam into one empire named Vietnam and proclaimed their independence on March 11, 1945. On March 13, 1945 the King of Cambodia also declared his country independent and so did the King of Laos on April 20.

(2) Establishment of the Viet-Minh and Rise of Ho Chi Minh

The revolutionary and nationalist elements in Vietnam did not support Bao Dai because he had been supporting Japanese imperialism and they hated the Japanese as much as they hated the French. As early as 1941 they organised the Vietnam Independence League in South China under the able leadership of Ho Chi Minh, a life long revolutionary, to fight against Japanese imperialists and pro-Germany French government headed by Vichy. This League was known as the Viet-Minh. The Japanese policy of Asia for the Asiatics and anti-Japanese resistance movement which had become the core of national movement of Vietnam, made it impossible for the French imperialism to stage a come-back in Indo-China. Anti Japanese resistance movement was organised in Indo-China by Ho Chi Minh a veteran communist leader. In Indo-China, the communist movement was so securely married with the nationalist movement that his party the Viet-Minh could not be described as a communist organisation until its eventual victory.

(3) Declaration of independence by the people of Vietnam

When Japan surrendered in August 1945 the people of Vietnam received control of the country from the Japanese and in September they declared themselves independent of France and formed the Republic of Vietnam. The Viet-Minh held a national Congress and elected its leader Ho Chi Minh as the President of the new government. Realising the force of revolutionaries, Bao Dai resigned from the throne and when on September 2, 1945 Ho Chi Minh set-up provinsional government in Hanoi, Bao Dai accepted the position of Supreme Political Adviser. The new regime was named the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. It claimed authority over Cochin China, Tongking and Annam and included in its ranks the communists, catholics, socialists, democrats and independents.

(4) Reaction of France

In March 1945 General de Gaulle had framed a plan outlining the French determination to re-establish control in Indo-China. The French wanted to set-up a federal government there and make the country a unit of the Federal Union of France. The plan caused serious concern to the people of Indo-China. The Potsdam Conference ordered the reoccupation of Indo-China north of 16th Parallel by the French and Chinese troops and South of the 16th parallel by the British and French armies. Soon the country was swarmed by the French, British and Chinese troops. But as a result of Franco-Chinese treaty of February 28, 1946 the Chinese troops withdrew from Indo-China. In March 1946 France and the government of Vietnam Republic signed in Paris a treaty where by the Republic was recognised as a free state within Indo-Chinese Federation and the French Union. On January 7, 1946 an agreement was signed between the French and Cambodia. Under this agreement French control over the defence and foreign affairs of that country was re-established. On August 27, 1946 an agreement was concluded between France and Laos and the pre-war protectorate relationship was established. In June 1946 independence was granted to Cochin China within the Indo-Chinese Federation and its relationship with the Republic of Vietnam was to be determined through a plebiscite.

(5) Commencement of Hostilities Between France and Vietnam

Relations between France and the Republic of Vietnam began to grow tense over the issue of future of Cochin-China. Vietnam wanted to incorporate it into her domain where as France in view of the great economic and strategic importance of Cochin-China wanted to isolate it from Vietnam. Tension was heightened when French

troops arrived at Cochin-China and trouble started over the control of the customs at Haiphong. On November 23, 1946 the city was bombarded and thousands of the Vietnamese retaliated by attacking the French nationals in Hanoi on December 19, 1946, killing some 40 civilians, wounding 171 and kidnapping 169 people. These incidents led to the outbreak of hostilities between the French and Vietnam. Ho Chi Minh was supported by native communists as well as Chinese communists in his war against the French. His followers resorted to arson, sabotage and guerilla warfare and made it impossible for the French to restore order in the country. France resorted to political means to counter communist offensive of Democratic Republic of Ho Chi Minh. The French encouraged the pro-Bio Dai groups to set-up a new provisional central government of Annam which also included Cochin-China. On June 5, 1948 the new government was set-up and it assumed the name of Republic of Vietnam. The Democratic Republic of Ho Chi Minh in the north came to be known as Viet-Minh. Bao Dai's government received recognition from Britain and the United States and other Western nations and Indo-China became a pawn on the diplomatic chess-board of cold-war politics. On 30th December 1948, Bao Dai formally proclaimed himself to be the Chief of State at Saigon the capital of Republic of Vietnam. Similar puppet monarchies were also set up by France in Cambodia and Laos in 1950. The Democratic Republic of North Vietnam under Ho Chi Minh was accorded recognition by the Soviet Union, Communist China and Eastern European communist states. The United States accelerated military assistance to the French forces which supported Bao Dai's regime in South Vietnam. Apparently the Soviet Union and Communist China gave all possible aid to Ho Chi Minh's regime in North Vietnam. The war which broke out between a colonial power and the colonial people assumed the form of an international conflict between the free world and international communism.

(6) French Debacle in Indo-China and Geneva Agreement

The French who had no hope of victory against Ho Chi Minh continued to fight till their military position became quite untenable with the fall of the key fortress of Dien Bien Phu in 1954. On 7th May, 1954 as many as 15,000 French soldiers were captured by the communists. At this critical juncture France made fervent appeal to the United States for more reinforcements. Washington proposed to London a joint military intervention but the latter did not respond. The American Admiral Radford urged unilateral American action and suggested the use of atomic weapons, but President Eisenhower preferred to settle the dispute by peaceful means. From April 26 to

July 21, 1954 the Foreign Ministers of US, UK, the Soviet Union, France, Communist China Vietnam Laos and Cambodia met in a conference at Geneva under the chairmanship of the Foreign Minister of Thailand Prince Wan Waithayakon and concluded the following agreements:

(a) Vietnam (the largest state of Indo-China) was divided into two zones at 17th parallel — South Vietnam and North Vietnam. Communist troops in South Vietnam and the French forces in North Vietnam were to be withdrawn within a period of approximately 300 days after 21st July 1954.

(b) Prisoners of war were to be repartriated by August 20, 1954.

(c) A national election was to be held after two years under the supervision of an international commission composed of Canada, India and Poland to determine the wishes of the people for the unification of two Vietnams.

(d) Separate agreements were concluded to end the hostilities in Laos and Cambodia, and a provision for general election under the supervision of International Commission was made. These Kingdoms were Associated States with France and disliked communists. The Geneva-armistice agreement for Laos-provided for the withdrawal of all French and Viet-Minh troops. However, France was allowed to leave a military training mission of not more than 1500 officers and non-commissioned personnel, and to maintain two military posts at Xieng Khouang and Seno with not more than 3500 soldiers.

(e) The agreement for Cambodia provided for the withdrawal of foreign troops and foreign personnel within ninety days. Cambodia became a member of the UNO in the 10th Session of General Assembly. The United States gave extensive aid to save the country from going under communist influence. In May 1956 the Soviet Union recognized the sovereignty of Cambodia.

(f) The cease-fire in all these cases was to be supervised by the International Commission and by a joint Commission of equal number of delegates of both sides i.e., the French and the Communists. The two independent anti-Communist governments of Laos and Cambodia assumed neutrality in the Indo-China conflict.

(7) Vietnam since Geneva Agreement

(8) American Policy in South Vietnam

(9) US Involvement in Vietnam War

(10) End of Vietnam War

(*Note*: For detailed study of above topics please see Chapter 18 (D)point 2).

(B) Inonesia In World Affairs

Indonesia is a vast group of hundreds of islands stretching along the equator across the convergence of the ocean routes from Europe to Asia and from Asia to Australia. The notable islands of Indonesia are Sumatra, Java, Bali, Lombok, Flores, Timor, New Guinea, Borneo, Celebes and the Moluccas. The country has an area of 750,000 square miles and its population in 1961 was 97,085,000. Two thirds of the population is in Java and the adjacent island of Madura. The Dutch became the masters of Indonesia after they had successfully ousted the British by the end of 17th century. The Dutch rule in Indonesia however came to an end when with Japanese participation in the Second World War the area came under the latter's control. After the defeat of Japan in August 1945 the Dutch attempted to stage a come-back. While still under the Japanese domination a group of young Indonesians proclaimed on August 17, 1945 the Independent Republic of Indonesia with Soekarno as President and Jakarta was the Capital of the new government. Dr.Hatta and Soekarno and Sjahrir and other leaders joined hands to make their independence from Holland a reality.

(1) Re-establishment of Dutch Control

During August-September 1945 the self-styled Republic of Indonesia functioned. But the work was cut-short by the arrival of British troops which extended their control over much of Java. In 1946 the Dutch troops arrived in large numbers, relieved the British occupation forces and re-established their rule. This triggered the civil war between the Dutch troops and the Indonesian freedom fighters. However on 15th November 1946 an agreement was concluded between the Netherlands and the Indonesians whereby the former recognised the establishment of the United States of Indonesia comprising of three autonomous states: (1) The Republic of Indonesia, consisting Sumatra, Java, Madura and the Adjacent islands; (2) the Great East; and (3) The Dutch portion of Borneo.

(2) Indonesia-Dutch Conflict

Although the moderates welcomed the agreement, the extremists condemned it and resumed guerilla warfare against the Dutch; who resorted to break the internal unity in the islands. In April 1947 the West Java revolted against the Republic of Indonesia and set-up an independent state under Dutch military protection. In May 1947 West Borneo a component part of Indonesia was proclaimed a self-

governing territory within the United States of Indonesia and in August 1947 similar status was accorded to East Borneo. By the end of 1947 some other states and autonomous areas were created. In July the Dutch authorities took police action in the territory of the Republic of Indonesia to restore law and order.

(3) Dutch Indonesian Dispute before the United Nations

In July 1947 Australia and India took initiative to refer the Dutch-Indonesian dispute to the Security Council. On August 1st the Security Council issued a cease-fire order and asked the belligerents to resolve their conflict through peaceful negotiations. However, in the same month a Good Offices Committee comprised of the USA, Australia and Belgium was established by the UNO to help bring a peaceful settlement. The Committee achieved success in arranging a truce on 11th January 1948 where by the hostilities were suspended, demilitarized zones were created and certain principles for a political settlement were accepted by both the parties. But this did not solve the problem, because the Dutch tried to weaken the federation by encouraging secessionist movements in the member states of the United States of Indonesia. The Dutch also tried to create autonomous areas in the Indonesian federation. In March 1948 the Dutch installed the Provisional Federal Government of the Netherlands East Indies but the Republic of Indonesia refused to join it. On 19th December 1948 the Dutch resumed their military action to eliminate the so called terrorist activities of the people of the Republic of Indonesia. The forces of the Republic were disintegrated and their leaders Hatta and Soekarno were kidnapped. At this critical juncture the Security Council issued another ceasefire order.

(a) Reaction of the World Community to Dutch Atrocities and Independence of Indonesia: The Dutch government wanted to have an imperialist hold on the United States of Indonesia and perpetrated untold atrocities on the innocent Indonesians and thus forfeited the goodwill of the world community. The United States suspended economic aid to the Dutch in Indonesia. India held the meeting of the Asian leaders to condemn the Dutch repression and to support Indonesians in their struggle for independence. In response to the world public opinion the Netherlands announced in February 1949 to convene a round table conference to discuss the question of independence of Indonesia. For two and a half months the conference continued its discussions and deliberations at the Hague and on November 2, 1949 an agreement was signed, under which the United States of Indonesia was to become a sovereign

democratic state comprised of 16 federating states. The United States of Indonesia was to enjoy the rights of an equal partner with the Netherlands under a common sovereign. Dutch New Guinea, was not included in the United States of Indonesia. On 27th December 1949 the formal ceremony for transfer of power took place and Indonesia attained independence. The name of the capital was changed from Batavia to Jakarta. The United States welcomed the Dutch-Indonesian agreement of 2nd November, 1949 and soon extended diplomatic recognition to the sovereign democratic state of Indonesia. The Republic of Indonesia was admitted in UNO in June 1950.

(b) Federated United States of Indonesia Reluctant to Owe Allegiance to Dutch Crown : The establishment of a federated United States of Indonesia under the Dutch Crown did not bring peace to the country. The people of Indonesia wanted to snap the link with Dutch Crown in order to be completely independent. They wanted a unitary system of government in their country. On 15th August 1950 the original federation of sixteen autonomous states became a unitary state. The Republic of Indonesia now consisted of ten provinces which were under the direct control of the central government. On August 10, 1954 the Union of Indonesia and the Netherlands as equal partners under the Dutch Crown was dissolved by mutual consent. Now Indonesia had no relation with the Dutch Crown and State to State relationship was established between the two countries.

(4) End of the Dutch Rule in West New Guinea

The Republic of Indonesia advanced her claim to West New Guinea on the ground that the former was the heir to all the Dutch possessions in that part of the world. She even rejected the idea of a plebiscite to determine the future of West New Guinea. President Seokarno continued to press Indonesian claim on the island. On 15th August 1962 an agreement was reached between Indonesia and the Netherlands whereby the Dutch rule in the West New Guinea was to be ended on October 1, 1962 when the territory passed under the administration of the UN Temporary Executive Authority set-up under the agreement. This UN Authority administered the territory until May 1, 1963 when Indonesia finally took control and the Western New Guinea officially came to be known as West Irian.

(5) Indonesia's Relations with the Super Powers

The Soviet Union accused the USA and the UK of imperialist designs in Indonesia. Moscow denounced the Hague Agreement of November 1949; but the Republic of Indonesia did not like the cold

war to come to its doors. The Communist party of Indonesia was declared illegal and its leaders were imprisoned. Having failed to fish in the troubled waters of Indonesia, the USSR avoided further bitterness and established diplomatic relations with Indonesia,on September 29, 1954.

The United States attempted to reconcile the differences between the Dutch and Indonesia and in the process she antagonised both. The Dutch disliked America because the latter denounced her police action in Indonesia. The Indonesian hated America because the latter trained the Dutch marines and supplied them the guns and other weapons. The Indonesians however derived some consolation from US pressures in the UNO to restrain the Netherlands from continuing her strangehold on Indonesia. The Republic of Indonesia accepted American technical and economic aid but she refused to be drawn into America's mutual security arrangements like the SEATO. In 1956 the US Secretary of State John Foster Dulles was accorded warm welcome in Indonesia and the same year President Soekarno of Indonesia was accorded enthusiastic reception in Washington.

(6) Pursuance of the Policy of Non-alignment

The Indonesian leaders were very much influenced by India's attitude. In 1951 Indonesian President Soekarno on UN Day had declared "Our position is in the no-man's land which lies between the opposing blocs, hoping thereby to act as a buffer between the antagonists". He did not allow his country to be dragged in the cold war either by the Soviet Union or by the United States. He pursued the policy of non-alignment and established relations both with the Free World and the communist countries. If the government of Indonesia was quick to accord diplomatic recognition to the People's Republic of China, it was not slow to sign a treaty of friendship and perpetual amity with the Philippines. Indonesia did not support the United States in condemning Peking as an aggressor in Korea. She denounced in emphatic terms the colonialism of the West in Asia, Africa and the Middle East. On certain occasions Indonesian leaders criticised the policies of Soviet Union in the United Nations. The Indonesian leaders appreciated India's policy of non-alignment and anti-colonialism; but did not follow New Delhi blindly. On several issues in the UNO Indonesia took position quite opposite to that of India. For instance Indonesia differed with India in her perception of the Soviet military presence in Afghanistan.

(7) Afro-Asian Conference

It was indeed a great recognition of the neutralist policy of

Indonesian Republic that Bandung a mountainous city some 75 miles southeast of Jakarta, was chosen for the Afro-Asian Conference. Jawaharlal Nehru the Prime Minister of India, Mohammed Ali the Prime Minister of Pakistan, Sir John Kotelawala the Prime Minister of Ceylon and Ali Sastromidjojo the Prime Minister of Indonesia conferred at Bogor near Jakarta from 28th December to 29th December 1954 and agreed to call a conference of the Asian-African countries with the sole purpose of promoting good will and co-operation among the countries of Asia and Africa. From April 18th to 24th April 1954 the representatives of twenty-nine countries met at Bandung where the conference was convened under the chairmanship of Sastromidjojo. In his welcome address Indonesian President Soekarno said "I hope this conference will give evidence that Asia and Africa have been reborn. The life of man today is corroded and made bitter by fear". The achievements of Bandung Conference were best elaborated in the final communique published on the last day. It sponsored "the economic development of Asian-African area through foreign aid, a UN fund, exchange of multilateral trade and diversification of exports". The conference emphasised the need of speedy establishment of international atomic energy agency which should provide for adequate representation of the nations of Asia and Africa. The conference condemned racialism, and colonialism and expressed solidarity with the Arab people who were fighting for their rights in Palestine. The communique also contained an appeal for enlargement of membership in the UNO; and it demanded disarmament, prohibition of manufacture of nuclear weapons under effective international control and suspension of nuclear tests. The Bandung Conference created a sentiment of common approach to problems of world politics. It led to the emergence of the Afro-Asian group in the UN which began to balance the East-West conflict.

(8) Relations of Indonesia with the People's Republic of China

Indonesia's relations with Communist China were of special significance because of the presence of thousands of Chinese in Indonesia. The communist regime in China was accorded recognition by the government of Indonesia. In 1954 after the end of the Bandung Conference China and Indonesia signed an agreement seeking to regulate the status of Chinese in Indonesia. Thereafter, Indonesia consistently sought to maintain cordial relations with China. But the bonds of good will began to shatter in September, 1959 when the government of Indonesia began to impose restrictions on the trade the Chinese aliens were carrying in the country side. They controlled 70% of Indonesia's economy and indulged in hoard-

ing and profiteering. The measures of Indonesian government to curb malpractices of Chinese nationals caused great resentment in Peking. The official radio of Communist China started violent propaganda campaign against Indonesia. The authorities of Indonesia began to look upon China, as the greatest menace facing their country. On January 27, 1960 Dr. Subandrio the Foreign Minister of Indonesia in a note to Peking said that the Chinese settlers in Indonesia were trying to disrupt national economy. He refused to negotiate with Communist China on the rights and interests of Chinese settlers in Indonesia. In March, 1960 notes were exchanged between the two countries and repatriation of Chinese nationals was arranged, and this paved the way for the normalisation of relations between the two countries.

(C) Emergence Of Malaysia

Malayan Peninsula with a territory of 50,000 square miles, is in the extreme of South-East Asia. This area had been ruled by several Sultans who were usually at war with one another. The Britishers came to this area through British East India Company which became their instrument of trade and political power in India and Far East. By 1909 the British brought the entire Malayan Peninsula under their control. The Second World War shook the foundation of the British power in Malaya and the entire peninsula including Singapore came under the sway of the Japanese and on February 15, 1942 Japanese General Yamashita took control of the Peninsula from General Percival. The people of the Peninsula were loyal to the British but during 1942-45 they had to welcome the Japanese at the point of bayonet. Japan exploited Malaya's economic resources and military power to serve her imperialist designs. This exploitation stimulated Malayan nationalism and the Chinese in vast numbers assisted by Malayas and Indians organised a resistance movement against the Japanese. But the people of Malaya got rid of Japan only when the latter surrendered in 1945 and the British returned to the Malayan Peninsula.

(1) Malayan Peninsula after Second World War

On April 1, 1946 Singapore was separated from the Straits Settlements, which included some islets and islands. The Straits Settlements constituted a political unit of Malayan Peninsula. Singapore was now made a distinct Crown colony directly under British control. Another step towards the territorial reorganisation of Malayan Peninsula taken by the British after the end of the Second World War was the formation of a Malayan Union consisting of nine Malayan states (four federated and five non-federated) to-

gether with Penang and Malacca. This was resented by the people of Malaya because the socalled Malayan Union was to be under British Crown. Liberation struggle was organised by the United Malaya National Organisation (UMNO) and other organisations. The British government however changed the Malayan Union Plan and on February 1st 1948 announced the establishment of a "British protected Federation of Nine States", but this arrangement did not satisfy the nationalists of Malaya. Communist terrorists who were mostly Chinese, supported by Malayan peasants resorted to subversive activities and guerilla tactics. On October 6, 1951 Sir Henry Gurney, the British High Commissioner was murdered in cold blood near Kuala Lumpur. This heinous crime evoked sharp reaction of the British government which was greatly concerned about the subversive activities of communists in Malayan Peninsula. The British mobilised thousands of troops and made Singapore their military head quarters. Most of the communists were wiped out, their leaders fled or surrendered and their rank and file were scattered.

(2) Emergence of Independent Federation of Malaya

The British government watched the march of time and on August 31, 1957 Kuala Lumpur celebrated the independence of Federation of Malaya. The federation was to be a self-governing dominion under the British Commonwealth. On 16th November, 1957 it was announced in Kuala Lumpur that Malayan citizens would no longer be eligible for British titles. Singapore with overwhelming Chinese population and which the British feared, might fall into the hands of the communists was excluded from the Malayan federation. Singapore continued to be a British Crown Colony and was administered under a new constitution promulgated in 1954. On July 25, 1955 the Legislative Assembly of Singapore passed a resolution demanding self-government for the colony and requested the Governor Sir Robert Black to inform the British Colonial Secretary about the national aspirations of the people of Singapore. Mr. Lennox Boyd the British Colonial Secretary was then on a tour of the Far Eastern Colonies. The Governor of Singapore conferred with him and on 18th August the former informed the Legislative Assembly of Singapore that "His Majesty's Government will be glad to welcome to London at a suitable date a representative delegation from Singapore to consider the situation in the light of a year's working of the existing constitution". A conference on the constitutional future of Singapore opened in London on April 23, 1956 but it ended in a fiasco. David Marshall the Chief Minister of Singapore and the leader of Singapore's delegation was greatly

disappointed due to the breakdown of talks in London. On August 29, 1956 Governor Sir Robert Black of Singapore announced before Singapore's Legislative Assembly that London would soon open talks with Singapore so that "the legitimate aspirations of the people are attained in the very near future". Several conferences were held and at midnight on June 2-3, 1959 the self-governing Island State of Singapore came officially into existence and Lee Kuan Yew became its Prime Minister. He pursued a policy of being friendly to all, a kind of international "service with a smile". Prime Minister Lee Kuan Yew and his other cabinet colleagues visited Kuala Lumpur on June 13-14, 1959 for talks with the Prime Minister of Malaya. A joint statement said that the importance of cooperation had been stressed by both sides and that two countries would promote trade commerce and education by mutual cooperation.

(3) The "Great Malaysia" Plan

During the early summer of 1961 Malaya's Prime Minister Tengku Abdul Rahman put forward a plan for the creation of a "Greater Malaysia" comprising of the Federation of Malaya, Singapore, North Borneo, Sarawak and Brunei. The Prime Minister of Singapore welcomed the proposal. On November 23, 1961 the British government also after consultations with Malaya's Premier approved the plan in principle. The North Borneo Lesiglative Council unanimously approved on 12th September, 1962 the entry of North Borneo into the proposed federation of Malaysia. In July, 1963 the delegations of the Federation of Malaya, Singapore, North Borneo, Sarawak and Brunei conferred with the British authorities in London. Differences developed between the Federation of Malaya and Brunei because the former expressed inability to give effect to the negotiated terms governing the entry of Brunei into the Federation of Malaysia. On July 9, however a pact was signed between Britain, Malaya, Singapore, North Borneo and Sarawak and the Federation was to come into being on August 31, 1963. The delegation of Brunei did not sign the pact. Its representatives expressed the hope that Brunei would eventually enter into the Federation.

(4) Birth of Federation of Malaysia and the Reaction of Neighbouring State Indonesia

On 14th September, 1963 Malaysia officially came into existence. It was formed by linking together the Federation of Malaya, Singapore, Sarawak and North Borneo into a single member of the British Commonwealth. The formation of Malaysia evoked sharp reaction of Indonesia. President Soekarno of Indonesia who at one time was in favour of the formation of a still larger Malayan

Federation — Maphilindo to be composed of Malaya, Indonesia and the Philippines backed out the idea of the formation of Malaysia, and opposed it tooth and nail. He was of opinion that Malaysia was designed to save imperialism and that North Borneo and Sarawak because of their large Chinese population would become ripe for communist subversion and penetration. President Soekarno held the view that since Malaysia under the agreement it had signed with Britain, would be protected by latter, it would continue Britain's power in the area. It was also alleged that President Soekarno opposed Malaysia on account of his pro-communist sympathies and the pressure of the communist elements in his government. However Soekarno, by insisting that the UN should arrange a plebiscite or referendum in North Borneo and Sarawak with a view to ascertaining the wishes of the people of these territories as to whether they wanted Malaysia, succeeded in delaying the inauguration of the Federation of Malaysia scheduled to take place on 31 August, 1963. Malayasia was proclaimed on 14th September, 1963 only after UN Secretary General had an enquiry conducted in the two states and affirmed that the people of both the states were in favour of the merger. As soon as Malaysia was born, President Soekarno of Indonesia, launched a "Crush Malaysia" campaign by landing guerillas on the isolated states of Northern Borneo and Sarawak. On 17th August, 1964 a date which marked the 19th Anniversary of the declaration of Indonesian independence, Mr. Soekarno stepped up his operations further by landing a small military force at Pontian on the Malayan Peninsula itself. On 3rd September, thirty armed regular paratroopers equipped with all supplies parachuted at Labis 85 miles from the Malaysian capital Kuala Lumpur. At the same time Malay-Chinese ethnic riots flared up at Singapore which were interpreted by the Government of Malaysia as a deliberate attempt by the underground communist party to stage a come-back under Indonesian umbrella. Tengku Abdul Rahman the Prime Minister of Malaysia expressed great concern and anxiety over these developments.

(5) Malaysia's Appeal to the UNO against Indonesian Intervention

Malaysia promptly appealed to the United Nations for action against what her Premier described as "blatant and inexcusable aggression" by Indonesia. President Soekarno reacted to this by threatening "a more offensive action" against Malaysia and he categorically disavowed any design for a direct confrontation with Britain. The British though committed to protect Malaysia in case of foreign aggression refrained from doing anything which might

lead to clash with Soekarno on the plea that the clash between the two nations of South-east Asia was an "Asian affair". However, after the out-break of ethnic riots in Singapore the British airlifted a 500 man anti-aircraft regiment to that place from Germany and despatched four warships from their Mediterranean fleet to the same destination. The Soviet Union anxious to contain Britain's lingering influence in Indonesia and also to prevent Communist China from fishing into the trouble waters in South-East Asia hastened to give her moral support to Indonesia. On 17th September, 1964 she recorded her 102nd veto in the UN Security Council and thus killed the resolution which deplored Indonesia's attack on Malaysia. The pendulum of Western patronage for Malaysia was in full swing. This patronage became evident when Malaysia was elected as a member of the UN Security Council in the end of 1964. Indonesia took it as an affront and announced her intention to withdraw from the United Nations and she did withdraw her membership from the world body for a short-time. This decision to withdraw may affect the whole structure of the UNO. Other countries disagreeing with the world body may decide to follow Indonesia's example. In fact in UN charter there is no provision for the withdrawal of a member state.

(6) Efforts for Collective Security of Malaysia

Indonesia's confrontation with Malaysia created internal pressures and racial violence in Malaysia. In 1971 a five nation Conference attended by Britain, Malaysia, Australia, New Zealand and Singapore was held at Kuala Lumpur at the invitation of Tengku Abdul Rahman the former Malaysian Premier. It may be recalled in retrospect that after the confrontation between Indonesia and Malaysia, Singapore a federating unit of the latter seceded from the federation and became an independent state. The above conference decided to set-up an integrated air defence system covering both Malaysia and Singapore. Britain assured that she would maintain more than general capability in Europe to be able to come to the aid of this region in case of war. This assurance was repeated in the subsequent conferences of the above mentioned five states.

(7) Controversy between Malaysia and the Philippines over the Issue of Northern Borneo

The Philippines advanced her claim over North Borneo which is an integral part of Malaysia. Thus, North Borneo (Sabah) became the bone of contention between the two states. The Bangkok talks (August 1968) between the delegations of Malaysia and the Philippines on the Sabah issue had ended in failure. The Deputy Premier of Malaysia Tun Abdul Razak and the Philippines Foreign Secretary

Mr. Ramos agreed to consider ways and means of reconciliation on the issue of Sabah (North Borneo) after a cooling off period. In September, 1968 President Marcos of Philippines signed a bill annexing Sabah; but this did not bring any real solution to the problem. "Manila Kuala Lampur tie", said Philippines President, "will not be severed" inspite of the passing of the annexation bill. The two countries have at present no problem and Sabah is still an integral part of Malaysia.

(D) Burma After The Second World War

As a result of three Anglo-Burmese wars, Burma was annexed to British empire. Upto April 1, 1937 Burma was attached to India as a Governor's province when it was separated from India and was provided an independent administrative system. Burma's eminent nationalist Dr. Ba Maw a European educated Burmese citizen organised the Poor Man's Party (Sinyetha) and U Saw a distinguished leader founded the Patriotic Party (Myochit) to liberate the country from foreign yoke.

(1) Burma During the Second World War:

During the Second World War Japan intended to invade Burma particularly because of the Burma Road through which the United States was sending military supplies to the Nationalist Government of China. The Japanese army entered into Burma from Thailand and established its control over Rangoon in March, 1942. By the middle of 1943 the British troops were driven out and the entire country came under the sway of the Japanese. Under the aegis of Japan, Burma proclaimed her independence in August, 1943 and declared war on the Allies. Formally Japan recognised the independence of the occupied country but essentially she exploited its economy for her own war needs. The Burmese people resented the Japanese domination. Their leader Aung San set-up an Anti-Fascist People's Freedom League (AFPFL) to organise resistance movement against Japanese imperialism. When in 1945 the retreat of Japanese army began, Burma was liberated from the Japanese and in October the British re-established their control over the country.

(2) Burma After the Second World War

The AFPFL continued to agitate for the independence of the country. In May, 1945 Britain promised to assist Burma in attaining the dominion status but not before December 1948. This however did not satisfy the Burmese nationalists. The prospects of Burma's freedom became bright only when the Labour government came to power in 1946 and the negotiations were opened with the leaders of AFPFL. This organisation still under Aung San now experienced

split. The Red Communists denounced the negotiations with Britain. The White Flag Communists who were also the members of the AFPFL were expelled from the organisation due to their opposition to some of the terms accepted by the Burmese leader Aung San during the negotiations. The agreement for Burmese independence was signed in January 1947 and a Constituent Assembly met to decide Burma's future. Unfortunately Aung San the leader of AFPFL and several of his ministers were assassinated by gunmen hired by U Saw. Thakin Nu (later called U Nu) took over the reins of the government. He soon went to London and negotiated with British Prime Miniser Clement Attlee a treaty in October 1947 where by Burma would attain complete independence on January 4, 1948. According to schedule the Union of Burma came into existence.

(3) Burma in Throes of Civil War after the Attainment of Independence

The independence of the country was followed by internal disorders. There was serious split in the ranks of the AFPFL. One group supported Thakin Nu and the other group opposed him. The revolt of the Red Flag and White Flag Communists and the Karen rebellion in February 1948 posed serious problem for Burma. The communists in minority and not satisfied with their status, stirred up strikes and fomented discontent against the government. To add to the confusion the Kuomintang refugee troops from China continued hostilities on the northern frontier of the country as early as 1949. In 1953 Burma complained to the UN and the Kuomintang forces were gradually withdrawn as a result of an agreement with Chiangkai Shek, the USA and Thailand. The internal situation in Burma improved considenably by 1957. The success achieved by the government of Burma was largely due to the split in the opposition and the support of peasantry. The government's efforts to reclaim land ownership from Indian Zamindars gained wide popularity. In industry a steady nationalisation policy was pursued from 1949 to 1958 by UNu the Burmese Premier. But this policy of nationalisation brought about split in AFPFL and UNu handed over power to General Ne Win who ruled the country for considerable period of time and saved the country from destabilisation.

(4) Foreign Policy of Burma and Sino-Burmese Relations

Inspired by India, the government of Burma adopted a policy of non-alignment and peaceful cooperation in her international relations. She treated the Communist problem as her domestic issue. She was the first country outside the Communist bloc to accord recognition to the People's Republic of China. But the relations

between Communist China and Burma could not be cordial. The guerilla activities of the Nationalist China's troops who took refuge in northern region of Burma, became a source of tension between Peking and Rangoon. Communist China believed that Chinese Nationalist troops were being encouraged by Burma to make incursions into Chinese territory. The Burmese Communists in an attempt to capture power spread disaffection among the peasants by raising the slogans of "No Rents", "No Taxes". The government of Burma believed that the Burmese Communists were being assisted by Communist China. There was also the problem of demarcation of boundary line between China and Burma. In October 1956 Prime Minister UNu visited Peking to settle the border dispute by peaceful means. But China not only refused to recognise the 150 miles of Burmese frontier demarcated by the extension of Mc Mahon Line but also advanced her claim to some parts of Burmese territory. In 1960 the Burmese Premier General Ne Win who came to power in October 1958 was invited by China to negotiate a settlement of the border dispute between the two countries. Perhaps Chinese Premier Chou En Lai wanted to convince the Soviet Union that China was eager to settle all her disputes with her neighbours including Burma by peaceful means. On January 28, 1960 a treaty of Friendship, and Mutual Non-aggression was signed in Peking and the boundary dispute was settled.

(a) Burma and the United States: In April 1948 Burma became a member of the UNO but refused to be dragged in the cold war. It extended cooperation to the United States in branding North Korea as the aggressor and also supported UN military operations against her but it refused to recognise Communist China as an aggressor in the Korean War and did not support the United States in denouncing China as an aggressor in the Korean War. Burma under Premier Thankin Nu accepted the US and UN economic aid for programme of national reconstruction. But she refused to support the American policy of containment of world communism and did not join regional security arrangements such as SEATO and CENTO.

(b) Burma and India: Burma participated in Bandung Conference held in 1955 and appreciated Jawaharlal Nehru's stand in this conference. She was inspired by India to pursue the policy of non-alignment. General Ne Win participated in the Colombo Conference of Neutral Nations called for mediating in Sino-Indian border dispute on 10th December, 1962. General Ne Win who paid a state visit to India, agreed to consider favourably the issue of safeguarding the property of Indians in Burma. In October 1959 General Ne Win visited Karachi to examine the situation on the Burma-East

Pakistan border and to arrange for exchange of the goodwill missions. At present India and Burma have good neighbourly relations.

(c) Burma and the Soviet Union: As regards the Soviet Union, there was some distrust in the beginning but with the passage of time the relations between the two countries impoved. In 1951 diplomatic ties were established between the USSR and Burma. In 1955 the Soviet Leaders paid a visit to Burma and UNu the Burmese Premier also paid a state visit to the Soviet Union. UNu showed his gratitude to the Soviet Government in these words "We shall also always remember that it was the Soviet Union which in the difficult days of 1954 and 1955 when we were not able to find buyers for our rice, came to our assistance by entering into barter arrangements involving substantial quantities of our surplus rice thereby setting a precedent for some other countries".

(d) Burma's Enunciation of Non-alignment: Burma tried to keep aloof from the cold war between the two blocs. Enunciating the policy of non-alignment Burmese Premier UNu said "The principal obstacle to the world peace has been and is the cold war. We therefore, refuse to take part in the cold war. Besides, joining one side would mean making enemies of the other and in addition compromising our independent foreign policy. This refusal to take sides does not however mean that we have purely taken a negative attitude towards the cold war or that we behave like the proverbial ostrich sticking its head in the sand. We could not afford to assume such a posture even if we were tempted to do so, because the cold war was too close to us for us, to be able to ignore it".

(E) Political Vicissitudes Of Cambodia

Once the seat of the mighty Khmer empire which ruled most of Indo-China, Cambodia became a French protectorate in 1864 and during the World War II the French protectorate in Cambodia came to an end. After the end of the war the French signed an agreement with the King of Cambodia. Under this agreement the French gave a large measure of autonomy to the King. A new constitution came into force in 1947. It declared that all power emanated from the king and the General Assembly elected on the basis of adult suffrage exercised real authority in his name. Cambodia was to be an independent state within the framework of the French Union in 1949. In 1953 the King dissolved the General Assembly and assumed all powers. It was in the same year.that Cambodia declared herself independent.

(1) Geneva Conference and Cambodia

As a result of discussions and deliberations of Geneva Confer-

ence (1954) separate agreements were concluded to end hostilities in Laos and Cambodia and a provision for general election under the supervision of International Commission was made. These Kingdoms were Associated States with France. The agreement for Cambodia provided for the withdrawal of foreign troops and foreign personnel within ninety days. Cambodia became a member of the UNO in the 10th Session of General Assembly. In May, 1956 the Soviet Union recognized the sovereignty of Cambodia. The ceasefire in Cambodia was to be supervised by the International Commission and a joint commission of equal number of delegates of both sides i.e., the French and the Communists. The independent non-communist government of Cambodia assumed neutrality in the Indo-China conflict.

(2) The Foreign Policy of Cambodia

The foreign policy of Cambodia since the Geneva Conference (1954) has been one of non-alignment. Prince Norodom Sihanouk on the behalf of Cambodia participated the Colombo Conference of six neutral nations in December, 1962. This conference was convened to bring about a peaceful solution of Sino-Indian border dispute.

(a) Cambodia and the United States: In December 1968 tension developed between the United States and Cambodia following a report about a radio broad-cast from Cambodia expressing satisfaction at the death of President Kennedy. Diplomatic relations between the two countries were severed temporarily. Developments in Vietnam due to the American policy of confrontation with the communists had also adverse effect on the relations between the USA and Cambodia. In January, 1968 Prince Norodom Sihanouk requested the International Control Commission to take effective steps to stop ceasefire violations of the Cambodian border by the belligerents in Vietnam. In August of the same year the Prince warned the USA of the possibility of war if the American troops threatening to occupy a Cambodian province were not withdrawn. In order to remove misgivings of Prince Norodom Sihonouk, the USA gave categorical assurance to respect the territorial integrity of Cambodia. This assurance was given to Cambodian authorities by Mr. Chester Bowles who visited Phnom Penh the Capital of Cambodia. While Mr. Bowles was having parleys with Prince Norodom Sihanouk, the latter's Foreign Minister was in Hanoi the capital of North Vietnam talking to Dr. Ho Chi Minh who assured all help to Cambodia to resist the US aggression. Cambodia accorded recognition to the communist regime in German Democratic Republic and the communist government of North Vietnam. This created es-

trangement between the United States and Cambodia. Explaining the policy of his government Prince Norodom Sihanouk said "Circumstances compel me to wish now for the survival of a neutral Buddhist and independent Cambodia that the Communist influence (Sino-Vietnamese) and that of the free world (the USA) will after the Vietnamese war, neutralize themselves in our South-East Asia".

(b) Overthrow of Prince Norodom Sihanouk by bloodless Coupdetat: On 18th March, 1970 the neutralist government of Prince Norodom Sihanouk was overthrown in a bloodless coup and the parliament installed the Chairman Cheng Heng as Head of the State but the real power was vested in the hands of General Lon Nol who now became the Prime Minister and Defence Minister. Hence forth the Kingdom of Cambodia was renamed as Khmer Republic. A number of explanations has been given for the deposition of Prince Sihanouk. One is that he was ousted because he had violated the principle of the Sangkun the Cambodian version of socialist pattern of society and joined the communists. In this context Cheng Heng remarked thus, "The Prince was leading the country to an abyss by keeping his interests and that of his wife and his family in the forefront". It is also suggested that the family feuds, jealousies and personal rivalries between Prince Sisowath Sirik Matak and Prince Norodom Sihanouk were also responsible for the latter's expulsion.

(3) Out-break of Civil War in Cambodia

The new regime of Prime Minister Lon Nol was avowedly anti-communist and its first task was to crush the communists in Cambodia who had taken refuge in the sanctuaries. It was estimated that there were as many as 40,000 Vietcong guerillas in Cambodia. The Communists in Cambodia were receiving a considerable quantity of war material from their counterparts in North Vietnam via the port of Sihanoukville. It was very difficult for the government of Lon Nol to dislodge the well-entrenched communists from their resting places in Cambodia. Premier Lon Nol was given all possible assistance by the United States to cope with the menace posed by the Communists in his country. A sort of civil war broke out in the country and struggle for power ensued between Premier Lon Nol's government aided by the United States and Khmer Rouge the Communist insurrectionaries. During this civil war the famous temple at Ang-Kor Vat was damaged. When Prince Norodom Sihanouk was dethroned, he sought political asylum in Communist China where he formed his government in exile.

On 4th May, 1970 the Royal Government of National Union of Cambodia was established in Peking and was accorded recognition

by China on 5th May, 1970. Communist China supported the demand of Prince Sihanouk that the American troops should withdraw from Cambodia, the regime of Lon Nol must be overthrown and independent, democratic and neutral government in Cambodia be set-up. China encouraged Prince Sihanouk to extend his support to the Khmer Rouge. Prince Sihanouk declared on several occasions that he would never again manage the internal affairs of Cambodia and leave everything in the hands of the Communist organisation the Khmer Rouge.

(4) Seizure of Power by Communists in Cambodia

On 17th April, 1975 the government forces of Cambodia surrendered to the Khmer Rouge and thus the communists reached the pinnacle of political power in Cambodia. During the civil war which continued for five years the country was ruined and its economy was shattered. About one million people lost their lives and the rest of the population was rendered homeless and destitute. There was not a single family which had not lost some one and the whole nation was groaning under the weight of high prices and was suffering from a sense of shock and trauma. The result of the five years civil war not only left trails of devastation of Cambodia but also it ended the neutralist character of the Cambodian government. After Cambodia came under the sway of the communists, she came to be called Campuchia. Campuchia has recently developed trouble with Vietnam whose military presence in Campuchia was causing serious concern to the people of Campuchia. However Vietnam has agreed to withdraw her troops from Campuchia by 1990. These developments in Cambodia constituted a great affront to the United States whose stakes in Indo-China were heavy in terms of men money and material and reputation of the free world. The withdrawal of the US armed forces from Vietnam paved the way for the Communist take over of South Vietnam. The communist victory in Cambodia was yet another bitter pill for the United States to swallow. Obviously the United States paid very heavily in the war in Indo-China in terms of money, blood and reputation. The United States the richest and the strongest country in the world had to leave Indo-China in utter disgrace. Victory of the communists in Vietnam and Cambodia signified the advance of international communism. It constituted a serious affront to free world of which the United States is the leader.

(F) Thailand In International Relations

Thailand the name by which Siam now officially calls herself is a South-East Asian country with Burma on her west, Malayan Peninsula on the south, and Indo-China on her north-east. She had

served as a buffer state between the two imperialist countries Britain in Burma and Malaya, and France in Indo-China. She was able to retain her independence because neither Britain nor France would allow the other to occupy her.

(1) Thailand and Japan

Thailand developed a sense of reverence for the rising power of Japan. Of all the member states of the League of Nations Thailand was the only country which refused to accept the findings of the Lytton Commission which declared Japan an aggressor in Manchuria in 1932. In June 1940, the government of Thailand signed with Japan a treaty of peace and friendship under which the signatories pledged "mutual respect of territory and non-assistance to any third country which might attack either of the high contracting parties." In December, 1941 Thailand entered into military alliance with Germany, Italy and Japan and in January, 1942 declared war on Britain and the United States. She accorded recognition to the puppet governments established by Japan in Manila, Rangoon and Nanking. Although Japanese occupation of Thailand during the Second World War marred the enviable record of maintenance of independence by the people of Thailand, the Japanese occupation ended with her defeat in 1945 and Thai sovereignty was reestablished.

(2) Relations between Thailand and the Allied Powers after the Second World War

After the surrender of Japan in 1945 Great Britain signed an agreement with Thailand on 1st January, 1946 where by the latter surrendered to the former all the territories seized by her after December 7, 1941 and also agreed to provide tin, rubber, teak and 1500,000 tons of rice free of charge. The Franco-Thailand treaty signed in November 1946 ended the state of war between them and Thailand returned to France a disputed territory of Indo-China. On April 29, 1947 Thailand became a member of the UNO. The United States which maintained an attitude of leniency towards Thailand, became friendlier towards the country when the Premier Phibun demonstrated anti-Communist leanings. The Thai government extended diplomatic recognition to the regime of Bao Dai in South Vietnam. When the war started in Korea in 1950, Premier Phibun of Thailand sent a small expeditionary force to fight against North Korea under UN auspices. In return for these friendly gestures the US gave huge economic and military aid to Thailand so as to enable her to ward off communist penetration.

(3) Adherence of Thailand to the SEATO

The presence of thousands of Chinese in Thailand and the activities of Viet-Minh forces in Indo-China, Laos and Cambodia were a source of anxiety to the government of the United States which was determined to stem the tide of communist expansion. When on 8th September, 1954 the South-East Asia Collective Defence Treaty was signed by the USA. Britain, France, Australia, New Zealand, Pakistan and the Philippines, Thailand also become its signatory and thereby became involved in a military pact to fight world communism. In February, 1955 the Foreign Ministers of the SEATO Powers met in Bangkok under the chairmanship of Prince Wan Waithayokon of Thailand and decided to establish a secretariat in Bangkok. Premier Phibun became in the eyes of the communist world a betrayer of the Thai people. The relations between the United States and Thailand continued to be very cordial for many years. However things changed all of sudden after the victory of the Communists of North Vietnam over South Vietnam in 1975. There were anti-American demonstrations. The people lost faith in the efficacy of the SEATO. The Thai government believed that its association with any regional security arrangement sponsored by the United States, was bound to be misinterpreted in the political circles of the communist countries. The Thai government did not like to incur the displeasure of its neighbouring communist countries by being tied to American collective security arrangements in South-East Asia. Thailand asked the US Government to recall her military personnel and dismantle her military installations. Thus she convinced Communist China that she was no longer an American satellite.

(G) The Philippines And The West

The Philippines is a South-East Asian country with Japanese islands in the north and Indonesian islands in the South. It is a group of five islands — Luzon, Palawan, Mindanao, the Visayan Islands and the Sulu Archipelago. In 1898 the United States took possession of the Philippines after a war with Spain. On July 2, 1902 the Cooper Bill providing for civil government in the Philippines was signed by the US President Theodore Roosevelt. During the First World War a certain measure of autonomy was granted to the Philippines. The Jones Act of 1916 provided for grant of complete independence to the islands after the end of the first World War; but American President Harding was opposed to the grant of freedom to Philippines. The Tydings MC Duffie Act of 1934 passed by US Congress however created the Philippines Commonwealth for a ten year transitional

period at the end of which the Philippines was to be granted complete independence. During this period the people of Philippines were to recognise the supreme authority of the US and maintain allegiance to it.

(1) Second World War and the Philippines

The deteriorating relations between the United States and Japan adversely affected the Philippines. On December 7, 1941 the day when Pearl Harbour was bombarded, Japan also bombarded Manila the capital of the Philippines. On 17th May, 1942 the country fell into Japanese hands. Japan exploited the economic resources of the country and this led to discontent and poverty in the island. However the relief came when in 1945 Japan surrendered and the Philippines was liberated.

(2) Grant of Independence to the Philippines and Her Relations with the USA

On July 4, 1946 the United States proclaimed the independence of the Philippines. On 14th March, 1947 a 99 year Mutual Aid Pact was signed by which the US was allowed to erect and maintain military and naval bases in the Philippines. American dollars poured into the islands and the Philippines became tied up with the USA. In 1954 the Philippines became one of the original members of the SEATO. Thus, the Philippines went increasingly into the fold of America. In 1951 she had concluded a Defence treaty with the United States and the same was revised on October 12, 1959. The lease granted to the US for military bases was shortened from 99 years to 25 years. In June 1960 US President Eisenhower paid a state visit to Manila. This visit strengthened the bonds of friendship between the two countries.

(3) Internal Situation of the Philippines

When the Philippines attained independence, she faced tremendous economic problems. Manuel Roxa who was elected President in 1946 represented the Liberal Party backed by big landlords and business magnates and patronised by the United States. The government was required to tackle the problem of food shortage and housing problem. The sanitation and public health arrangements were in shocking condition. The communist inspired Hukbalahap terrorists earned great popularity among the discontented peasants and became a menace to the political stability in the country. The liberal government of President Magsaysay after 1953 introduced a number of urgent reforms. The peasantry was gradually won over and Hukbalahap terrorists' insurrection subsided. In 1957 the

distinguished President Mr. Magsaysay was unfortunately killed in an air crash. His successor Carlos Gracia failed to carry forward his legacy and was defeated in 1961 elections. President Macapagal of the Philippines who was elected in his place introduced some progressive agrarian reforms. In November 1965 President Macapagal lost the election to Senator Ferdinand Marcos who was elected President for the second time in the year 1969. At present Corazon Aquino is the President of the Philippines. She is the first woman President of the country. Her name had been put forward by Norwegian Social Democratic members of Parliament for receiving in the 1987 Nobel Peace Prize. These members of Parliament of Norway justified their choice by saying that she had carried out a revolution with peaceful means. One most formidable problem which confronted President Corazon Aquino was the menace posed by the communist rebels who threatened the security and political stability of the country. The communist insurgency had been continuing for last several years. There had been uneasy calm and sporadic incidents of violence due to communist rebels presence in the country. President Aquino succeeded President Marcos when she registered victory in elections held in 1986. President Marcos tried to indulge in bungling in elections in order to retain power but the verdict of the electorate was clearly in favour of Madam Aquino who was elevated to the post of President. Her predecessor however left the country but he had some supporters in the Philippines who might create a problem for President Acquino. It is highly unlikely that the ex-President Marcos would succeed to stage a comeback with the assistance of his supporters in the Philippines.

(4) Controversy Over the Issue of Sabah between the Philippines and Malaysia

The creation of Malaysia evoked protests from the Philippines where anti-American sentiment became markedly vociferous in recent years. President Macapagal of the Philippines had joined hands with President Soekarno of Indonesia and Tengku Abdul Rahman the Premier of Malaysia in signing an agreement (August 1963) for the formation of Maphilindo i.e. the confederation of the Philippines, Malaysia and Indonesia. The proposed confederation however did not come into being. American patronage to Malaysian Federation caused discontent in the Philippines. Sabah formerly British colony of North-Borneo was claimed by the Philippines as an integral part of her territory. After the failure of Bangkok talks with Malaysia on the issue of Sabha in August 1968, President Marcos of the Philippines passed a bill annexing Sabah but this did not bring any real solution to the problem. "Manila Kualalumpur tie" said

Philippines President "will not be severed" inspite of the passing of the annexation bill. The two countries at present have no problem and Sabah is still an integral part of Malaysia.

(H) Ceylon (Sri Lanka)

Ceylon is a South Asian island country situated in the extreme south of India. It is about 272 miles in length and 137 miles in breadth. The British came here through the East India Company. The island was conquered in 1795 and was made a Crown colony in 1798. It was not incorporated into British empire in India and was ruled by the British as a separate unit of the British empire. Towards the end of the Second World War the Labour Government in Britain took steps to grant independence to Sri Lanka. A commission to suggest constitutional reforms for Ceylon was set-up and on the basis of its recommendations, the British Parliament passed in 1947, the Ceylon Independence bill. On 4th February, 1948 Ceylon became independent and a self-governing dominion within the British Commonwealth of Nations. She allowed the British government some military facilities and the use of the strategic harbour of Trincomalee.

(1) Foreign Policy of Ceylon

Ceylon adopted the policy of non-alignment in foreign affairs. She made common cause with the people of Asia and Africa who were struggling for national independence. She vehemently denounced imperialism and communism. At Bandung Conference of April 1955 Sir John Kotelawala the Premier of Ceylon played a leading role. He also participated in several other conferences of Asian countries and laid stress on the cooperation among non-aligned countries in economic social and cultural fields. The Ceylonese government pledged its support to the UN charter and maintained close association with Commonwealth of Nations as an equal partner. After the general election of 1956 Bhandaranaike trained and educated in Britain, became the Prime Minister and he decided to follow a genuine non-alignment policy. He requested the British government to hand over the naval base of Trincomalee to Ceylon. Britain agreed to remove this base to Maldive island. Britain also dismantled her military base at Katunake at the request of Ceylonese government. In 1959 Premier Bandaranaike was assassinated by a Buddhist monk. Mrs. Bandaranaike who assumed the office of Prime Minister in Sri Lanka after the sad demise of her husband, was the first woman to become the Prime Minister of a country. She played an important role in the attempt of the neutral nations to mediate in the Sino-Indian border dispute and took initiative in convening the

Colombo Conference of six neutral nations on 10th December, 1962 but unfortunately the proposals sponsored by this conference were rejected by Communist China which was bent on retaining the large chunks of Indian territories of Ladakh and NEFA grabbed by her during the Sino-Indian border conflict of October 1962. Mrs. Bandaranaike the Premier of Sri Lanka paid a state visit to Communist China in connection with the Colombo Proposals regarding settlement of border dispute between India and China. But Chinese intransigent attitude came in the way of an amicable and negotiated settlement of this dispute.

(a) Problems of People of Indian Origin in Ceylon: The migration of Indian indentured labourers to Ceylon commenced in the middle of the 19th century and in 1954 their number together with the number of persons who had migrated to Ceylon from India for trade and other purposes constituted nearly ten per cent of the country's total population. This migration was facilitated by the geographical situation. Sri Lanka is a pearl shaped island off the Indian coast in the south and is separated from the Indian subcontinent only by the Palk Strait which is a very narrow strip of water. India's relations with Sri Lanka have been cordial but the question of the status of persons of Indian origin in Sri Lanka has caused friction between the two countries. The Indian nationals in Sri Lanka may be broadly divided into three categories. Firstly, there are a number of Tamil speaking Indians who due to their residence in Ceylon for hundreds of years have become nationals of Sri Lanka. Secondly, there are some Indian businessmen and professionals also who had settled there during pre-independence period. Thirdly, the Indian labourers who went to Sri Lanka to work in plantations, also demand citizenship of Ceylon. The persons belonging to third category and the illicit immigrants from India to Sri Lanka have caused controversy between the two countries. A law was passed in 1949 by which the people of Indian origin in Sri Lanka were disenfranchised. The result was that Indians boycotted the general elections of 1952. Efforts were made by the government of Ceylon not to grant citizenship to Indian nationals and following stringent conditions were stipulated for the grant of Ceylonese citizenship — (i) Uninterrupted residence of persons whose wives and children if any, also possessed residential qualifications; (ii) financial stability; (iii) persons who were free from any kind of disability or liability; and (iv) the applicants for Ceylonese citizenship should clearly understand the statutory consequence of registration. The last condition was meant to make it clear that in the event of registration as a citizen of Sri Lanka, the applicant would

renounce the rights and political status he enjoyed previously. The above conditions which were incorporated in the Indian and Pakistani Resident Act passed by Sri Lanka's Parliament restricted the scope of grant of citizenship of Sri Lanka to Indian nationals. As a natural consequence of the Act, many persons of Indian origin living in Sri Lanka found themselves as stateless.

(b) Efforts during the Days of Jawaharlal Nehru to Solve Ethnic problem of Sri Lanka: In June 1953 Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru and Dudley Senanayake discussed the problem of the future status of Indians in Sri Lanka. These discussions took place in London on the occasion of the coronation of Queen Elizabeth II. The talks broke down because the Ceylonese Premier insisted on the compulsory repatriation of the Indian residents. In January 1954 Sir John Kotelawala the new Ceylonese Premier came to New Delhi for talks which resulted in what is called Nehru-Kotelawala Pact, which was hailed as "a great stride towards a fair and honourable settlement of Indo-Ceylon issues". The pact provided for the expeditious registration of Indians who desired to acquire the citizenship of Sri Lanka. It was stipulated in the pact that efforts would be made to stop illegal immigration into Ceylon. Sri Lanka was to draw up a register of all adult residents not on the electoral register. An unregistered person was to be presumed as an illicit immigrant if his mother tongue was an Indian language. He was liable to be deported out of Ceylon and the Indian High Commissioner in Ceylon was to extend all facilities for deportation. The pact did not work as intended and the ethnic problem in Ceylon remained unsolved. The government of Ceylon rejected as many as 80500 applications from the Indian nationals and accepted only 7500. The result was that Premier Kotelawala again came to India in October 1954. The two Prime Ministers agreed that every effort should be made by both the governments to reduce the number of stateless persons. Ceylonese premier agreed to expedite the work of registration of Indians as Ceylonese citizens and finalise the work within two years.

(c) *Efforts to Solve Ethnic Problem of Sri Lanka during the Days of Lal Bahadur Shastri India's Prime Minister:* (*Note*: For detailed study please see Chapter 20 Point D).

(d) *Sri Lanka and Prime Minister Mrs. Indira Gandhi :* (*Note*: Please see point D of Chapter 20).

(E) *Relations between India and Sri Lanka during the Days of Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi:* (*Note*: Please see point D of Chapter 20).

23

THE MIDDLE EAST (WEST ASIA)

OUTLINE :

(A) Arab Nationalism, its Strength and Weakness and Importance of the Middle East.

(B) Establishment of Turkish Republic and Her International Relations.

(C) Resurgent Nationalism in Egypt.

(D) Emergence of Sudan.

(E) The Birth of Israel and Her Relations with Arab States and the West.

(F) Iran in World Affairs.

(G) Afghanistan in Cold War.

(H) Position of Cyprus, Syria, Iraq, Jordan, Lebanon; Saudi Arabia and Yemen in World Affairs.

(I) The United States and West Asia.

(A) Arab Nationalism Its Strength And Weakness And Importance Of The Middle East

The region till the Second World War called Middle East' is now called West Asia. It includes all the Asian countries south of the Soviet Union and west of Pakistan. It also includes all countries situated between Turkey in the west to Afghanistan in the east with a total population of about 100 million and an area as large as the United States. Its geographical and strategic importance lies in the fact that it is the meeting ground of three continents Asia, Europe and Africa. This area has world's two most important waterways —

the Straits connecting the Black Sea with the Mediterranean and the Suez connecting the Red Sea with the Mediterranean. The shortest air and water routes from European Continent to Asia lie through the West Asia. Therefore, the importance of the Middle East cannot be underestimated. Apart from the strategic importance of the Middle East its uniqueness lies in the fact that it is the centre of Islamic culture and moreover in Palestine it possesses the holy place of Muslims, Jews and Christians alike. A variety of factors has contributed to the importance of this region. These factors are discussed as follows :

(1) Oil, the Black Gold of Middle East

The one single factor that has more than any thing else enhanced the importance of the Middle East in the world affairs is the fact that under the arid soil of some of the countries of the Middle East lies the greatest single reserve of oil the black gold of nations. The dependence of West European countries in a possible future conflict with Communist countries on Middle Eastern oil resources brings to the forefront the strategic importance of this area. Oil is the most essential item of defence as it is extensively used during military operations. It is vital for Western Europe to supplement the oil supply from the USA by gaining access to the oil rich regions of the Middle East. More than half of the oil reserve of the world belongs to the Middle East. In 1953 the estimated reserve of oil amounted to 62 billion barrels. This oil is of supreme importance for the West both for war and for peace. Inspite of the discovery of new oil fields e.g. in the Sahara, the sources of natural gas in South France and Italy, and exploration of oil in Atlantic ocean, the West would have to depend for still a long time for its industries or daily necessities or war purposes on Middle East oil resources. The United States has indeed vast sources of oil but her oil resources would not last long on account of accelerated rate of consumption. In this context Lawrence Dinning in his book entitled "We fight for oil" says that the rate of consumption has increased enormously and other available sources may not last for more than fifty years. Commenting on the dependence on Middle East oil Sir Olaf Caroe remarked "It may be wise to hold that the resources of the Western hemisphere — US, Caribbean, Canadian together — will not avail much longer to sustain a net export of oil so that in the not distant future, Western Europe entirely, Asia and Australia largely, and before long America to an extent, may come to depend on the output of the Persian Gulf". (Wells of power PP 98-99). Naturally enough access to Middle East oil will ever remain one of the most important factors in shaping American policy for the region.

On the other hand the Soviet Union does not need the Middle East oil. If she should succeed in denying the Middle East oil to the West, she would have won a victory in the cold war comparable to the victory she achieved when China went communist.

(2) Military Importance of the Middle East

In the age of power bloc rivalries the Middle East provides to the 'free world' a strategic base for defence against international communism, with the Caucasus and the Elburz mountain chains acting as barriers against land invasion. In the modern age of air power, the Middle East's air fields specially those in Turkey and Dhahran in Saudi Arabia leased by the United States provide a base in case of war for attack against the Soviet territory. They also provide necessary support for Turkey the right flank anchor of the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation. Conversely communist bases in Syria would tend to neutralise the British base in Cyprus; would make the Eastern Mediterranean a perilous place for the United States Sixth Fleet and would outflank Turkey. It may be observed that the latest developments in missiles and thermo nuclear weapons have revolutionized the strategy. It is not the air bases but missile launching sites which are of value in a thermonuclear show-down between the two Super Powers. In conventional warfare the air bases of Middle East carry special significance for the free world. The Soviet Union looks upon the entire region of Middle East as "the one major gap in her protective satellite fringe". Since she has failed to convert Turkey and Iran into satellites, she has been doing her best to drive the UK out and prevent the US from coming in this area.

(3) Arab Nationalism

Another great factor that has given importance to the Middle East is the emergence of a strong national movement among the Arabs. The story of Arab awakening goes back to Napoleon's invasion of Egypt which gave as much impetus to Arab nationalism as the Corsican's conquests of Spain, Italy and Germany gave to nationalism in these countries. After Napoleon's down-fall, his mantle fell on Muhammad Ali of Egypt who in the opinion of Lord Palmerston sought to build up the edifice of an Arab Kingdom, comprising all the countries which spoke Arabic. In the later half of nineteenth century, the leadership of national movement passed to Syria and Lebanon where the Christian Arabs educated in the American-aided university of Beirut established in 1866, took the leading part. An Arabic renaissance began with the compilation of an Arabic dictionary in 1867 and an Arabic encyclopaedia in 1870. The political movement was further intensified by the Yound Turk Revolt in 1908 and by the First and Second World Wars.

(i) First World War and Arab Nationalism : During the First World War the British incited the Arabs to rise in revolt against their Turkish masters, promising them self-determination at the end of the war. By the Balfour Declaration 1917 the British committed themselves to the establishment of a Jewish "national home" in Palestine. The Arabs found little comfort in Balfour Declaration. The Arabs maintained that nothing should be done which might prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities because a Jewish national home in Palestine was clearly inconsistent with Arab independence. Palestine was of great importance to Great Britain as an air and military base, as containing the terminus of an oil pipe line from Mosul and as a strategic base for controlling the Mediterranean specially against possible challenge by Italy. The post-war peace settlement dashed the hopes and aspirations of the Arabs to pieces. Palestine and Transjordania were given to Britain as mandated territories. France was given the mandated territories of Syria and Lebanon. During the period between the two world wars the Arab cause made little progress though Saudi Arabia, Yemen and few Sheikhdoms in the Persian Gulf as well as Iraq had attained independence. The rest of the Arab world-the fertile crescent extending from Iraq to Morocco continued to be under the domination of European Powers.

(ii) Resurgent Arab Nationalism during Post World War II Period: The Second World War revolutionized the situation. Italy lost Libya which became an independent state in 1951. Syria and Lebanon ceased to be mandates and became independent countries with republican form of government in 1944. In 1946 Great Britain granted independence to Transjordan which became the "Hashemite" Kingdom of Jordan. In March 1945, Iraq Syria, Lebanon, Transjordan, Saudi Arabia, Yemen and Egypt representing about 36 million Arab people formed a League of Arab States. At Yalta the Allies had declared that only those states that had declared war on the Axis Powers, would be entitled to participate in the Peace Conference after the end of hostilities. The Arab League States thereupon entered the war and entertained hope to present a united front at the impending Francisco Conference. Since the aims of Arab League generally coincided with British policies e.g. the elimination of the French influence from the Middle East, the League was accused of being a British tool. With reference to the accusation that "the Arab League spoke Arabic with British accent", Azzam Pasha Secretary General of the League aptly replied thus "This suit is made of British cloth, but I am wearing it". The specific aims of the Arab League were: (1) the strengthening of friendship between the member

states, (2) the coordination of their political actions, (3) the safe guarding of their independence, (4) fighting for the interests of the Arab countries (including Morocco, Tunisia and Libya), (5) establishing a unitary state in Palestine with religious and cultural rights for the Jews, and (6) preventing Jewish immigration into Palestine. The more important cementing factors which eventually led to the formation of the Arab League during the post-World War II era, were the common hatred of the Jews, common hostility to Western colonialism, common opposition to Turkey, dread of communism and common consciousness of Arab nationalism, and culture.

The Arab League sought to influence the course of political events from time to time. In 1946 it supported Egypt's just demand for the immediate withdrawal of British troops. In 1947 it supported Egypt in her demand for the union of the Sudan with Egypt. It tried to work for the attainment of independence for Libya, and planned to coordinate the efforts of all nationalist parties to achieve full independence for Tunisia, Algeria and French and Spanish Morocco. It made efforts to prevent the partition of Palestine and sought to establish it as an independent Arab State. It threatened to bring economic pressure to bear upon those countries which voted for partition of Palestine. When in 1956 Suez canal crisis occurred following the nationalisation of Suez canal, the League condemned Anglo-French-Israeli aggression in emphatic terms. When in 1960 Israel tried to divert the waters of river Jordan to irrigate the Negev desert, the Arab League Council, decided to declare a "collective war" on Israel to protect the Arab rights. In 1960 France exploded an atomic device in the Sahara desert. On this occasion the Arab League expressed its resentment and tried to mobilise the world public opinion against France. Politically the Arab states were linked by the League; but for defence purpose they (Egypt, Lebanon, Saudi Arabia, Syria and the Yemen) signed on April 13, 1950 a ten year Inter-Arab Joint Defence Alliance. Iraq joined this defence alliance in 1950 and Jordan joined it in 1952. The League has organised a joint defence council in order to unify military plan and coordinate its seven armies. The above instances and occasions should not lead one to conclude that all was well in Arab World. The following factors contributed to the weakness of Arab nationalism:

(a) Hostility Between Egypt and Other Arab States: There was hostility between Egypt and the other Arab States who in the past were part of the Egyptian empire and who knew that even in the 19th century Mohammad Ali of Egypt attempted to subjugate them. When in the 1950's Egypt passed under the control of military generals, first Naguib and then Nasser, the hostility became more

pronounced because the latter dreamt of Egypt's supremacy in the Arab world.

(b) Lack of Unanimity Among the Arabs: From its very inception the Arab League was far from being of universal appeal to all the states of West Asia. The original agreement to form Arab League was made in October 1944 by Egypt, Syria, Transjordan, Iraq and Lebanon. When on March 22, 1945, the Pact was concluded, a provision was made for collective defence of the Arab countries in the case of aggression; but the member states of Arab League declared that unless there was unanimous agreement (excepting the vote of an aggressor) each signatory state was free to do what it thought best. This inherent disunity of the Arabs explained their ineffective war against Israel in 1948. On the map of West Asia Israel was a pinpoint both geographically and in terms of her population of less than two million as compared with 40 million of the Arab States. On several issues during 1950's, the Arab League was found split. There arose differences even over the items of agenda and the venue of the meetings. Even voices were raised that the head quarters of the Arab League should be removed from Cairo so as to release it from Egyptian influence. At one stage the delegation of Iraq declared that it would not attend League's Conference held in the United Arab Republic (Egypt and Syria) but the UAR insisted on holding the meetings in Cairo. Iraq even went to the extent of advocating the idea of a separate Arab Palestine State and this was not welcomed by the UAR and Jordan.

(c) Lip Service to the Cause of the Arab Refugees of Palestine: Tension in the Arab world was mounting higher in early 1960. Proceedings of the Council of the Arab League Session in February degenerated into internecine squabbling. Major General Kassem Premier of Iraq and Haj Amin Hussein former Mufti of Jerusalem put forward a plan under which the Arab refugees from Palestine should form an independent Palestine republic on the west bank of River Jordan in Gaza and in the Arab part of Jerusalem with Haj Amin as its first President. The delegation of Jordan put forward a counter plan offering Jordanian nationality to any Arab refugee applying for it. The UAR agreed with Jordan that the establishment of an independent Palestine Republic under Iraq's influence would constitute a threat to Arab countries because Iraq was under the fold of international communism. But the UAR did not welcome the idea of Jordanian nationality being offered to Palestine Arab refugees.

(d) Discord Between Syria and Egypt: Towards the end of July 1962 relations between Syria, and Egypt were strained and Syria's

premier Dr. El Azmeh accused President Nasser of Egypt of creating disorder and openly supporting subversion against Syrian government. The session of the Arab League which opened on August 22, 1962 at Lebanon's mountain resort of Shtoura to consider Syria's allegations against Egypt, ended in the midst of the bitterest and most acrimonious exchanges between the delegations of Syria and Egypt. In the months following there was a change of government in Syria and talks for a proposed federation of Egypt Syria and Iraq opened in Cairo in April 1963. The discussions resulted in a declaration containing a draft constitution of a Federation of Egypt, Syria and Iraq under the name of United Arab Republic. The membership of this federation was to remain open to other Arab States. But the federation did not materialise and Arab dissensions and differences became conspicuous.

(e) Attitude of Iran, Turkey and Foreign Powers Responsible for Arab Disunity: The political stability in West Asia seemed to be disturbed not only by disunity in the Arab world but by other elements also. There were countries like Iran and Turkey with aspirations, situations and history quite different from those of the Arab States. The great danger felt by these two states from the Soviet Union was not shared by the Arab world in the same degree. When in order to protect themselves against communist subversion and Soviet penetration, these two countries allied themselves with the West, they went further apart from the Arab states. Turkey was as late as 1917-18 the overlord of most of the Arab states and the people there were distrustful of the Turks. The Arabs feared lest Turkey in alliance with the Western countries, should re-impose herself on them. Iran allied with Turkey through Saadabad pact of 1937 was also no welcome partner in the Arab alliance. On the other hand Pan Arabism was not liked by both Iran and Turkey. This situation in West Asia became all the more confused and unstable because of the interests and manoeuvrings of foreign countries specially Western countries whose interests in the region were old and varied. It is rightly said "Arab nationalism, Western imperialism and zionism are the three main factors that have conditioned Middle Eastern politics since the end of the First World War."

(B) Establishment Of Turkish Republic And Her International Relations

Turkey was the only defeated country in the First World War, which was able to resist the treaty imposed upon her by the victorious Allied Powers and to negotiate ultimately a treaty on equal terms. After the end of the First World War the Allied

statesmen at Paris Peace Conference imposed upon Turkey the most humiliating Treaty of Sevres. The Arab State of Hedjaz was nominally freed and placed under the control of British government. Armenia was created as a Christian Republic and she was given international guarantee. Mesopotamia, Palestine, Trans-jordan and Iraq were given to England as mandated territories. Syria and Lebanon were entrusted to France as mandates. Galicia was recognised as a sphere of influence of France and South Anatolia as Italian sphere of influence. Adrianople, Gallipoli, the islands of Ambros and Tenedos, Smyrna and the territory on the coast of Asia Minor were ceded to Greece which also got the large number of Dodecanese islands. The Dardanelles and Bosphorus were internationalised and Turkey was required to pay huge war indemnity.

(1) Treaty of Sevres superseded by the Treaty of Lausanne

The treaty of Sevres was staggering in its severity and was very much humiliating for the people of Turkey. No wonder, they revolted under the dynamic leadership of Mustapha Kemal Pasha in order to undo the national wrong. The hostilities commenced between Greece and Turkey but the peace was ultimately restored by the Treaty of Lausanne which was concluded on 24th July 1923. This treaty superseded the humiliating treaty of Sevres. It extended the frontier of Turkey to Eastern Thrace up to the Maritsa River including Adrianople. Islands of Imbros, Tenedos, and the Rabbit were restored to Turkey. The other Aegean islands were given to Greece. Smyrna was given back to Turkey. The boundary with Iraq was left to be settled in near future. In the mean time Mosul was to remain under British control. Britain also retained Cyprus. The boundary of Syria agreed upon by Franklin-Bullin Agreement of 1921 was confirmed. The Dardanelles and Bosphorus were internationalised. The Straits Zone was to be kept open to all nations in times of peace. However, in case of war if Turkey remained neutral, all the nations including belligerents could use the Straits but if Turkey joined war, only the vessels of neutral nations could go through the Straits and the enemy's vessels would be kept out.

(2) Changing complexion of Turkish Society under the dynamic leadership of Mustapha Kemal Pasha

On November 1, 1922 the Sultanate was abolished by the Grand National Assembly. The Turkish Republic was officially established in October 1923. The Grand National Assembly also abolished Caliphate in March 1924. Mustapha Kemal became the first President of the Turkish Republic. Mustapha Kemal as the President enjoyed dictatorial powers and virtually no strong opposi-

tion was allowed to crystalize. In 1927 the President was permitted to select candidates for the Assembly. Kemal steered his course clear out of the pitfall of Fascist dictators and his government was tempered by liberal democratic ideals, his benevolence and unselfishness. He shared power with the people's party. The principles adopted by the people's party were initiated by Mustapha Kemal and were incorporated in the constitution. These principles were: (a) nationalism, (b) republicanism, (c) populism meaning repudiation of both capitalism and class war, (d) Secularism, and (e) revolutionism.

Kemal established a secular society. No special privileges could be secured in virtue of being a Muslim. The monasteries were abolished and full freedom of conscience was established in Turkey. The European calendar was henceforth followed. The Fez cap and the veil were not to be used. Ankara was made capital city of Turkey. Civil marriage was made obligatory. Women were enfranchised and were allowed to participate in public affairs. The Latin alphabet replaced Turkish alphabet. Education was secularized. It had nothing to do with religion. Compulsory primary education was provided. Higher education was also encouraged. Technical schools in trade, industry and commerce were popularised. The pendulum of official patronage was in full swing to promote the people's interest in games and sports. The legal administration was streamlined and a new penal code incorporating certain features of Swiss, German and Italian model, came into force. In the interest of efficient administration the country was divided into 62 vilayets. The government also came forward to balance the budget and retained its monopoly in tobacco, salt, liquors, matches, playing cards and arms and ammunition. National integration, modernisation and industrialization went on apace. The government subsidized agriculture and framed a four year plan for agriculture, a five year plan for progress of industry, a three year plan for mining and a ten year plan for construction of roads. The inevitable result of all these steps was the creation of an efficient, homogeneous and soundly balanced Turkish society.

(3) Aftermath of Lausanne Conference

The Treaty of Lausanne (24th July 1923) which was the outcome of the Lausanne Conference left some vital issues unsolved. One of these issues was the Iraq-Turkish boundary problem (the Mosul problem). Second unsolved problem was that of the Straits which was internationalized. This resulted in the infringement of Turkish sovereignty. There was yet another problem of delimitation of boundary line between Syria and Turkey and the issue of auto-

nomy of the former. The aim of Turkey's foreign policy was to seek amicable and negotiated settlement of these problems consistent with her national interest.

(4) Straits Question and Montreaux Convention (1936)

For the Soviet Union the control of the Straits was necessary for an outlet to Mediterranean and the protection of the Straits was essential for defence on the Black sea area. The Lausanne Treaty had internationalized the Straits and the supervision of the same was entrusted to an International Commission presided over by the Turkish delegate. But the aggressive policies of Axis powers caused anxiety and concern in the political circles of Turkey. She felt convinced that if the Straits remained unfortified, her territory was exposed to danger. The Soviet Union enthusiastically supported Turkish demand for remilitarization of the Straits while other Powers gave reluctant support to it. Accordingly the famous Montreaux Convention was signed in 1936. It restored to Turkey the right to remilitarize the Straits and made her the guardian of the narrow waters. It was laid down in the above Convention that in the event of war the Straits was to be closed to all belligerent vessels except those authorised by the League of Nations. At Yalta and Potsdam it was agreed that the Montreaux Convention about the Straits should be revised. But in the meanwhile the cooling of the relations between the Soviet Union and the Western Powers made a settlement difficult. Turkey's relations with the Soviet Union also deteriorated because the latter attempted to establish the joint control over the Straits. Turkey resisted the Soviet attempt to establish a joint defence of the Straits as she did not want to compromise with her sovereignty.

(5) Settlement of the Mosul Dispute and Issue of Alexandretta

Turkey developed trouble with Britain on the question of Mosul. Turkey regarded the British occupation of Mosul as an attempt to undermine her sovereignty. In June 1926 the Mosul dispute was amicably settled by a treaty whereby in exchange of the ten per cent of Mosul's oil production, Turkey relinquished her claim on Mosul.

The fate of Alexandretta with a predominantly Turkish population remained undecided according to the Franklin-Bullion agreement concluded in 1921 which provided for special administration of this area. Turkey expressed her serious concern and anxiety about the Franco-Syrian treaty of 1936 about the future of Alexandretta and despite intervention of the League of Nations to provide special

status for this area Turkey took strong exception to the above treaty. In 1938 however, as a result of an election, Alexandretta decided through its assembly to merge with Turkey.

The settlement of these two disputes accelerated the process of normalisation of relations between Turkey and Britain and France. In 1939 France signed a non-aggression pact with Turkey. Italy's military adventure in Ethiopia and the conclusion of Russo-German non-aggression pact alarmed Turkey and brought her closer to Britain and France.

(6) Turkey under the Influence of Western Powers during Post Versailles Period

In 1939 Turkey entered into in alliance with Britain and France. Turkey was alarmed due to Mussolini's open claim to turn Mediterranean into an Italian lake. Mussolini's military adventure in Ethiopia caused serious concern to Turkey. Her relations with the Axis Powers could not be cordial because of the revisionist policy of Germany and Italy. In the Nyon Conference convened in 1937 Turkey expressed her determination to lend support to status quo maintained by the peace treaties concluded after the end of the World War I. But in the Turkish ruling circles there was certain degree of admiration for Hitler. The latter appointed Von Papen as Germany's ambassador to Turkey to exploit this sentiment. Between 1941 and 1943 German diplomacy was directed to bring Turkey within the fold of Axis Powers. Von Papen tried to keep Turkey neutral if not in alliance with Germany, but unfortunately he failed in his mission. Though Turkey maintained a precarious neutrality in the Second World War, yet she cast her lot with the Allied Powers and declared war against the Axis Powers on 23rd February 1945.

(7) Turkey in Western Camp After the Second World War

Turkey's relations with the Soviet Union deteriorated in the post war era and in 1947 she feared an intervention from the USSR. On March 12, 1947 US President Truman appeared before Congress and asked for funds to aid Greece and Turkey to resist the Russian pressure on these countries. Three months later the United States devised the famous Marshall Plan in order to hasten the economic recovery of Europe and Turkey was included in it. In June 1947 an American Joint Services Mission arrived in Turkey and commenced its work of devising ways and means to protect Turkey's sovereignty and territorial integrity. From this time onwards Turkey's relations with Western Powers became progressively closer. In March 1948 Turkey was included in European Recovery Programme and she

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In 1939 Turkey entered into in alliance with Britain and France. Turkey was alarmed due to Mussolini's open claim to turn Mediterranean into an Italian lake. Mussolini's military adventure in Ethiopia caused serious concern to Turkey. Her relations with the Axis Powers could not be cordial because of the revisionist policy of Germany and Italy. In the Nyon Conference convened in 1937 Turkey expressed her determination to lend support to status quo maintained by the peace treaties concluded after the end of the World War I. But in the Turkish ruling circles there was certain degree of admiration for Hitler. The latter appointed Von Papen as Germany's ambassador to Turkey to exploit this sentiment. Between 1941 and 1943 German diplomacy was directed to bring Turkey within the fold of Axis Powers. Von Papen tried to keep Turkey neutral if not in alliance with Germany, but unfortunately he failed in his mission. Though Turkey maintained a precarious neutrality in the Second World War, yet she cast her lot with the Allied Powers and declared war against the Axis Powers on 23rd February 1945.

(7) Turkey in Western Camp After the Second World War

Turkey's relations with the Soviet Union deteriorated in the post war era and in 1947 she feared an intervention from the USSR. On March 12, 1947 US President Truman appeared before Congress and asked for funds to aid Greece and Turkey to resist the Russian pressure on these countries. Three months later the United States devised the famous Marshall Plan in order to hasten the economic recovery of Europe and Turkey was included in it. In June 1947 an American Joint Services Mission arrived in Turkey and commenced its work of devising ways and means to protect Turkey's sovereignty and territorial integrity. From this time onwards Turkey's relations with Western Powers became progressively closer. In March 1948 Turkey was included in European Recovery Programme and she

received substantial economic and military aid from the United States. Turkey became one of the original sixteen Powers in the Organisation of European Economic Cooperation (OEEC). In 1949 she was included as a founder member of the Council of Europe. She also became a member of the European Payments Union. In August 1950 Turkey requested to be included in NATO but on strategic ground her proposal was rejected. The request was repeated and due to American support Britain and France agreed to accept Turkey as a member of the NATO. In February 1952 Turkey was formally admitted in NATO. She was assured that in case of attack on her, the Western Powers would fight for her defence. Turkey also sent 4500 troops to fight in Korea under UN flag. In 1951 she welcomed the proposal of a Middle East Defence Organisation sponsored by the Western Powers. In February 1955 she signed a defence pact with Iraq and in November she signed the Baghdad Pact. In July 1955 Turkey took part in the London Conference on Eastern Mediterranean problem and Cyprus question. In March 1956 the Prime Minister of Turkey visited Pakistan and the two countries declared their full faith in the Baghdad Pact. The US Richard's Mission arrived in Ankara the Capital of Turkey on 21st March 1957. The Mission announced that both countries had agreed to continue their cooperation in counteracting the influence of communism in West Asia and that the United States was ready to offer economic aid for several joint projects of a regional nature which were considered by the Economic Committee of the Baghdad Pact. On October 21, 1957 Turkey and France signed an agreement for the construction of Bosphorus Bridge. For this project the French government agreed to grant a credit of about 25 million dollars. Under the NATO Mutual Aid Agreement, Canada transferred five of her warships to Turkey on November 29, 1957. On 4th August 1958 it was announced in Ankara, Paris and Washington that a large scale programme of economic aid to Turkey had been approved by the Ministerial Council of the OEEC. On 5th March 1959 bilateral defence agreements between the US on one hand and Turkey, Iran and Pakistan on the other were signed. From October 7 to 9, 1959 Turkish Premier attended the meeting of the Ministerial Council of Central Treaty Organisation (the former Baghdad Pact) and also discussed the political situation in West Asia with President Eisenhower. Thus, Turkey passed increasingly in the fold of the Western Powers.

(8) Turkey and Communist Bloc

Turkey's increasing collaboration with the West embittered her relations with the Soviet Union and other communist countries. Russian pressures were resisted and her totalitarian methods of

government and foreign policy were denounced. The activities of the Cominform were criticized. Bulgaria embarrassed Turkey in 1950-51 by sending into her territory thousands of Turkish speaking refugees. In November 1951 Turkey closed the frontier against immigration of refugees. When in 1951 Turkey offered to join the NATO, Bulgaria and the Soviet Union vehemently criticized her pro-west stance. The Soviet action in Hungary (1956) was strongly condemned in Turkish press. On 4th September 1957 the government of Turkey expelled two Soviet diplomats and commander Alexander Marlagine from Turkey because of their involvement in espionage activities. When Iraq passed under Communist influence, Turkey denounced both General Kassem and the Soviet authorities.

(9) Friction Between Turkey and Greece on the Issue of Cyprus

Turkey's relations with Greece were strained on the issue of Cyprus inhabited by 77% Greeks and 18% Turks in 1965 and again in 1967. Military confrontation between Turkey and Greece was however, averted through the UN intervention. It was largely due to the machination of the ruling junta in Greece that the peace in Cyprus was again disturbed and President Makarios of Cuprus had to leave the country on July 16, 1974. Turkey now intervened militarily in Cyprus on the pretext of protecting the life and property of Turkish minority in Cyprus. However, the UNO took initiative and restored peace in the country and the foreign troops were ultimately withdrawn from the territory of Cyprus. Peace gradually returned to Cyprus and President Makarios was able to regain power. In 1977 the Greek and Turkish Cypriots agreed to establish a federation in Cyprus.

(C) Resurgent Nationalism In Egypt

Egypt occupies an important position due to the Suez Canal which was dug in 1869. It is situated at the north-eastern corner of the African continent and is flanked on the north by the Mediterranean whereas on the east it is flanked by the Red sea. These two seas are connected by the Suez. Britain realised the importance of Suez canal as a vital link with India.

(1) British Protectorate over Egypt

Taking advantage of the financial bankruptcy of the government of Egypt during the seventies of 19th century, British Prime Minister Disraeli purchased the 176602 shares of the Suez canal from Egypt's King Khedive Ismail for four million pounds in 1875. In 1882 following the insurrection started by Arabi Pasha; the British

occupied the delta of the Nile and established their control over the Egyptian government. The British extended their hold over the Sudan following another uprising under Mahdi Muhammad Ahmed in 1881. In 1899 an Anglo-Egyptian Condominium was established over the Sudan. Lord Crommer one of the ablest bureaucrats of Britain created a civil service, achieved financial solvency, abolished slavery, founded educational institutions, constructed railways, dams and canals and completely regenerated Egypt. After Turkey's entry in the World War I, Egypt repudiated Turkish suzerainty. On 18th December 1914 Egypt was proclaimed as a British protectorate. The pro-Turkish Khedive Abbas Hilmi was deposed and Hussain Kamil was made the Sultan of Egypt. After his death in 1917 he was succeeded by Fuad I. During the First World War the Allies enunciated the principle of national self-determination. Egypt felt that after the end of the war she would be allowed to decide her own future. She demanded the complete independence, neutralization of the Suez Canal and control over Sudan. However, Britain was not prepared to give up her control over Egypt. Her protectorate over Egypt was recognised by the Allied Powers at Paris Peace Conference. The Treaty of Sevres of 1920 signed between Turkey and Allies also recognised British protectorate over Egypt.

(2) Role of Zaghlul Pasha in the Freedom Struggle of Egypt

The father of Egyptian national movement was Zaghlul Pasha who founded the Wafd party. He insisted on the attainment of independence. He participated in the Paris Peace Conference (1919) to plead the cause of Egypt. But unfortunately Egyptian nationalist aspiration was frustrated by imperialist machinations. Zaghlul Pasha was arrested in March 1919 and deported to the Island of Malta. This action of Britain intensified anti-British feeling in the country. The people rose in rebellion against the British. It was however, decided to send a mission to Egypt under the chairmanship of Lord Milner to enquire into the causes of the recent disturbances and to report on the existing situation in the country and the form of government which, under the protectorate would be best suited to promote its peace and prosperity, the progressive development of self-governing institutions and the protection of foreign interests. The mission was boycotted by the people of Egypt. It made a liberal report and recommended the grant of a large measure of autonomy to the Egyptians. But the people insisted on nothing short of complete independence. On the advice of the British High Commissioner Lord Allenby, Britain unilaterally proclaimed the end of the protectorate and declared the independence of Egypt in February 1922. However,

the British government made certain reservations to protect imperial interests in Egypt. These reservations included safety of communication system, defence of Egypt, protection of foreign interests and minorities and security of the Sudan.

(a) Efforts of Britain to Tighten Her Stranglehold Over Egypt: The Wafd party won the election in 1924. Zaghlul Pasha who was released by the British was elevated to the position of Prime Minister. His government started negotiations with Britain; but these negotiations stumbled on the issue of Sudan and Britain's physical presence in Egypt. In 1924 the assassination of Sir Lee Stack British Commander-in-Chief in Egypt gave Britain an opportunity to force the Wafd party out of Egyptian cabinet by impossible terms contained in British ultimatum. Hence forward British strangle hold over Egypt was tightened through the anti-Wafd ministries which were now saddled to power. The period between 1924 and 1936 was marked by comparative lull in Egyptian national movement for freedom. This was mainly due to the sudden demise of the veteran leader Zaghlul Pasha the father of Egyptian nationalism.

(3) The Role of Nahas Pasha in the Freedom Struggle

Zaghlul Pasha was replaced in Wafd leadership by Nahas Pasha. King Fuad supported by opportunist politicians and British imperialism tried to curb the Wafd. But in the elections the Wafd always emerged victorious and King Fuad therefore replaced the relatively liberal constitution of 1923 by an amended constitution of 1930.

Italy's military offensive in Ethiopia introduced a new factor in Egyptian national movement. In December 1935 King Fuad restored the liberal constitution of 1923 and there was a temporary rapprochement between the King and the Wafd party and the King passed away shortly afterwards, and he was succeeded by Farouk I who was a boy of sixteen only. In May 1936 Nahas Pasha formed his cabinet and desired to start negotiations with the British government to replace the status quo. The growing Fascist menace made the British willing to reach an agreement with the Wafd party government in Egypt. In 1936 Anglo Egyptian Treaty was signed. The treaty resulted in a twenty years' alliance and Britain pledged to protect Egypt against attack. Under this treaty, Egypt agreed to place her communication installations at Britain's disposal in case of war. Egypt conceded the right to Britain of maintaining armed forces in the Canal Zone; but Britain would evacuate the rest of Egyptian territory. However, the basic problem of Sudan remained unsolved. In 1937 King Farouk dismissed Nahas Pasha and ap-

pointed in his place Mohammed Pasha a liberal. The Wafd party now lost much of its popularity. The fall of Nahas Pasha was largely due to the eagerness displayed by him to cooperate with Britain. However, on 4th February 1942 King Farouk under the pressure of the British government elevated Nahas Pasha to the position of Prime Minister. His Wafd party representing the propertied class lost its credibility because of corruption which was rampant in the government. Egypt declared war on the Axis powers on February 24, 1945. Nahas Pasha was dislodged by the middle of 1944 when Britain withdrew her support from him.

(4) Sidki-Bevin Agreement (1946)

At the end of the Second World War Egyptian demand for the revision of the Anglo-Egyptian Treaty of 1936 became vigorous. As a result of this demand in 1946 the Sidki-Bevin Agreement was signed by Britain and Egypt. The agreement provided for the withdrawal of the British troops from the Canal zone and status quo in Sudan till the time was ripe for the people of Sudan to decide their own form of government. According to the British view, the people of Sudan were given right of separation from Egypt by this agreement but the Egyptian government was not prepared to accept this interpretation and due to this reason the above treaty was not ratified and Sidki the Premier was constrained to resign because of the agitation against this agreement led by the nationalist leader Mustafa Nahas Pasha. Nuqrashi became the Prime Minister of Egypt after Sidki's resignation and negotiations started to settle the future of Sudan but these negotiations collapsed because Cairo refused to accept Britain's proposal for eventual self government for the Sudanese.

(5) Egypt's Appeal to UN Security Council Against Britain's Military Presence in Suez Canal Zone and Sudan

Egypt's Prime Minister Nuqrashi referred on 7 August 1947 the Egyptian case to the UN Security Council and demanded that the British should evacuate both Egypt and the Sudan as their military presence in the region was likely to endanger international peace and security. The British government took the position that there was no danger to world peace and security and that the negotiations with Egypt were in progress. The various resolutions presented, failed to receive the required seven affirmative votes and the case continued to linger on. The relations between the UK and Egypt deteriorated considerably although intermittent negotiations continued.

(6) Unilateral Abrogation of the Treaty of 1936 by Egypt and Battle of Ismailia

On December 28, 1948 premier Nuqrashi Pasha was murdered and he was succeeded by Ibrahim Abdul Hadi Pasha. The new Premier declared that his government's main objective was the withdrawal of British troops from Egypt. Negotiations commenced and proposals and counter-proposals were initiated by both sides. Egypt rejected the British proposals in January 1951 and Britain rejected Egypt's demand on June 9 of the same year. Due to the abortive negotiations the Parliament of Egypt unilaterally abrogated the Treaty of 1936 and the Premier of Egypt also rejected in October 1951 an invitation to participate in an Anglo-American - French-Turkish "Middle East Command" to protect the whole region against communist invasion. The British government wrote to Egyptian government that the Treaty of 1936 contained no provision for unilateral denunciation at any time and that Britain was willing to open negotiations for an amicable settlement. Britain also reinforced her Suez garrison which fired upon Egyptian police and rioters in November 1951 in what was known as the 'Battle of Ismailia.'

(7) Egypt from Monarchy to Military Rule

The British military action in the Battle of Ismailia incensed public opinion throughout Egypt and anti-British riots resulting in arson, loot and firing took place. The situation became out of control. In the circumstances martial law was declared on 26th January 1952. Next day King Farouk dismissed Prime Minister Mustafa Nahas Pasha the leader of the Wafd Party. It may be recalled that Wafd party had won the election in 1950 and Nahas Pasha formed the government. After his dismissal King Farouk appointed Ali Maher Pasha as Premier. On March 2, 1952 he was ousted and Naguib al Hilai an ex-Wafd Minister became the Prime Minister. The new Premier suspended parliament, postponed elections and resigned in late June 1952 in favour of Siraj Pasha. On July 23, 1952 a coup was organised by the "Committee of free officers" a secret group headed by Major General Mohammad Naguib. He deposed the King Farouk and subsequently his minor son Fuad II in whose favour the King had abdicated. Thus, Egypt became a republic. Negotiations with Britain were resumed by the new government of Egypt and resulted on February 12, 1953 in the signing of an agreement which provided for self-government and eventual self-determination for Sudan. In July 1954 an accord was reached on the phased withdrawal over twenty months of the 80,000 British troops in Suez Canal Zone.

(8) General Mohammad Naguib Ousted

After having abolished monarchy and proclaimed himself President, General Naguib sought from Revolutionary Command Council more powers for himself including the power to override its decisions. This was refused and in October 1954 he was ousted from the Presidency by Colonel Nasser and his fellow officers who established another dictatorship. Col. Nasser became the new dictator.

(9) The Sudan's Independence

On February 12, 1953 an Anglo-Egyptian Agreement was concluded and Governor General's Commission and Electoral Commission were set up. Towards the close of 1953 elections were held in the Sudan and pro-Egyptian National Unity Party got the massive mandate of the Sudanese. Association with Britain was repudiated. The leader of the National Unity party Ismail al Alzhari was elected Prime Minister on January 1, 1954. The self-government began in the country and Egypt and Sudan entered into closer cooperation and relationship.

(10) Objectives of the Foreign Policy of Egypt Under Col. Nasser

Inspired by memories of great cultural heritage and military prowess, Col. Nasser endeavoured to achieve for his country a place of prominence in world affairs. On March 29, 1954 he said that Egypt was in search of a "national personality". The specific objectives of his foreign policy were as follows:

(i) He denounced Western imperialism and he was alarmed when the United States and Britain were building up a Middle East Defence Organisation. The conclusion of the Baghdad Pact came at a moment when he was preparing for a new role of a leader of Arab unity under Egyptian hegemony.

(ii) Nasser became a staunch advocate of policy of non-alignment. He laid great stress on this policy in the Bandung Conference of April 1955. He is considered as one of the founders of the non-aligned movement. Other notable celebrities of this movement were Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru of India and Marshall Tito of Yugoslavia. Col. Nasser alienated the West which rebuffed his demand for the purchase of arms and ammunition. He now leaned towards the Soviet bloc and concluded an arms deal with Czechoslovakia in September 1955.

(iii) Col. Nasser also denounced Israel. Naturally his relations with the West were strained because the Western countries sup-

ported Israel and as a reprisal measure the West refused to finance the project of Aswan dam.

(iv) Col. Nasser also dreamt of uniting all Arab countries into some kind of federal agreement. In February 1958 he succeeded in negotiating union with Syria and the United Arab Republic was formed. Nasser became its President. Yemen an Arab country also federated with the Egyptian-Syrian Union. Saudi Arabia and Lebanon were also approached for effecting a union with the federation of the UAR but they hesitated in giving suitable response.

(11) Nationalisation of Suez Canal and Anglo-French-Israel Invasion of Egypt

The series of events which followed Western decision to refuse financial aid for the project of Aswan dam led to nationalisation of Suez Canal. On July 25, 1956 Col. Nasser announced the nationalisation of Suez Canal and declared that its revenues would be utilised for the construction of Aswan dam. Immediately Britain and France convened a conference in London to establish international control of the Suez Canal. 18 out of 22 members supported Anglo-French proposals. The rest including India, Indonesia, the Soviet Union, and Sri Lanka had an alternative proposal but it never had any chance of being adopted. The Menzies Mission sent to Col: Nasser after this conference to negotiate with Egypt on the basis of London resolution, resulted in failure. US Secretary of State John Foster Dulles suggested the formation of Suez Canal User' Association. Meanwhile the French government proposed a meeting of UN Security Council which however, refused to accept the French proposals. The British were greatly incensed by the abrupt nationalisation of Suez canal in which they had great interests both financial and strategic. Similarly, France had great interests at stake in this eventful act of Egyptian government. British Prime Minister Anthony Eden together with French Premier Guy Mollet laid down plans for bringing Egypt to book. On 29th October 1956 Israel suddenly attacked Egypt. On 31st October 1956 Britain and France also joined the attack on Egypt. A resolution was moved in the UN Security Council for the cessation of hostilities but it was vetoed by Britain and France. On November 2, 1956 the General Assembly adopted a resolution which expressed great concern at British, French and Israel military operations in the Suez Canal Zone and called upon the countries concerned to order an immediate cease-fire. On 4th November 1956 the General Assembly adopted a resolution asking the Secretary General of the United Nations to submit plans for an Emergency United Nations force to secure and

supervise the end of hostilities in Egypt. On 5th November 1956 the Soviet Union gave a warning to England and France to the effect that if they did not declare cease-fire, she would intervene militarily in the war. The Russian threat of missile warfare, the US opposition to the Anglo-French invasion, the drain on sterling, the rallying of the Arabs round Col. Nasser, the rift in the Commonwealth relations and above all the appeals of the UN General Assembly to declare cease-fire were the factors which compelled Britain to stop the hostilities. This invasion was designed to bring about the downfall of Nasser but on the contrary it turned Nasser into a hero. It cemented Arab unity. Syria and Saudi Arabia severed diplomatic relations with England and France. India and other Afro-Asian members of the Commonwealth denounced British action in emphatic terms. The Anglo-French retreat reverberated in all Afro-Asian countries and gave boost to national forces. The British Prime Minister Anthony Eden was constrained to resign due to Britain's debacle in Suez crisis. Nasser's dream of playing the role of the Arab unity materialised partially by the formation of the federation of the United Arab Republic consisting of Egypt and Syria in February 1958. But later on in 1961 Syria broke her link with Egypt. On 25th April 1957 the government of Egypt declared that she had pledged to accept the Constantinople Convention of 1888 and was bound by the UN charter. She undertook to ensure free navigation to all nations within the limits prescribed by the Convention of 1888. The payment of tolls was to take place in accordance with the agreement concluded between the Suez Canal Company and Government of Egypt in 1939. The Canal was to be maintained in accordance with the requirements of modern shipping. The Suez Canal Authority was to administer the Canal. The tolls were to be paid at any bank selected for that purpose by the Suez Canal Authority. All disputes and differences regarding the Convention of 1888 were to be settled according to the principles laid down in UN Charter.

(12) Egypt's Opposition to Israel

Egypt was from the outset opposed to the establishment of a National Home for the Jews in Palestine. In March 1945 Egypt was one of the co-sponsors of the Arab League formed to oppose Israel. On 14th May 1948 the British mandate ended and the State of Israel was formally proclaimed. The very next day Egyptian army, along with the troops of Jordan and Iraq launched military offensive on Israel. However, the Jews were supplied arms by the Western Powers and they succeeded in repelling the Arab aggression. As stated above Israel attacked Egypt after the nationalisation of Suez Canal by the latter. Cairo harboured a great feeling of resentment

against Israel. In February-March 1959 the United Arab Republic (Egypt) detained several foreign ships carrying exports from Israel to Far Eastern countries through the Suez. The Official Cairo newspaper Al Ahram wrote on March 20 that Israel had no right to ship goods through the Suez Canal as there was still a state of war between the Arabs and Israel. On May 21, Egyptian authorities detained at Port Said the Danish freighter Inge Toft which was carrying the exports of Israel from Haifa to Hong Kong and Japan. In February 1960 Egypt concentrated troops along the Sinai desert and orders were issued to the army to hit rapidly in case of further Israeli aggression. In the same year Israel proposed to divert the waters of River Jordan to her advantage and this led to mounting tension between Egypt and Israel. During his state visit to India in April 1960 Col. Nasser declared that Egypt's trouble with Isreal was chronic and would continue so long as there were ten lakhs Arab refugees driven out by Israel. Egypt still holds the view that the Arab refugees of Palestine should be given their homeland and their legitimate rights should be recognized. President Sadat of Egypt has given full support to Mr. Arafat the leader of Palestine Liberation Organisation. Egypt still insists that Israel should vacate occupied Arab territories and recognise the rights of the Palestine Arab refugees.

(13) Opposition to Imperialism

Egypt had as much bitter experience of foreign domination as any other country in West Asia. For Nasser, aspiring for leadership of the Arab world, it was natural that he should denounce the manoeuvrings of foreign Powers to perpetuate their domination in West Aisa. The suspicion against the West was so great that even the gestures of goodwill and friendship were not appreciated in proper perspective. In 1948-49 Egypt opposed Western aid to Israel. In 1951 the Egyptian parliament refused participation in Middle East Military Command organised by the West. When in 1952 Turkey joined the NATO Egypt expressed great resentment. In November 1955 Nasser did not hesitate in condemning the Baghdad Pact. In order to manifest his displeasure he entered into an arms deal with Czecholovakia and the Soviet Union. When in July 1956 the United States refused to finance Aswan dam project, Nasser reacted thus "they (Western Powers) are punishing Egypt because it refused to side with military blocs. The Americans have been stalling us for many years while promising aid all the time. They were addressing themselves to the Egyptian people to overthrow me. I answer back: "Let your hate choke you to death. Egypt will not yield to any foreign domination". When Britain and France launched military offensive

against Egypt in 1956, Nasser warned the West that the Egyptians would rather perish than submit. He vehemently denounced French atrocities in Algeria and the Provisional Government of Algeria was allowed to function from Cairo. The Eisenhower Doctrine was strongly denounced as an indirect way of interference in the affairs of Arab world. Under the leadership of Cairo, the Arab League discussed the possibility of imposing political and economic sanctions on France in rataliation against her Sahara Atomic tests. Nasser also refused to join the communist bloc. In fact he was very severe on Egyptian communists and hundreds of them were put in jail. While he accepted economic aid from Communist countries, he refused to become a satellite of the Soviet bloc. The Egyptian leader seemed to have been influenced by Nehru's policy of non-alignment and coexistence and refused to be drawn in the cold war. Even today Egypt is following the policy of non-alignment but her relations with the West have improved considerably and she is not so vociferous in the denunciation of Western imperialism as she was in the days of Nasser.

(D) Emergence Of The Sudan

The Sudan was governed jointly by Great Britain and Egypt from 1899 to January 1, 1956 when she became sovereign independent republic. The Sudan was subjugated by Mehmet Ali of Egypt and she continued to be a dependency of Egypt. In 1899 a joint Anglo-Egyptian condominium was established at a time when Egypt herself was a British dependency. On February 12, 1953 the British and Egypt signed an agreement which provided for independence of the Sudan within three years. The Sudanese Committee was established to advise on the process of substituting the Sudanese for foreigners in all positions. By January 1956 the above Committee stated in its report that there were 1036 Britishers who occupied various positions of importance in Sudan but the process of replacing them by the Sudanese was well underway. On August 16, 1955 the Parliament of Sudan requested the Governor General to ask Great Britain and Egypt to withdraw their forces from the country within three months. On 22nd August 1955, the Parliament of Sudan decided to establish a commission to supervise elections. On December 12, 1955 Sir Knox Helm resigned from the position of Governor General and subsequently on 19th December the House of Representatives of the Sudan issued a declaration of independence which was recognised by Britain and Egypt. Later a large number of countries accorded recognition to the Sudan and established diplomatic relations with her.

(E) The Birth Of Israel And Her Relations With Arab States And The West

Palestine had been an integral part of Turkish empire since 1517. This ancient land was the matrix of Judaism and Christianity. It was also a sacred place of the Muslims. Turkish government exercised its sovereignty over Palestine till 1918. On 2nd November 1917 the British government by the Balfour Declaration promised to Dr. Weizmann the leader of the Zionist movement, the establishment of a national home for the Jews in Palestine. It was also promised by Britain that nothing would be done to prejudice the civil and religious rights of the existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine. Prior to Balfour Declaration Britain had promised to include Palestine in an Arab State. In 1915 in the letters exchanged between Sir Henry Mc Mahon and Sheriff Hussein in Mecca, Britain promised the inclusion of Palestine in an Arab State. The Balfour Declaration of 1917 was strongly resented by the Arabs who considered it as a clear violation of promise of inclusion of Palestine into an Arab state given through the Sheriff Hussein – Mc Mahon correspondence in 1915. In 1920 Palestine was entrusted to Britain as a mandated territory.

(1) Palestine Between the Two World Wars

In the mandated territory of Palestine Great Britain encountered opposition both from the Jews and Arabs — the former pressing for unrestricted immigration of persecuted Jews of Europe into the territory and the Arabs who were deadly against it on the ground that Jewish immigration would lead to eventual purchase of their arable land by the rich Jewish Community. This would ultimately make the Arabs a landless community in Palestine. In 1929 there was a violent anti-Jewish uprising in Palestine which was quelled by British troops rushed into the mandated territory by the government of Mr. Ramsay Macdonald. In 1930 there were further troubles over the Arab claim, to the possession of the Wailing Wall which adjoined a sacred mosque of the Arabs and was a place of worship for the Jews. Pending a report of a commission appointed by the British government to study Palestine's economic conditions, the Jewish immigration was indefinitely postponed. But due to the sharp protests of the World's Zionist Organisation and the Jewish Agency in Palestine the British were compelled in 1932 to permit free entry of Jewish farmers, merchants and businessmen who could show that they possessed a capital of 2500 pounds. In 1937 the British put forward a plan for the partition of Palestine which was not accepted by both the Arabs and the Jews. In 1939 they sponsored

yet another plan. According to this plan Palestine was to be made an independent state after a ten year period during which Jewish immigration should be limited at first by numbers and then by Arab consent. This was also rejected by both the sides.

(2) The Birth of Israel

The issue was kept in cold storage during the Second World War but towards the close of the War, tensions in Palestine reached the breaking point. As soon as the Second World War approached its end in Europe, David Ben Gurian Chairman of the Jewish Agency announced plans for bringing two million European Jews in Palestine. In October 1945 riots broke out in Palestine where 100000 British troops were trying to check the entry of the Jews in the country. President Truman of the United States urged the British government to admit one lakh Jews in Palestine atonce. This move of the US President made the Zionist cause still more significant but it caused great resentment in the Arab circles and embarrassed the British. Since Britain was not in a position solve the problem, she referred the Palestine question to the UN in February 1947. She clearly stated that she was not able to carry on the administration of the mandated territory of Palestine. A United Nations Special Commission on Palestine recommended the partition of Palestine into separate Jewish and Arab States. This partition plan was accepted by the UN General Assembly in November 1947. According to this plan the Jews were to get East Galilee in the north, the coast line in the centre and the Negev in the South whereas the Arabs were to get West Galilee, the Central Island area; the port of Jaffa with a corridor leading to it and the Southern coast with the Port of Gaza. Jerusalem was to come under the administration of the United Nations. The Partition Plan was accepted by the Jews, the Soviet Union and the United States but opposed by the Arab residents of Palestine. It was on night between 14th May and 15th May 1948 that the Jewish State of Israel was officially proclaimed at Tel Aviv with Dr. Weizmann as her first President. The United States and the Soviet Union accorded their recognition to Israel.

(4) Opening of Hostilities Between Israel and Arabs

On the day the State of Israel was proclaimed the armed forces of Egypt, Transjordan, Iraq and Syria mounted an offensive on the newly-born state. Fierce fighting ensued between the Arabs and Israel. Tel Aviv the capital of Israel was bombed by the Arabs. Gaza and Beersheba were occupied by the Egyptian troops and the Jews were driven away from the northern outskirts of Jerusalem. The situation became very tense. The UN Security Council sent a

mediator in the person of Count Bernadotte. On June 11, 1948 he was able to arrange a four week truce. During the truce period the UN mediator could not bring the belligerents to some agreement. The Arabs refused to extend the period of truce and the hostilities were resumed on July 9. This time the Jewish troops began to gain ground at the expense of the Arabs. The UN Security Council met on August 19, 1948 in an emergency session and issued a cease-fire order. Both the sides were warned that in case either of them did not declare cease-fire, sanctions were to be imposed on that state. Due to this pressure, the Arabs declared cease-fire. Some three lakhs Arabs fled from Israel to neighbouring Arab States and the former was determined not to allow these Arabs to settle again in its territory. On 17th September Bernadotte the UN mediator was assassinated by a Jewish terrorist. His successor Dr. Bunch was successful in bringing about a truce on all fronts in July 1949.

(4) The Role of the UNO in the Settlment of Arab-Israel Differences prior the Arab-Israel War of 1967

The boundaries of Israel were fluid and needed to be fixed. The status of the city of Jerusalem was yet to be determined because in February 1949 Israel had expressed opposition to the internationalization of that city. The government of Israel was not ready to take back the Arabs who had migrated into other Arab countries in 1948 when the armed conflict started between the Arabs and Israel. Above all there was the problem of relationship between Israel and Arabs who were not willing to recognise the new republic. The Arab countries not only denied markets to Israel, but also they blocked Israeli ports to ships bringing supplies to her through the Suez Canal. Apart from this Israel-Jordan frontier became the scene of constant untoward incidents resulting in loss of life. During 1953 the UN Mixed Armistice Commission dealt with various major incidents which constituted a violation of the cease-fire between Israel and Jordan; but this Commission did not succeed in stopping the occurrence of cease-fire violations. The Conciliation Commission of the UNO also could not implement the plan for the internationalization of Jerusalem.

(a) Border Clashes between Israel and Arabs: There occurred frequent border clashes between the troops of Israel and Jordan during the period from April 10 to September 1954. The situation along Israeli-Egyptian border also deteriorated and in February 1955 fierce fighting took place near Gaza resulting in heavy casualties on both sides. On November 2, 1955 Ben Gurion the Prime Minister of Israel offered to meet the Egyptian Premier and other Arab leaders in order to reach an agreement about the border

dispute. The Arabs were averse to this initiative of Israel's Premier and did not respond to his appeal to reach a settlement of problem. An armed conflict again occurred between Egyptian troops and Israel's army in the El Auja demilitarized zone in November 1955. During the night of 11-12 December 1955 Israeli armed forces raided Syrian positions north-east of Lake Tiberias. In this raid Syria sustained the loss of 40 Syrian soldiers and some civilians. The government of Syria called for an urgent meeting of the Security Council to consider "a flagrant violation and act of open aggression and provocation by Israel". The Security Council asked the UN Secretary General to visit the Middle East to confer with Arab and Israeli leaders. His visit resulted in the relaxation of tension.

(b) Israel and Suez Crisis: Nationalization of Suez Canal led to serious fighting on October 29, 1956 when the Israeli troops launched an attack on Egyptian positions in the Sinai Peninsula with the avowed objective of eliminating the Fedayeen bases from which frequent raids had been made into Israel's territory. During the five day war (Oct. 29 to November 2, 1956) virtually the whole Sinai Peninsula passed under Israeli control and the Egyptian resistance collapsed. On November 9, Israel announced that she was ready to withdraw her army after the entry of UN forces into the Suez Canal zone. Simultaneously with the withdrawal of British and French troops from Port Said, the Israel's armed forces began a phased withdrawal from Sinai peninsula during December 1956. The areas evacuated were gradually taken over by the UN Emergency Force. By January 22, 1957 the Israeli troops completed their withdrawal except for a strip of coastline on the western shore of the Gulf of Aqaba. But Israel's army continued to occupy the Gaza strip which had been in military occupation of Egypt since 1948. On February 6, 1957 Israel's delegate at the UN requested the UN Secretary General Dag Hammarskjold to give specific assurance to the effect that Egypt would agree to "mutual and full abstention of all belligerent acts by land, sea and air" after the complete withdrawal of Israel's forces. Mr. Hammarskjold refused to give any such assurance. On March 7, 1957 all Israeli forces were withdrawn from Gaza strip.

(c) Israeli-Jordanian Relations: A series of border clashes during the autumn of 1957 led to mounting tension between Israel and Jordan. The UN Secretary General visited the area in December 1957. Due to his intervention an agreement was reached between Israel and Jordan on January 18, 1958. Both the countries agreed to refrain from indulging in border clashes and recognised Mount Scopus as a demilitarized zone.

(d) Egypt's Moves to Harass Jews and Tamper with Israel's Shipping: Simultaneously with the expulsion of British and French nationals, the government of Egypt ordered the deportation of stateless Jews. On November 28, 1956 the Parliament of Israel adopted a resolution calling upon the UN and the Great Powers to halt the persecution of the Jews in Egypt, and to denounce the reign of terror imposed upon the innocent Egyptian Jews. However, these charges were denied by Egypt. Tension again escalated between the two countries in February-March 1959 when Egypt detained several foreign ships carrying exports from Israel to Far Eastern countries through the Suez Canal. On March 16, Israel's permanent representative at the UN in his letter to the members of Security Council denounced Egypt's action as a flagrant violation both of the Suez Canal Convention and the Security Council's resolution of September 1, 1951 in which the Security Council called upon Egypt to end restriction against the passage of goods and ships through the Suez canal wherever bound. The official Cairo newspaper Al Ahram wrote on March 20, 1959 that the government of Israel had no right to ship goods through the Suez Canal as there was still a state of war between the Arabs and Israel. Another incident occurred on May 21, 1959 when Egypt detained at Port Said the Danish freighter Inge-Toft which was carrying a cargo of cement, potash and other items of export of Israel from Haifa to Hong Kong and Japan. On June 3, 1959 Israeli Premier Ben Gurion described the detention as "blow not only at the interests of Israel but also at the UN Charter". In February 1960 Israeli and Syrian forces clashed at Tawfik. There was tension in Israel-Egypt border area as a result of large concentration of Egyptian troops. In a letter to President of the Security Council, Israel said that if peace was to be restored in the area, Egypt must abandon its policy of active hostility against Israel. In 1960 Israel's Prime Minister David Ben Gurion paid a state visit to the USA and was reported to have been assured by President Eisenhower that the US would assist Israel in case of an Arab attack. Col. Nasser of Egypt notified the UN that any Israeli attack on the Syrian region would be regarded as an attack on Egypt and that Egypt would resist such an attack with all the means at her disposal. Thus, tension continued to prevail between Egypt and Israel. UN Secretary General Dag Hammarskjold in a formal statement on 9th April 1960 stated that he would make renewed efforts to arrive at workable practices to ensure freedom of navigation for all vessels in the Suez Canal.

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(5) Close Collaboration Between Israel and Western Powers

Israel was in a way the creation of the Western Powers and it was natural that they were interested in her continued existence. When she was attacked by the Arabs in 1948-49, arms and equipment were supplied by the United States and thus she was enabled to fight successfully against the Arab attacks. The United States and Britain continued to extend military and economic assistance to Israel. It was declared on July 11, 1955 that Israel had purchased two 1700 ton destroyers from Britain thereby making her navy the strongest in West Asia after that of Turkey. The Israeli navy already possessed three Canadian built frigates, two corvettes and a number of torpedo-boats. In a speech on September 18, 1955, Prime Minister Sharett of Israel declared that the supply of arms to Egypt by Czechoslovakia had cast "a deep shadow over the entire scene of Israel's foreign and defence affairs and was liable to bring about a revolutionary and ominous change in Israel's security situation". He asserted that the arms agreement betwen Egypt and Czechoslovakia implied a political and military link up between Egypt and Communist bloc. Premier Sharett appealed to the Western Powers to provide arms in order to ensure the safety of Israel. In a speech on November 9, 1955 British Prime Minister Anthony Eden declared that Britain would be willing to give formal guarantee to both sides if an acceptable arrangement could be reached for settling the boundary between Israel and the Arab States. In February 1956 on the request of the US, the Security Council decided to despatch Hammarskjold to ease the tension between Israel and Arabs. On April 6, 1956 the American Tanker Kern Hills carrying a cargo of 16700 tons of crude oil from the Persian Gulf arrived at Elath the port of Israel. On 3rd April 1957 it was announced that the government of France had agreed to advance credit equivalent to 30 million dollars to Israel so as to enable her to buy from France arms and consumer goods. On 3rd June 1957 Israel announced her support to the Eisenhower Doctrine, which was designed to reinforce American collective security arrangements in the Middle East. The United States not only gave economic and military aid to Israel but also she promoted cooperation with Israel in scientific field. A Nuclear Research Institute one of the most modern of its kind in the world was opened on 21st May 1958 at Rehovoth in Israel in the presence of European and American scientists. In February 1960 Ben Gurion the Israeli Premier paid a state visit to the United States. He was assured of military help in the event of an attack from the Arab countries. On 26th September, 1962, the US agreed to give short

range defensive missiles to Israel in order to offset Soviet bloc weapons recently required by the Arab States.

(6) Out-break of the Arab-Israel War (1967)

The partition of Palestine and the creation of Israel sowed the seeds of discord between the Arabs and the Jews. The Arab countries regarded the 1948 arrangements as purely temporary affair and did not extend recognition to Israel as a sovereign republic. The Arabs believe that Israel is the creation of Western imperialism and her annihilation would mean the elimination of the last vestiges of western imperialism in West Asia. A variety of factors contributed to the major flare up between the Arabs and Israel in June 1967. These factors are discussed as follows:

(1) In the first place nearly one million Arabs had become refugees as a result of Arab-Israel conflicts since 1948, (2) The Jordan water dispute between the Arab States and Israel created tension in the West Asia, (3) The border dispute between the Arab states and Israel also led to escalation of tension in the West Asia. Fundamentally the West Asian crisis is the product of the cold war. (4) The ferment of Arab nationalism refused to tolerate Israel which received the patronage of the Western countries. Zionist state of Israel situated in the Middle East was regarded something alien to Muslim culture, (5) Arab hostility became more pronounced because Israel developed border trouble with neighbouring Arab states. The immediate cause of the major confrontation between the Arabs and Israel was the border dispute between them. Since 1956 Israel's relations with the UAR and Syria became acrimonious. The UN Mixed Commission set up to settle border dispute between Syria and Israel faced very difficult task. Syria seemed to be poised for military confrontation with Israel. Col. Nasser of the UAR, supported Syria. On May 17, 1967 he asked the UN Military command to withdraw the peace keeping forces from UAR's border with Israel as the UAR troops were instructed to prepare for defence against any possible attack by Israel. The Arab countries including Iraq, Algeria, Yemen and Jordan declared their solidarity with Syria, and Egypt. On 19th May 1967 UN Secretary General U-Thant ordered the withdrawal of the United Nations Emergency Force from Arab-Israel border and on the following day he declared that the situation in West Asia was more menacing than at any time since the Suez Canal crisis in 1956.

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into effect her decision to blockade the Gulf of Aqaba, by mining all approaches to it. The blockade of the Gulf of Aqaba closed the Israel's port of Eilat which accounted for nearly 20% of Israel's foreign trade.

(b) Reaction to Egypt's Blockade of the Gulf of Aqaba: Israel denounced the mining of the Gulf of Aqaba as the most flagrant violation of the laws of navigation and a clear breach of the 1958 International Convention of Maritime law. Britain and the United States supported the view point of Israel on this contentious issue. The United States in view of the serious developments in West Asia, ordered her sixth fleet in Eastern Mediterranean to maintain peace in that region. France on the other hand put forward a proposal of high level meeting of the war-time — Big Four to resolve Arab-Israel dispute. But Egypt turned down the French proposal and entered into anti-Israel pact with other Arab States including Kuwait, Syria, Iraq, Saudi Arabia, Lebanon, Jordan and Tunisia. The Arabs also threatened to take over British and American oil companies if they ventured to take action in favour of Israel. Soviet warships were now ordered to proceed to Eastern Mediterranean on 31st May 1967.

(c) Opening of Hostilities Between Arabs and Israel: Israel definitely knew that the Arabs were poised for a showdown and war seemed to be imminent. Her survival was in jeopardy due to the formidable combination of several Arab states. Her military leaders were convinced of the advantages of the first strike on a massive scale. So on June 5, 1967 Israel's strategic air force made a pre-emptive strike on Arab countries which were taken by surprise. Israel opened four fronts of war such as Gaza strip, Sinai, Jordan and Syria. She had conducted simultaneous air raids on all Egyptian military bases. Israel seized an area from Jordan river to Suez and the Gulf of Aqaba was forced open. The victory of Israel's forces was largely because of their ability in destroying Egyptian strategic air force by surprise air raids. The Arabs lay prostrate in the six-day war due to military skill of Israel's troops and her strong air force.

(d) Role of the UNO in the Arab-Israel Conflict of 1967: The UN Security Council approved unanimously a Soviet resolution demanding cease-fire and the same was accepted by Egypt and Isreal. India condemned Israel's aggression and insisted that the Israel should withdraw her troops to the positions occupied before the commencement of hostilities. India was in favour of a just settlement in Middle East. She voiced these sentiments in the UNO. The Soviet Union also vehemently condemned Israel's aggression and severed diplomatic relations with her. On November 23, 1967 the British sponsored resolution was adopted by the Security Council. This

resolution asked Israel to withdraw her forces from occupied Arab territories in the recent conflict. It sought to end all belligerency in order to restore durable peace in the Middle East. The resolution also stressed the need (a) for guaranteeing freedom of navigation through international waterways in the region; (b) for arriving at a just settlement of refugee problem; and (c) for guaranteeing the territorial inviolability and political freedom of every state in the region through measures including the establishment of demilitarized zone. The resolution requested the UN Secretary General to designate a special UN agent to proceed to the Middle East to establish and maintain contacts with the Arabs and authorities of Israel in order to facilitate a settlement by peaceful means. Mr. Gunar Jarring, U-Thant's representative in the West Asia made his efforts to work out a UN peace formula. The Arabs who suffered from recent military reverses were sceptical about this peace formula sponsored by Gunar Jarring. Their frayed tempers and wounded psyche came in the way of an amicable settlement with Israel.

(7) Consequences of Arab-Israel Conflict of June 1967

Egyptian President Nasser who frankly admitted defeat, lost his prestige he had acquired in the Arab world in the war with Israel, France and Britain in 1956. In the defeat of Arabs the Chinese saw the gross failure of Soviet revisionist leadership to supply the Arabs with adequate war material. Though the defeat of the Arabs brought discredit to the side supported by the Soviet Union, yet it enhanced the popularity of the USSR in the West Asia; because she supported the Arab cause. The victory in this war was a great morale booster for Israel whose victory was indeed the victory of the Western Powers. In 1968 the United States agreed to supply 58 phantom 4 bombers to Israel.

(8) Sporadic Incidents of Clashes Between the Arabs and Israel

Clashes between the Arabs and Israel continued inspite of cease-fire and Security Council's warning against such actions. On October 31, 1968 Israel air force struck at Aswan–Cairo power transmission line and at a bridge over the Nile. On 1st December Israel's troops blew up two bridges deep inside Jordan. On 3rd December a large number of Israel's bombers pounded Jordenian and Iraq manned gun batteries east of river Jordan. These Israeli actions were taken as reprisals for the subversive activities of the Palestinian commandos in the Israel occupied zone. On December 28, 1968 Israel air force destroyed 13 air liners in the Beirut Airport though Lebanon was not at war with the Jewish state. This air raid

was a reprisal for hijacking an Israel's plane by an Arab terrorist in the Athens air port. The UN Security Council denounced this barbaric act and on this occasion no Western country supported Israel's action. France followed up her condemnation of Israel by cancelling the contract for supply of Mirage war planes. Thus, inspite of the Security Council's resolution rather in defiance of it Arab-Israel conflict continued unabated.

(9) Resumption of Hostilities Between Arabs and Israel in 1973

On 19th April 1968 Col. Nasser of Egypt declared that an Arab-Israel war in near future was inevitable. But fate had decreed that Egypt would wage this war under Anwar Sadat the next President of Egypt, because President Nasser passed away on 28th September 1970. The failure of Israel and Arabs and also the UN and the Super Powers to arrive at an agreed solution in the Middle East resulted in mounting tension in the region. The war of attrition carried on by Israel and Arabs against each other kept the Middle East cauldron boiling. The Palestinians uprooted from their soil in the previous wars between Arabs and Israel, dreamt of returning to their homeland at any cost. To achieve their ends the Arab terrorists even killed the wrestlers of Israel participating in the Munich Olympic of 1972. Israel also retaliated whenever opportunities came her way. On October 6, 1973 Syria and Egypt launched an attack on Israel in order to reoccupy the Arab territories lost during the war of 1967. The central issue of Israel was her security. At the outset the Arabs had the advantage of the surprise attack. The Arabs broke the Israel defences in Sinai peninsula by smashing the famous Bar-Lev-Line. Israel now mounted military pressure on the Syrian front and instantly occupied the Golan heights which were of great strategic importance. On October 15, 1973 Israel's army surprised the Egyptians by crossing the Suez and cutting off the Egyptian Third Army's communication line with its base. By this time all the Arab countries including Jordan, Tunisia, Saudi Arabia, and Iraq joined hands and supported Egypt and Syria in their struggle against Israel.

(10) Efforts for Peace in the Middle East under UN Auspices

As a result of this new flare up the Security Council in its meeting held on October 22, 1973 adopted a resolution calling upon the parties to the present fighting to cease all firing not later than 12 hours after the adoption of the decision and to implement the Security Council resolution 242 (The resolution adopted during 1967 war). The resolution now adopted by the Security Council stressed the urgency of the establishment of durable peace in the Middle East

and the need for initiating discussion among the contending parties. But the belligerents paid no heed to the Security Council resolution. So on the following day the Security Council adopted another resolution to impose cease-fire. To carry the resolution to effect, the United Nations had to create an emergency force with the US and Soviet participation. Syria toed the hard line. She refused to accept cease-fire and President Hafiz Asad of Syria refused to join the Geneva conference convened for establishing peace in West Asia. Subsequently however, Syria declared cease-fire and on 31st May 1974 signed an agreement with Israel to start negotiations for peace in West Asia. It was President Anwar Sadat of Egypt who took the initiative for holding the Geneva Conference with a view to achieving settlement in the Middle East under the aegis of the UNO. This Conference was attended by the UN Secretary General Kurt Waldheim, Andri Gromiko the Soviet Foreign Minister, and Henry Kissinger of the United States. On 23rd December 1973 delegates of Israel, Egypt and Jordan after a long discussion arrived unanimously at a decision to disengage Israel force and the Egyptian troops. The Geneva Conference resulted in some most important decisions which were as follows:

(1) The Arab states and Israel agreed to remove their troops to to mutually agreed frontiers. (2) They agreed to arrange for security of the demilitarized zone. (3) They also agreed to protect the legitimate interests of the Palestinians and to preserve the sacred places of Christians, Jews and Muslims in Jerusalem. After the Geneva Conference both Egypt and Israel agreed to remove their armed forces 32 Kilometres from the East bank of Suez. Both the countries agreed to start negotiations in order to open Suez Canal for navigation. In July 1975 Suez Canal was open for navigation. Meanwhile General Yizhak Robin replaced Mrs. Golda Meir as Premier of Israel. Thus, Israel situated as it is in the strategic area of West Asia, became deeply involved in the cold war. With the whole Arab world and Communist bloc lined against her, Israel naturally depended on the military support of the United States and other Western Powers. There is still an uneasy calm in this region as the rapprochement between the Arab states and Israel is a remote possibility. Israel needs guarantee about inviolability of her frontiers and she is unwilling to vacate the Arab territories conquered by her in the interest of her security because her existence in West Asia is intolerable to the Arabs. On the other hand the problem of two and a half million Palestinian Arabs has complicated the Arab-Israel relations. The Palestinian Liberation Organisation (PLO) led by Arafat has been struggling hard to regain their homeland. The smouldering

discontent of the Palestinian refugees has created a volcanic situation in the Middle East. The plight of these Palestinian Arabs who have got refuge in neighbouring Arab States is very pathetic. They are living in refugee camps which occasionally have been the targets of Israel's attacks. In 1987 the food supplies to these refugee camps became so inadequate that most of these wretched people died of sheer starvation. It seems therefore that permanent peace settlement to be successful must imply Israel's acceptance of a Palestinian Arab state and Arab acceptance of Jewish State. But the only parts of Palestine which Israel is conceivably likely to relinquish are the occupied strip of Gaza and West Bank of Jordan river. Compared with Palestinian Arabs' dream of returning to orange groves in Haifa, it is bound to seem to Palestinians a meagre concession. Both sides should be realistic in their approach and should seek a permanent settlement in spirit of friendly cooperation, mutual understanding and mutual accommodation. If the Arabs accord recognition to Israel and guarantee inviolability of her border, the latter may consider to give more territorial concessions for home land of Palestinian refugees. Obviously the use of force is no solution to this Arab-Israel dispute.

(F) Iran In World Affairs

Iran the home land of the Aryans stands unique among the nations of the world for her historical and cultural continuity. As early as 550 B C the emperors Cyprus and Darius established the first world empire stretching from Egypt across Asia Minor to the banks of the Indus. Centuries later another Persian empire (Iran's empire) inflicted crushing defeats on the Legions of Rome, but in seventh century Iran (Persia) was conquered by the Muslim Arabs. The Persians countered this political conquest with a cultural conquest of their own because their poets and writers enriched medieval Arab civilisation. The people of Persia are proud of their national past and their civilizing mission. Iran's national heroes are not emperors or warriors but medieval poets of whom Omar Khayyam is best known to us. Russia created the first imperialist thrust in 1829 when she annexed Iranian territories in the Caucasus. Later in the 19th century she acquired valuable economic concessions in Iran. Britain also began to vie with Russia in extracting concessions in Persia, the most important of which was the right to exploit the oil fields of Iran. Oil was discovered in Iran in 1908 and the Anglo-Iranian oil Company was formed in 1909: According to Anglo-Russian Convention of 1907 North Persia was recognised as Russian sphere of influence while South Persia was to be under British influence. The last of the old dynasties the Qajars ruled till 1926

when Reza Shah Pehlvi an ambitious army officer became Shah of Iran. He introduced far-reaching reforms and emulated Mustapha Kemal of Turkey in his attempt to build a strong state. Reza Shah drove his people hard, had roads and railways built, industries installed, modern law codes enacted, a national bank created, women freed from veil and a school system spread over the entire country.

(1) Iran during the Period of Second World War

When the Second World War broke out, Britain and Russia occupied Iran with their forces on the pretext of meeting German threat across the Caucasus. Anglo-Soviet collusion resulted in the abdication of Riza Shah Pehlvi. His son Mohammad Riza Pehlvi was installed on the throne. On 9th September 1943 Iran declared war on Germany. On December 1, 1943 President Roosevelt of USA, Churchill and Stalin undertook in the Teheran Declaration to respect the independence and territorial integrity of Iran. In the name of war necessity, the country was flooded with Soviet and American troops, the former in the north and the latter in the south.

(2) Iran's Dispute with the Soviet Union

In 1921 the Soviet Union had voluntarily renounced all her interests in northern Iran. In 1944 she asked for oil concessions in northern Iran at the same time when American and British oil companies were seeking new concessions in the south eastern part. Relentless pressure was brought to bear on the government of Iran to comply with the Soviet demands. The Soviet Union instigated the Iranian Democratic Party to launch a secessionist movement in Iranian Province of Azerbaijan. Iran expressed her resentment to Soviet move and lodged strong protest with the Soviet government. Iran also appealed to the Soviet Union to withdraw her troops from Iranian territory. But Soviet Union did not respond to Iran's appeal and her military presence on Iranian soil continued. On 19th January 1946 the Security Council met. Iran accused the Soviet Union of interference in her internal affairs. On 19th March Iran charged the USSR with maintaining troops in Northern Iran beyond March 2, 1946 the date previously agreed upon for withdrawal. Iran invoked article 35 of UN Charter and requested for an immediate and just solution of the dispute by the Security Council. Britain and the United States had already withdrawn their troops from Iran according to agreed schedule. They also mounted pressure on the Soviet Union to withdraw her troops without undue delay. However, on 9th May 1946 the Soviet Union withdrew her troops from the soil of Iran.

(3) Close Collaboration Between Iran and the United States

Feeling menaced from the Soviet Union, the Shah of Iran asked for military and economic aid from the government of the United States. In March 1947 the US announced her so-called Truman Doctrine designed to check the extension of Soviet influence, throughout the world. On October 6, 1947 the US-Iran military agreement was concluded providing for an American military mission to assess the defence requirements of Iran. During the summer of 1947 it was announced that Iran would receive 30 million dollars worth of surplus army equipment together with 25 million dollars credit with which to pay for it. In February 1948 the National Assembly of Iran decided to purchase ten million dollars worth of US arms. In September 1947 the US ambassador in Tehran stated that his country would defend Iran's freedom to make her own choice in matters of foreign affairs.

(4) Nationalisation of Oil Industry

The Anglo-Iranian Oil Company (AIOC) had been enjoying a long term lease over a rich oil bearing area in Iran. The government of Iran opened negotiations with AIOC for the conclusion of a Supplemental Agreement for a revision of the royalty terms. In July 1949, the agreement was signed and the AIOC consented to increase the royalty percentage. But Iran's National Assembly refused to ratify this agreement in 1950. Dr. Moussadeq supported by the National Front and the Fadayani Islam made a fervent appeal for nationalisation of the oil industry. On 8th March, 1951 Premier Razmara who was a staunch supporter of AIOC, was assassinated. Next day the Oil Commission appointed by the National Assembly submitted its report recommending the nationalisation of oil. A bill was hastened through both Houses of the National Assembly and in April 1951 entire oil industry was nationalised. In May Dr. Moussadeq became the Prime Minister of Iran. The AIOC refused to accept the law of Iran's National Assembly and a dispute between Iran and England arose first on the validity of nationalisation and then on the issue of compensation for the unexpired period of the lease. The British references to the UN Security Council and the International Court of Justice, the Stroke's Mission sent by the British government, the appeals by American President Eisenhower and offers of the US financial aid proved of no use. Iran's Premier Moussadeq insisted on the right of independent Iran to nationalise her oil industry.

(a) British Reprisal Against Iran: In order to harass Iran, Britain ordered her tankers not to carry any Iranian oil and per-

suaded the Western countries not to buy it. The United States supported British action lest the success of Premier Moussadeq should adversely affect her vital interests in Saudi Arabia and other oil producing Arab States. On 15th January 1952 US stopped the military aid to Iran. In June 1953 US President Eisenhower wrote to premier Moussadeq of Iran that "no further US aid would be forthcoming unless the oil disputes with Britain were settled or submitted to a neutral international body".

(b) Impact of Anglo-American Pressure on Iran: Iran was faced with a serious economic deterioration and there was increasing opposition to the Premier Moussadeq in the National Assembly. The Shah asked him to resign and appointed General Fazollah Zahedi as Premier. The new Premier opened negotiations with the government of United States and the latter gave 45 million dollars as emergency economic aid to save the country from imminent bankruptcy. Americans also pledged to give military aid and technical assistance worth about 23 million dollars in 1954. The United States also promised additional economic aid under the Point Four Programme.

(c) Anglo-Iranian Accord (August 1954): On December 9, 1953 diplomatic relations were resumed between London and Tehran. Through the mediatory efforts of Herbert Hoover the US State Department Petroleum expert, an oil accord was concluded between Britain and Iran on August 5, 1954. The new Premier General Fazollah Zahedi piloted the proceedings of this accord in National Parliament which ratified it in October 1954. Petroleum production and export were resumed in November.

(5) Iran in the Western Fold

Iran began to move in the Western fold. In February 1955 Tehran decided to exchange ambassadors with Japan. In April a British firm (Costain-John Brown) was given a contract worth 6500000 pounds to construct 600 mile pipe line from the Abadan oil fields to Tehran. The Iranian government also placed a contract with West German government for supply of 180,000 telephones. On 24th August 1955 the government of Iran announced that contracts aggregating 160 million dollars had been awarded to three American French and German firms for the construction of seven hundred agricultural schools and colleges, 780 art and technical institutions, 245 health centres, 160 hospitals, 400 village clinics, and 12 sanitoriums. On 15th August 1955 a treaty of friendship, economic relations and consular rights was concluded between the United States and Iran. On 11th October 1955 the government of Iran decided to

adhere to Baghdad Pact of which Turkey Iraq, Pakistan and UK were the signatory states. The Iranian authorities rejected as "incorrect and inadmissible" a Soviet note of October 12 protesting against Iran's adherence to the Pact.

(a) Iran's Endorsement of the Eisenhower Doctrine: After the talks in Tehran between James P. Richard special secretary to President Eisenhower on West Asian problems and Iran's Premier Hussein Ala a joint statement was issued on 27th March 1957 which reaffirmed Iran's endorsement of the Eisenhower Doctrine and emphasised that the US government had no territorial ambitions in West Asia nor any desire to create a "socalled sphere of influence.

(b) Joint Statement of King Faisal of Iraq and Shah of Iran About Baghdad Pact: A joint statement was issued in Tehran on October 28, 1957 at the end of 12 day State visit by King Faisal of Iraq in which the latter and Shah of Iran pledged their full and unqualified support for Baghdad Pact and described it as "the most practicable instrument to maintain understanding and secure peace and order in the region".

(c) Economic Collaboration Between Iran and Free World: On 15th March 1956 Iran signed with two American experts in regional development — David E. Lilienthal and Gordon Clapp both former chairmen of the distinguished Tennessee Valley Authority, a five year contract for the formulation of a plan for development and industrialization in the Iranian province of Khuzistan. The Prime Minister of Iran Dr. Eghbal presented to the Majlis the Iranian Parliament on April 29 1958 a draft agreement which had been concluded between National Iranian Oil Company and the Pan American Petroleum Corporation. It covered the exploitation of the offshore oil resources in the Persian Gulf over an area of some 6200 square miles of Iran continental shelf. A reciprocal agreement on commerce, transit, trade and rights of domicile was concluded between Pakistan and Iran in February 1958. In January 1958 a new trade and payments agreement between Iran and Italy was signed in Rome. The Shah of Iran also paid a 5 day State visit to Jordan from 2nd November to 6th November 1959 and signed a cultural convention. A joint communique stressed economic co-operation between the two countries. The Shah also paid a State visit to London on 6th May 1959. This visit strengthened the economic ties and bonds of friendship between the two countries.

(6) Rupture with Iraq and Outbreak of Gulf War

(*Note*: Please see Point (D) (7) of Chapter 18).

(7) US Perception of the Gulf War

(8) Iran-Contra Scandal

(*Note*: For detailed study please see point (D) (7) of Chapter 18).

(G) Afghanistan In Cold War

Afghanistan is situated on the east of West Asia. On its north is Russian Turkestan, on the west Iran and on the east and south, Pakistan. She played the role of a buffer state ever since the establishment of British empire in India. Being a buffer state between British India and Russia, Afghanistan had attained a special political significance. She had been compared to a goat which separated "the lion from the bear". In the Anglo-Russian Convention of 1907, British influence over Afghanistan was recognised by Russia but the country was not to be occupied by British troops. After the recognition of Afghanistan as British sphere of influence according to above convention, the British apprehensions about possible Russian advance into Afghanistan were removed. No wonder the British remained ever cautious about possible Russian imperialist designs on Afghanistan. In 1929 King Amanullah was forced by the feudal lords and religious leaders to abdicate. King Nadiz Shah who succeeded him, granted to the people a constitution in 1930 and the constitutional monarchy was established in the country. The executive authority was vested in a cabinet responsible to the popularly elected bicameral parliament. On July 8, 1937 Afghan government concluded a Four Power Pact at the Sahadabad palace in Teheran with Turkey, Iraq and Iran whereby the signatory states had pledged themselves to regard their common frontiers as inviolable, to consult each other in international conflicts which might prejudice their common interests and to abstain from aggression or interference. This pact was to remain in force for five years in the first instance.

(1) Afghanistan in the Post-World War II Period

In the Second World War Afghanistan remained neutral. She tried to maintain friendly relations with all countries. She received economic and technical aid from the United States. West Germany helped the country in setting up some cotton mills. The government of Afghanistan established friendly relations with India, and substantial trade developed between the two countries. Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru paid a State visit to Afghan capital and Afghan Premier came to New Delhi to strengthen the bonds of friendship between the two countries.

(a) Friction Between Afghanistan and Pakistan Over the Issue of Pakhtoonistan: The Afghans developed serious trouble with Paki-

stan over the issue of regional autonomy for five million Pakhtoons in Pakistan's territory. Afghanistan resented American military aid to Pakistan because she was apprehensive of the possible use of American weapons against her. In order to safeguard herself Afghanistan moved closer to the Soviet Union. In early 1960 Soviet Premier Khrushchev visited Kabul and extended support to Afghanistan on the issue of Pakhtoonistan. He assured the Afghans that the Soviet government would continue to give economic aid to Afghanistan for her development projects.

(b) Afghanistan and the United States: (*Note*: Please see point (D) (6) of Chapter 18)

(c) Afghanistan and the Soviet Union: (*Note*: Please see point (G) of Chapter 19)

(H) Position Of Cyprus, Syria, Iraq, Jordan, Lebanon, Saudi Arabia And Yemen In World Affairs

(I) Cyprus

Great Britain had acquired the island of Cyprus from Turkey in 1878 and turned it into a Crown colony following the Second World War. Cyprus was a great bastion of British naval power in the Mediterranean. The British introduced various reforms but paid little attention to the popular demand for constitutional government. The national movement was led by Archbishop Makarios who was both the political and religious leader of the Cypriots.

(i) Attainment of Independence by Cyprus (February 1960): Britain tried to repress the national movement in Cyprus and deported Arch Bishop Makarios the undisputed nationalist leader of Cyprus. Turkey evinced great interest in Cyprus. She claimed that since she controlled Cyprus at the time of its cession to Great Britain in 1878 according to Treaty of Berlin, the island if relinquished by the British, should revert to Turkey not to Greece. On the behalf the Turkish minority which constituted 18 per cent of the island's population and some 40% of the island's economic interests Turkish government opposed the demand of the Cypriots for self-government or union with Greece, which Greek government supported. The island of Cyprus retained its importance as a Western base within the framework of the NATO for the containment of the Soviet Union. An agreement was reached between Greece and Britain in a meeting in Zurich. Greece renounced her demand for Cyprus's merger into Greek territory and Britain also gave up her offer of self-government for the island under the British Crown. The agreement provided for independence of Cyprus by the end of February 1960. Cyprus was to become an independent republic with a Greek Cypriot as her

dent Makarios of Cyprus had to leave the country on July, 16, 1974. Turkey now intervened militarily in Cyprus on the pretext of protecting the life and property of Turkish minority in Cyprus. However, the UNO took initiative and restored peace in the country and the foreign troops were ultimately withdrawn from the territory of Cyprus. Peace gradually returned to Cyprus and President Makarios was able to regain power. In 1977 the Greek and Turkish Cypriots agreed to establish a federation in Cyprus.

II. Syria

Syria which was a province of the Ottoman Empire till 1918 was put under French mandate by the League of Nations in 1920. Syria passed out of French domination in the Second World War. Towards the end of the war the French tried to reestablish their authority in Syria and in May 1945 a French general bombarded the capital city Damascus but the British government compelled the French authorities to leave Syria. In March 1945 Syria became one of the members of the Arab League and in the same year she joined the United Nations. In November 1946 Syria was elected a non-permanent member of the Security Council of the UNO. Between February and May 1946 the issue of withdrawal of French troops from Syria was dealt with by the UN and by the middle of that year all the French troops evacuated Syria.

(i) Syria and the Western Powers: Syria had been friendly with England since 1941 because of the support which Britain gave to the Syrians in their conflict withthe French. But the cordiality could not continue in the post-war years. Britain and the United States supported Zionism and this was resented by all the Arab states including Syria. The United States and her allies were looked upon with distrust in the Arab World. When in 1956 England and France launched invasion of the Suez Canal, Syria severed diplomatic relations with both. Iraq Oil Company's pipe line was also cut off. From November 13 to 15 Syria's President Kuwatly participated in the Beirut Conference of Arab Heads of States to demand the withdrawal of Anglo-French troops from Egypt. During the General Assembly's debate on Soviet military action in Hungary, the Syrian delegate interrupted the proceedings on November 21, 1956 to say that he had received a cable from his government about imminent aggression against Syria by French, British and Israel forces. Later on Syria alleged that British, French and Israeli aircrafts had violated its air space on numerous occasions. On August 13, 1957 the government of Syria accused the United States of having hatched a plot to overthrow Syria's present regime. Three officials of American

embassy were accused of complicity and were asked to leave Syria within 24 hours. In retaliation the US State Department declared on 14th August the Syrian Ambassador in Washington as persona non grata. It also announced that the American Ambassador to Syria would not be returning to Damascus. At President Eisenhower's press conference on 21st August 1957 Merriman Smith of the United Press commented that Syria seemed to be drifting into the Soviet orbit. In August 1957 a pro-communist officer Colonel Afif Bizri was appointed commander-in-chief of Syrian armed forces. On 7th September 1957 John Foster Dulles the US Secretary of State issued a statement saying that the United States hoped that the Soviet Union would not push Syria into any acts of aggression against her neighbours. Britain also expressed anxiety over the developments in Syria. Even today though Syria is a non-aligned country, yet she is maintaining anti-West stance in international affairs.

(ii) Syria and Communist Bloc: In the early post-war years Syria had no affinity with the Soviet Union and she was not favourable to international communism. But on account of her hostility with the Western Powers, Syria looked towards the Soviet Union and her communist satellite states for friendship and aid. In August 1957 an agreement was signed in Moscow under which Russia promised to provide Syria economic and technical aid without any kind of strings. Moscow and Damascus raised their legations to embassy level. Syria accorded diplomatic recognition to the People's Republic of China on July 3, 1956 and to German Democratic Republic in October. Thus, Syria passed under Soviet influence. She is anti-West and this feeling of hostility towards the West was generated by the support extended by the United States and Britain to Israel.

(iii) Syria and Zionism: Syria considered the threat of Zionism as real as any other Arab State. In 1948 she co-operated in the invasion of Palestine and when the invasion failed, she collaborated in the blockade of Israel. In August and September 1954 some clashes occurred on the Israeli-Syrian frontier in the demilitarized zone and relations between the two countries became tense. In December 1955 Israel's troops raided Syrian positions north-east of Lake Tiberias and forty Syrians lost their lives. Syria called for an emergency session of Security Council to consider the flagrant violations of the armistice agreement by Israel. During the Suez Canal crisis she denounced Anglo-French-Israeli aggression against Egypt. In the Arab-Israel conflict of June 1967 and October 1973 Syria joined other Arab States to launch a military offensive against Israel. In all these conflicts Syria suffered great military reverses.

(iv) Syria and Turkey: Relations between Syria and Turkey were far from satisfactory. Syria drifted apart from the Western countries but Turkey came closer to them. This created estrangement between the two West-Asian countries. When in February 1955 Turkey concluded a defence agreement with Iraq, there were demonstrations and resentment in Syria. Tension was mounting on the Turkish-Syrian border. Syria and the Soviet Union alleged Turkey of having sinister designs to over-throw the existing regime in Syria. The allegation was denied by Turkey. The USA and Turkey maintained that tension in West Asia arose primarily from Soviet attempts to convert Syria into a Communist satellite. On October 13, 1957 Egyptian troops landed in Syria to support and strengthen Syria's defence potential. The king of Saudi Arabia offered to mediate between Syria and Turkey but the gesture was rejected by Syria. On October 16 Syria referred the matter to the UN. Turkey denied the Syrian allegations and held Syria responsible for border trouble with her.

(v) Emergence of UAR (United Arab Republic): In view of the tense relations with Turkey which was a member of NATO, Syria felt insecure. She had already developed trouble with Israel and Jordan. So her security was in jeopardy. On February 1, 1958 she formed union with Egypt and UAR was created. Hereafter Syria moved in close collaboration with Egypt. But in course of time differences developed between the two federating units of the UAR and on September 28, 1961 Syria seceded from the UAR. Thereafter the title continued to be applied to Egypt alone. On 7th April 1963 talks opened in Cairo between Egyptian, Syrian and Iraqi governments and on April 17 the leaders of the delegations of three Arab states signed a declaration containing a draft constitution for a federation of the Egypt, Syria and Iraq under the name of the United Arab Republic, membership of which would be open to other Arab countries. This scheme however, did not materialise.

(III) Iraq

Iraq is surrounded by Turkey on the north, Syria and Jordan on the west and Saudi Arabia on the south. In the San Remo Conference; Britain obtained mandate over Iraq and the League of Nations confirmed it.

(1) Iraq and Britain

In 1921 Britain invited Faisal the son of Sheriff Hussain to assume the crown of Iraq. Britain signed a number of treaties with Iraq. The first of this series of Anglo-Iraqi treaties signed on October 10, 1922 gave Britain control over Iraq's armed forces and foreign

affairs. In 1926, and 1927 Britain by signing two separate treaties modestly relaxed this control. In 1930 Iraq and Britain signed a treaty of 20 years' alliance and declared the termination of British mandate on the date of Iraq's entry into the League of Nations. On October 3, 1932 Iraq was made a member of the League. In January 1943 Iraq declared war on the Axis Powers and supported Allies. Towards the end of the World War II there was great resentment against Britain because of the restrictions imposed on Iraq under Anglo-Iraqi Treaty of 1930 and partly because of the policies pursued by Britain in Palestine. The withdrawal of British forces from Iraq was urged and the same was done in 1947 except from the two bases granted in the above treaty. On 15th January 1948 Iraq signed a new treaty with Britain at Ports Mouth. Britain agreed to give up her part ownership and management of the railways of Iraq and also her rights in the management of port of Basra. Britain also agreed to withdraw from air bases in Iraq though they were to be available for use until peace treaties became effective with all ex-enemy powers (Axis powers). An Anglo-Iraqi joint defence board was to be established to coordinate defence matters. The Iraqi government agreed to employ the British whenever military instructors were required. All facilities were to be provided to the British in case of war or the threat of war. There were violent public demonstrations against this treaty. Confronted with this explosive situation Iraq disowned the treaty. However, the previous treaty of 1930 was to remain in force but the political leaders continued to insist on its abrogation.

(2) Issue of Nationalisation of Oil

There was a persistent demand for nationalisation of oil industry which was being developed by the United States Britain and France. On February 3, 1952 an agreement was concluded with the concessionaires (US, UK, France) who guaranteed to the Iraqi government an income from oil royalties of not less than 20 million pounds per annum. This agreement was vehemently criticised by the People's Socialist Party and the Istiqlal an extreme nationalist party. In November 1952 there were violent students' demonstrations and clashes with the police. The offices of the British owned Iraqi Times and the US Information Service were set ablaze.

(3) Iraq's Drift into Western Orbit

Iraq was threatened by the subversive activities of the communists. In March 1950 General Nuri Said, the Conservative Prime Minister of Iraq for eleven times told the people that the country was most vulnerable to the Soviet influence and that Iraq was the potential bridge head for advance of international communism.

Many communists were arrested for propagating communism among the army ranks and civilian population. Iraq's national interests demanded close collaboration with the United States and her allies. The Communist threat had not yet been mitigated; and this necessitated a reclining towards the Western Camp. In 1951 Iraq signed an agreement of mutual cooperation with Pakistan. On February 25, 1955 the Treaty of Mutual Cooperation was signed with Turkey. Iraq came closer to Britain. A special agreement containing the terms of defence cooperation between Britain and Iraq and replacing the 1930 Anglo-Iraqi Treaty was signed at Baghdad on 4th April 1955. On September 23 Pakistan acceded to the Turkish-Iraqi Pact and in November Iran also joined it. Baghdad became the head quarters of the signatories of the Baghdad Pact. Although the United States was not a signatory to Baghdad Pact, she established military and political liaison with the Baghdad Pact organisation. Iraq and Britain entered into close financial cooperation. Under the Marshall Plan the United States gave seven million dollars to Iraq during April 1948 to March 1955. The United States and Iraq signed an agreement on the peaceful uses of atomic energy.

(4) Iraq's Opposition to Anglo-French Invasion of Suez

When in 1956 Britain, France and Israel launched invasion of Suez Canal, Iraq became a co-sponsor of a resolution calling on them to withdraw their forces from Egypt immediately. On the initiative of President Chamoun of Lebanon a conference of Arab Heads of State and their Ministers was convened at Beirut from November 13 to 15, 1956. King Faisal of Iraq attended the Conference and became signatory to a statement calling for the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of the Anglo-French forces from the soil of Egypt. In case Britain and France adopted an attitude which led to the resumption of hostilities, the signatories declared that they would immediately take adequate measures of legitimate defence in accordance with article 41 of the UN Charter and Article 2 of the Joint Arab Defence Treaty. Iraq imposed a boycott on Britain in the Baghdad Pact Organisation. The Anglo-French troops were withdrawn from Egyptian territory and Iraq's friendship with Great Britain was re-established. In April 1957 England supplied five Hunter Mark VI jet fighter planes to Iraq.

(5) Iraq's Adherence to Eisenhower Doctrine

After the discussions in Baghdad between US delegate Richards and General Nuri Said the then Premier of Iraq a joint communique was issued on April 8, 1957 stating that Iraq and the United States were determined to protect their independence against the threat of

international communism and to resist aggression or subversion from any quarter. The US representative Richards agreed that certain additional military aid would be provided to Iraq by the US within the framework of Eisenhower Doctrine and that the US would extend cooperation in the development of Iraq's rail and telecommunication services.

(6) Coup d'etat in Iraq and the End of Monarchical Tradition

A major crisis developed in Iraq in middle of July 1958 when the army led by Brigadier Abdul Karim Kassem revolted and assassinated king Faisal, the Crown Prince Abdal Ilah and General Nuri Said, Iraqi Premier. Explaining the causes of this military Coup d'etat, Kassem stated thus "The revolution has taken place to free the people of Iraq from tyranny and corruption in its domestic affairs. Under the old regime there was no law or justice in Iraq. Only the interests of the governing classes were served by the administration of the law under that regime. Those who have now come to power will place the interests of the people first and the last and will never seek to place themselves above the law nor to corrupt justice in any way". Thus, monarchical government was replaced by a republican form of government headed by Brigadier Kassem. By the end of July the Republic was recognised by the Soviet Union and other communist countries. A number of non-aligned countries like India, Burma Ceylon, Indonesia, Malaya, and the Sudan also accorded their recognition to the new regime. On the other hand Turkey, Pakistan, Iran, Belgium, Greece, West Germany, Japan and Italy also accorded diplomatic recognition to the new government. During the course of revolution British embassy in Baghdad was ransacked and set ablaze by the rioting mob. The British ambassador and his staff were forced to take a refuge in a hotel. The Republican government under Kassem helped the British and American airlines to evacuate the nationals of their countries from Baghdad.

(6) Renunciation of Baghdad Pact by Iraq

Iraq had already absented from the sixth session held in Karachi on January 26, 1959, of the Ministerial Council of the Baghdad Pact. On 24th March 1959 Kassem announced that Iraq had withdrawn from Baghdad pact. On June 1, 1959 the US Embassy in Baghdad announced that Iraqi government had refused to accept American military aid on the ground that it conflicted with her policy of positive neutrality. After the discussions in Baghdad on the future financial relationship between Britain and Iraq a joint communique was issued announcing that Iraq would withdraw from the sterling area with effect from June 23, 1959.

(7) Iraq and Communist Countries

Prior to the Coup d'etat of July 1958 Iraq's relations with the Soviet Union were marked by mutual distrust. On January 3, 1955 Iraq informed the Soviet Union that she had decided to suspend diplomatic relations. The Legation in Moscow was closed. On January 12, 1955 the Soviet Legation in Baghdad was closed. On 16th April 1955 the Soviet Union denounced the Turkish-Iraq Alliance. When in July 1958 after the downfall of monarchy in Iraq, the Republic was established, there was a turn in the tide. Iraq began to pass into the fold of international communism and close cooperation and collaboration was established with Communist bloc countries. A trade and shipping agreement was concluded by Iraq and the Soviet Union and each country undertook to accord the other most-favoured nation treatment. A trade agreement between Iraq and Communist China under which the latter agreed to supply machinery and equipment in return for dates, wool and cotton was signed. Trade agreements were also signed with Rumania, Yugoslavia, Poland and Czechoslovakia. An agreement on economic and technical cooperation and another on scientific and cultural cooperation were signed with the Soviet Union.

(8) Iraq and Israel

Iraq was as much opposed to the creation of a National Home for the Jews in Palestine as any other Arab State. In 1945 she joined the Arab League. In 1948 Iraq supported other Arab States against Israel's army in Palestine and when Israel occupied Haifa, Iraq cut off the oil line to that port. The Zionist activity in Iraq was declared a criminal offence. Out of a total of 150,000 Jews some 130,000 left Iraq during 1951-52 and settled in Israel. When in 1956, boundary disputes started between Israel, and Jordan, and Egypt, the government of Iraq supported the latter. In 1956 Israel launched the invasion of Egypt following the nationalisation of Suez Canal by the latter. On this occasion Iraq demanded an immediate withdrawal of Israeli troops from the soil of Egypt. In November 1956 King Faisal participated in the Conference of the Arab Heads of State which demanded the immediate withdrawal of Anglo-French-Israeli forces from Egypt. Iraq took a position against Israel in the Arab-Israel conflicts of June 1967 and October 1973.

(9) Iraq's Relations with Arabs

Throughout 1949 Iraq had strained relations with her neighbour Syria. Iraq proposed union with Syria but it was blocked by the Coup d'etat of Adib Shishakli in Syria. She also thought of union with Jordan but this also could not materialise due to the opposition of

Western Powers. In 1952 Iraq entered into the Joint Defence and Economic Cooperation Pact of Arab States which tied them militarily. But the old dynastic feuds, mutual distrust and economic interests came in the way of continued cooperation and harmony. In 1955 Iraq proposed to sign mutual defence treaty with Turkey. On this occasion strong opposition was expressed by Syria. The Egyptian government proposed to summon an emergency session of the Arab League to discuss the serious blow to Arab unity caused by the proposed treaty. But the Suez Canal crisis of October 1956 brought Arab States viz. Lebanon, Syria, Iraq, Saudi Arabia and Egypt closer to one another. King Faisal of Iraq took part in the Beirut Conference from 13th to 15th November, 1956 to which detailed reference has already been made. Border trouble developed between Jordan and Israel and there were occasional incidents of clashes between the two countries. Open fighting occurred in Jerusalem from June 30 to July 4, 1954. King Hussein of Jordan appealed to all the Arab States for immediate moral and financial support. King Faisal of Iraq granted one lakh pounds to the Jordenian National Guard. When Britain, France and Israel attacked Egypt in 1956, Jordan feared that she might also be attacked by Israel. A request was made by King Hussein and Iraqi troops entered Jordan to extend military assistance. But Jordan denounced the Baghdad Pact in emphatic terms. The people staged demonstration at Iraq's Embassy at Jordan's capital Amman against the Baghdad Pact and denounced General Nuri the Iraqi Premier as a traitor for aligning Iraq with the imperialists. The Iraqi troops were withdrawn at the request of the government of Jordan.

On February 14, 1958 King Faisal of Iraq and King Hussein of Jordan proclaimed the merger of their countries in a Federal union under the name of the Arab Federation. President Nasser of Egypt welcomed the announcement and sent a congratulatory telegram to king Faisal. But unfortunately this federation did not materialise because King Hussein of Jordan believed that the constitution of the proposed federation was in suspense and inapplicable in practice. In July 1958 General Kassem became the Head of State after staging a coup d' etat and Iraq became a republic. General Kassem and Haj Amin former Mufti of Jerusalem put forth in early 1960 a plan that Arab refugees from Israel should form an independent Palestine republic on the West bank of River Jordan in Gaza and in Arab part of Jerusalem with Haj Amin as first president. Iraq promised to finance this scheme. Jordan opposed Iraq's move. Cairo also rejected the proposal after some time. Thus, the plan for the creation of an independent Arab Palestine Republic could not materialise. In June

1961 Iraq developed trouble with Kuwait. On June 25 General Kassem of Iraq claimed Iraqi sovereignty over Kuwait. The troops of Iraq started moving towards the Sheikhdom. The Sheikh of Kuwait appealed to the British government and Saudi Arabia for help. The troops of the two countries arrived in Kuwait and an explosive situation developed. At Britain's request the UN Security Council met on July 2, to consider the complaint by Kuwait that Iraq was threatening her independence. The USSR exercised veto to British sponsored resolution and on 7th July the Council adjourned its debate. In the meantime a number of countries including India, US, UAR, Sudan and Libya recognised Kuwait. Iraq's claim was not supported by any Arab State. On July 20, Kuwait was admitted to membership of the Arab League in the teeth of opposition of Iraq which denounced Kuwait's admission as a "blatant violation of the Arab League's Charter".

On 8th February 1963 the government of General Kassem was over thrown by a military junta and colonel Aref became the President of the new regime. Kassem and some of his colleagues were shot dead.

(10) Rupture Between Iraq and Iran and Outbreak of the Gulf War

(*Note*: Please see point (D) (7) of Chapter 18).

IV. Jordan

During the period between the two World Wars Transjordan a sparsely-settled Arab state was a British mandate and was administered by a High Commissioner. In 1923 Transjordan was converted into a semi-autonomous Arab principality under Amir Abdullah son of Sheriff Hussain. The creation of this Kingdom under the aegis of Britain was due to the aim of Britain's foreign policy to cultivate the friendship of the ruling royal family and her unwillingness to allow another country to extend influence over an Arab area which controlled the route between the Mediterranean and the Persian Gulf. In March 1946 Jordan attained full independence and in April Abdullah assumed the title of King. A treaty regarding British recognistion of Jordan's independence was signed in London in March 1946. However, in 1948 the above treaty was revised. The revised treaty provided for a mutually defensive alliance between the two countries, for stationing of British armed forces in Jordan and for the transport of British supplies, by air, road, railway, waterway, and pipeline and through the ports of Jordan. The other Arab states levelled scathing criticism against King Abdullah for selling his country to the British. Amir Abdullah was proclaimed

King of the Hashimite Kingdom of Jordan and the title was internationally recognised in 1949. In 1945 Jordan became a member of Arab League. She signed a treaty of alliance with Iraq and treaties of friendship with Turkey Iran and Afghanistan. Jordan applied for membership of the UN thrice but the application was vetoed by the Soviet Union.

(1) Jordan and Palestine Conflict

On May 15, 1948 the date of the expiry of the British mandate over Palestine, the Arab Legion units which were then in Transjordan with the prior consent of King Abdullah participated in the occupation of the Arab areas of Palestine. They were assisted by Egyptian army and other forces of the Arab League Powers. They occupied the eastern part of Palestine. The Arab Legion units did not intervene in Jerusalem until it became clear that no steps were being taken by the UN to establish some kind of international control over the city which was in danger of being over-run by the Jews. In 1949 the Arabs occupied the central section of Palestine and the fighting with Israeli troops continued. However, through the good offices of Dr. Ralph Bunche the UN Acting Mediator in Palestine a cease-fire agreement was signed in April 1949 between Israel and Transjordan. Under this agreement Transjordan was left in the control of the part of central Palestine. General elections were held on both sides of River Jordan and Arab Palestine was incorporated in Transjordan on April 24, 1950. Thereafter the country came to be called Jordan. The British government accorded its recognition to King Abdullah's expanded Kingdom.

(2) Assassination of King Abdullah

Abdullah's Palestine policy was greatly resented by other member states of the Arab League. He incurred their wrath by his over-publicized dream of a Hashimite "Greater Syria". This ambitious design constituted an affront to the independent Syrian Republic and a threat to the balance of power among the Arab states. His ambition was cut short by his assassination on July 20, 1951 by a Palestinian youth. Abdullah's elder son Talal a mentally sick person came to the throne on September 6, 1951. He accepted a revised constitution which concentrated more powers in the hands of politicians. The constitution came into force on January 8, 1952. He grew very sick and on August 11, 1952 Parliament terminated his reign. He was succeeded by his seventeen year old son Hussein. Until his maturity and enthronement on 2nd May 1953 a Regency Council consisting of three elder statesmen was set up.

(3) King Hussein's Problems

When Hussein assumed power, he was confronted with the problem of welding firmly the two parts of his kingdom. Thousands of Arab refugees from Palestine needed relief and rehabilitation. Jordan lost markets in Israel and an access to Mediterranean. The long new frontier with Israel difficult of effective supervision became a scene of violent incidents which deteriorated Israel-Jordan relations. The ex-Mufti of Jerusalem Haj Amin al Hussaini was planning to establish a separate Palestinian Arab state on the West bank of river Jordan and was a potential fifth column in the country. Egypt, Saudi Arabia and even Syria were opposed to the union of the West bank with Jordan.

(4) Hussein's Fervent Appeal for Moral and Material Aid to Jordan

After the armed conflict with the rebels in Jerusalem from June 30 to July 4, 1954 he appealed to all the Arab states for immediate moral and financial aid to enable Jordan to strengthen her defences. In response to this appeal General Naguib of Egypt assured the Jordanian ambassador that Egypt would take steps to fulfil Hussein's request. Saudi Arabia was prepared to give all possible help to Jordan while Iraq announced that she would grant 100000 pounds to the Jordanian National Guard. In March 1955 Turkey supplied three military air crafts to Jordan as a gesture of friendship. Britain also agreed to make an annual payment of 350000 pounds for five years to help finance the Jordanian National Guard. The United States offered a sum of about seven million dollars as financial aid to be spent on the Yarmuk River hydro-electric and irrigation projects. In February-March 1955 King Hussein paid state visits to Egypt and Pakistan and tried to strengthen the bonds of friendship with these countries. On 31st October 1955 the Premiers of Jordan and Syria issued a joint statement to the effect that the policy of both governments was based on the consideration that the armistice demarcation line in Palestine is a single Arabic defence line and that any aggression against any part of that line would be considered aggression against the whole of it.

(5) Anglo-Jordanian Relations

From December 6 to 14, 1955 the Chief the British Imperial General Staff General Sir Gerald Templer and Michael Ross a high official of the Foreign Office visited Amman and conferred with king Hussein and Prime Minister Said-el-Mulki. Although no official statement was issued, it was authoritatively declared in London that General Templer had put forward proposals involving the

revision and strengthening of the UK-Jordanian mutual assistance treaty of 1948, the strengthening of the defence of the Middle East by Jordan's adherence to Baghdad Pact and the re-inforcement of the Jordan's army, the Arab Legion and Jordan's airforce with British equipment. On 14th December Said-el-Mulki submitted his cabinet's resignation in protest against Hussein's deal with Templer. Serious riots broke out in the country. The demonstrators set fire to the US technical aid centre, burned an Embassy car, smashed the windows of the British Bank of the Middle East and the British Council offices and attacked an office of the UN refugee agency. The government of Jordan announced that it would not adhere to any new pacts and certainly it had no intention to joining Baghdad Pact. King Hussein issued a decree on March 2, 1956 ordering the immediate dismissal of Lieutenant General John Bagot Clubb, the British Commander of the Arab Legion because the government had lost faith in his judgment and loyalty to Jordan.

(6) Tension Between Israel and Jordan (1956)

During June-July 1956 several incidents occurred in which Israeli citizens were killed by armed infiltrators from Jordan. The Mixed Armistice Commission called upon Jordanian government to refrain from such incursions into Israeli territory. The situation further deteriorated as a result of border clashes and Israel's policy of replying to such incidents by organised reprisal raids. On October 15, 1956 Jordan requested that the UN Security Council should meet to take necessary steps to deal with the most serious situation arising from the raids conducted by Israel. Jordan told the Council that these raids constituted a flagrant violation of the armistice agreement and the UN Charter and a threat to world peace. Israel submitted a counter-charge accusing Jordan of persistent violation of cease-fire agreement concluded in April 1956. The Security council opened its debate on these two complaints on October 19. Towards the end of month there began Anglo-French-Israel invasion of Egypt following the nationalisation of Suez Canal by the latter and Israeli-Jordan dispute fell in the background. Jordan became a signatory to an Afro-Asian resolution adopted by General Assembly in November 1956 calling on the aggressors to withdraw their troops from Egypt with immediate effect.

(7) US Sixth Fleet to Eastern Mediterranean

On 24th April 1957 President Eisenhower of the USA stated in Washington that the independence of Jordan was vital to the United States. Units of the US Sixth Fleet sailed on 25th April from the French Riviera for Eastern Mediterranean apparently to prevent

any Israeli, Syrian or Egyptian military intervention in Jordan. US Secretary of the Army Mr. Brucker said in a television interview that US troops were ready to be parachuted into Jordan in a matter of days. The United States also provided 10 million dollars to help save the kingdom of Jordan from international communism. Thus, Jordan passed into the orbit of the USA. Moscow protested against the movements of the US fleet. Egypt condemned Jordan's link up with the US. King Hussein expelled all Egyptian journalists from Jordan. Jordan also asked the Syrian government to withdraw her troops which had been invited in November 1956 after Israel's attack on Sinai Peninsula. The Jordanian request was received in Syria with hostility. However, Syrian troops were withdrawn. The US influence over the country became predominant.

(8) Jordan's Military Support to Egypt and Syria Against Israel

In June 1967 Arab-Israel war broke out and on this occasion Jordan expressed her solidarity with Arab cause and extended cooperation to Egypt and Syria. Hostilities between the Arab States and Israel again started in October 1973. Jordan gave all-out support to Arab States including Egypt and Syria. The acts of Palestine commandos operating from Jordanian territory called forth retaliatory measures from Israel which often conducted raids into Jordanian territory to punish Amman for giving shelter to Arab terrorists. Still uneasy calm prevails on Jordanian-Israeli border and violence can erupt any time because Arab-Israel disputes have not been resolved.

V. Lebanon

Lebanon formerly a part of Turkish empire was placed under French mandate in 1920. In 1943 Britain pressed France to conduct elections in Lebanon and within a period of few months most of the administrative departments were entrusted to the people of Lebanon. In March 1945 Lebanon was admitted as a sovereign state to the membership of the UNO and the Arab League. In December France signed a treaty with Lebanon whereby the former agreed to withdraw her troops from Lebanon and by the end of 1946 all the French troops evacuated the country. The Lebanese established a parliamentary republic.

(1) Lebanon and Israel

The people of Lebanon expressed their hostility to the establishment of a Jewish state in Palestine and in 1948 she extended her cooperation to the other Arab states in their war with Israel. The Republic of Lebanon followed the policy adopted by the Arab League towards Israel. She did not join a Middle East Defence Organisation

and supported Egypt against Britain. In May 1956 she signed an armistice agreement with Israel. She declared that any unilateral step by Israel to divert the waters of river Jordan would constitute a serious violation of the armistice agreement. It was also announced on May 22, 1956 that Lebanon and Jordan had agreed to coordinate their military means to face the common Israeli danger. During the Suez Canal crisis Lebanon expressed her solidarity with Egypt and denounced Anglo-French-Israeli attack on Egypt. In November 1956 the Lebanese Premier attended the Beirut Conference of Heads of Arab States and demanded the unconditional withdrawal of the Anglo-French Israeli forces from the soil of Egypt. In the Arab-Israel war of June 1967 Lebanon was not deeply involved except for a brief air engagement. On 28th December 1968 Israel's Air force made a reprisal attack on Beirut air port. The Security Council passed a resolution condemning Israel's air raid. In 1970 Subiman Franjieh was elected as President of Lebanon. Israel's unprovoked raid on Lebanon continued as a regular feature. In the Arab-Israel conflict of October 1973 Lebanon supported the cause of the Arab states and participated in the military operations against Israel.

(2) Lebanon's Adherence to Eisenhower's Doctrine

Lebanon had accepted American economic aid under Point Four Programme. In March 1957 the Richards Mission arrived in Beirut to confer with Lebanese President Chamoun and a joint communique was issued on March 16. It was stated in the communique that Lebanon supported the Eisennower Doctrine and that Richards had agreed in principle that the US government should provide adequate military aid to Lebanon to strengthen her armed forces. As a result of further negotiations the US State Department announced on April 4 that 10 million dollars would be given as economic aid to Lebanon.

(3) Anti-Government Riots in Beirut

Egypt, Syria and the Soviet Union disliked Lebanese President Chamoun's adherence to Eisenhower Doctrine. In order to topple Chamoun's government, Egypt, Syria and the Soviet Union incited anti-government riots in Beirut. The disturbances involving heavy loss of life were fomented primarily by Muslim opponents of the government's pro-West policy and the sympathizers of Egypt. The fighting between pro-government and anti-government Druse tribesmen added incredible dimensions to the tense situation. In a press statement on May 13, 1958 the Foreign Minister of Lebanon Dr. Charles Malik accused Egypt of inciting anti-government disturbances and of massive interference in the internal affairs of the country. The accusations were repeated in a press conference by

President Chamoun. On May 21 the Foreign Office of Lebanon announced that strong protest had been lodged with Egyptian government and the Arab League against unwarranted interference of Egypt in the domestic affairs of Lebanon. Lebanon also requested for an immediate session of the Arab League Council to discuss the issue.

(4) US Arms for Lebanon's Army

On 14th May 1958 a spokesman of the US State Department disclosed that the government of the United States would supply arms and ammunition to Lebanon. The United States was ready to despatch her troops in case President Chamoun made such a request. The Naval Department announced that the size of the American amphibious force in the Mediterranean was being temporarily doubled. The chief objective of American military aid to Lebanon was to enable it to maintain peace and order so that the American nationals might live there in peace and tranquillity.

(5) Lebanon's Appeal to the UN Security Council

The insurrection which broke out in May 1958 continued throughout June and July in Lebanon which appeared to be in throes of virtual civil war. The anti-government forces were being led by prominent opposition leaders. Various attempts to bring about a 'modus vivendi' between the government and the leaders of opposition were unsuccessful. On May 22, 1958 Lebanon asked for an urgent session of the Security Council to consider her charges of the unwarranted intervention of Egypt in her internal affairs. The discussions in the Council were held in June and a Swedish resolution was adopted. It called for the urgent despatch to Lebanon of a UN Observation Group so as to ensure that there was no illegal infiltration of personnel or supply of arms or other material across the Lebanese border. The Observation Group was to inform the UN Secretary General regarding the progress of its work. This Group issued its first report in July 1958. In a press statement on July 3, Dag Hammarskjold the UN Secretary General stated that there wasno evidence to warrant the charge of "mass infiltration of the Egyptian nationals or arms into Lebanon". The report and the Secretary General's comment were vehemently criticised by the Lebanese government. The Opposition leaders welcomed the report of the UN Observation Group as a vindication of their claim that the crisis was essentially an internal one.

(5) Election of President Chehab

On July 31, 1958 General Fuad Chehab Commander-in-Chief of the Lebanese Army was elected President of Lebanon by the

Chamber of Deputies and on September 23, he took the oath of his office. On 27th September an agreement about the withdrawal of American troops was signed by the USA and Lebanon. The withdrawal of US forces was to be completed by the end of October. Peace returned to Lebanon after the formation of coalition cabinet representing both the government and the opposition leaders. With the passage of time President Chehab succeeded in maintaining cordial relations with Egypt. On March 25, 1959 President Chehab met Egypt's President Nasser on the Syrian-Lebanese frontier and in a joint statement they emphasised the need to strengthen Arab collaboration and outstanding economic issues between the two countries were amicably settled. Lebanon also cultivated friendly relations with other Arab states.

(6) Eruption of Violence Between Christians and Muslims in Lebanon

A clash between Christians and Muslims led in 1976 to a sort of civil war in Lebanon and the Palestine Liberation Organisation had a hand in the violent disturbances. The situation became so grave that Lebanese President Franjieh had to resign his office. In May 1976 Elias Sarkis was elected as President of Lebanon. But unfortunately the clashes between the leftists and the rightists continued unabated and the situation became so tense that the Arab world became restive and fearful of consequences. In June 1976 Syria sent her troops for a peace keeping mission in Lebanon but she was able to achieve partial success in her mission. She agreed to withdraw her troops on June 12, 1976.

(7) Lebanon and Cold War

As long as Arab-Israel settlement has not been effected, the entire Arab world will remain in ferment due to sporadic incidents of violence. The Arab states including Lebanon clearly know that they are not in a position to liquidate Israel whose existence as a sovereign state is an established fact. The situation in entire Middle East is fraught with far-reaching consequences as the Super Powers are engaged in their efforts to expand their influence in the region. Any change in the status quo to be brought about by force of arms is bound to lead to escalation of hostilities between the Arabs and Israel. Though Lebanon has sympathy for the cause of the Arab refugees of Palestine, yet it is apparent that she does not believe in the settlement of dispute by force. This feeling has been generated because of the military reverses suffered by the Arab world at the hands of Israel.

VI. Saudi Arabia

Saudi Arabia occupies four-fifth of the Arabian peninsula with the Red Sea on most of its west coast and the Persian Gulf on the east. The Kingdom is divided into two parts Nejd and Hejaz. The modern history of Saudi Arabia began with Wahabi Movement which was led by Ibn Saud a distinguished leader. He was proclaimed in 1921 Sultan of Nejd which he had wrested from the clan of Rashids. On September 8, 1926 he was proclaimed King of Hejaz. On September 22, 1932 he became the King of Saudi Arabia formed by the union of Nejd and Hejaz. The capital of Saudi Arabia was Riyad. It is important to note that Saudi-Arabia possesses the holy places of Islam — Mecca, Medina, Kaaba and Jedda. The existence of these holy places in Saudi Arabia commands the veneration of the Muslims all over the world. The King of Saudi Arabia was the religious leader (Imam) of his people. Koran is the source of law. Internally Ibn Saud consolidated his position by crushing all opposition with iron hand. But of momentus significance to the country was the discovery of oil. Saudi Arabia entered into a contract for a sixty year oil concession with Standard Oil Company of California on May 29, 1933. Since then Saudi Arabia's relation with the United States has been specially intimate because of the exclusive concession granted to American nationals.

During the World II Ibn Saud remained neutral until February 1945 when war was declared on Germany and Japan. In March 1945 Saudi Arabia became a member of the Arab League and gave full support to other Arab states in their dispute with Israel. On November 5, 1953 King Ibn Saud breathed his last and was succeeded by his eldest son Saud Ibn Abdul Aziz. On the day of his accession he expressed hope to reach an amicable settlement with Britain on the Buraimi oasis dispute.

(1) Saudi Arabia and West Asian Countries

The real concern of the government of Saudi Arabia was to thwart the plan of King Abdulla of Jordan to create "Greater Syria" by the combination of Jordan and Iraq. The King of Jordan and the Premier of Iraq Nuri Said, pursued their efforts to bring about a closer union of Syria with Jordan, but Ibn Saud worked against such plan. Ibn Saud opposed Jordan in 1949 when King Abdulla tried to incorporate Arab Palestine into his own Kingdom. In July 1951 King Abdulla of Jordan was assassinated and his successor King Talal paid a visit to Saudi Arabia in November 1951. Talal's son who ascended the throne on May 2, 1953 repeated the visit. This seemed to have ended the old dynastic feud. While in 1954, Jordan was

involved in boundary dispute with Israel and appealed for military aid from the Arab states, Saudi Arabia's ambassador in Cairo stated that King Saud was prepared to give all possible aid to Jordan.

(a) Saudi Arabia's Link up with Egypt: In reply to the Turkish-Iraqi Pact of February 1955, Saudi Arabia concluded a defence Pact with Egypt on October 27, 1955. The network of alliance between the Arab states was expanded on April 21, 1956 when Egypt Saudi Arabia and Yemen signed a tripartite pact whereby a joint command was to be set up for the armed forces of the three states. In November 1956 Saudi Arabia was co-sponsor of an Afro-Asian resolution adopted by General Assembly on Anglo-French attack on Egypt in 1956. From November 13 to 15, 1956 King Saud of Saudi Arabia attended the Beirut Conference and he insisted on the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of Anglo-French forces from Egypt. In January 1957 he participated in the Cairo Summit Conference convened to discuss the issue of aid to Jordan. On March 9, 1957 the flow of oil from Saudi Arabia to the Bahrein refinery was resumed for the first time since November 1956 when the pipeline was closed by the government of Saudi Arabia after the Anglo-French-Israeli invasion of Egypt. Saudi Arabia took measures to prevent Israeli ships from using the gulf of Aqaba.

In a speech in Damascus on March 5, 1958 President Nasser of Egypt alleged that three cheques totalling 19 lakhs dollars drawn on the Arab Bank of Riyadh had been paid to colonel Sarraj to finance a coup d'etat against the Union of Syria and Egypt. King Saud denied that allegation. In order to elucidate the position of Saudi Arabia Prime Minister Amir Faisal conferred with President Nasser in Cairo on August 17, 1958. A brief communique issued after the discussions stated that the exchange of views had resulted in complete agreement as well as reaffirmation of brotherhood and friendship between the two countries. The delegates of Saudi Arabia participated in an inter-Arab conference convened in Damascus in February 1959 and concluded agreement on freedom of transit traffic between Egypt, Jordan, Lebanon and Saudi Arabia.

(2) Saudi Arabia's Buraimi Oasis Dispute with Britain

The dispute between Saudi Arabia and Britain over the ownership of Buraimi Oasis area had resulted in the strained relations between the two countries. On December 29, 1954 an international arbitration tribunal was appointed to consider the issue. The hearing of the dispute opened in Geneva on September 11, 1955 but the proceedings were suspended for indefinite period of time on September 16 because of the intransigent attitude of Saudi Arabian Deputy

Foreign Minister Sheikh Yasin. On October 26, British armed forces occupied the Buraimi Oasis. Saudi Arabia protested to London and drew the attention of the United Nations. But Britain retained the control of Buraimi Oasis.

(3) Saudi Arabia's Relations with the United States

There was close collaboration between the United States and Saudi Arabia in the field of defence. On February 16, 1956 it was disclosed by US State Department that the United States had sold eighteen modern light tanks to Saudi Arabia. This was resented in the US Congress as well as by Israel's ambassador in Washington who denounced the American deal as "a regrettable departure from the policy of trying to maintain an arms balance between Israel and the Arab countries". On January, 29, 1957 King Saud went to the United States on a state visit and conferred with President Eisenhower. King Saud expressed his desire to continue his government's cooperation with the US which pledged to give military assistance to Saudi Arabia. The United States was permitted by King Saud to use the Dahran air field for another five years. The Saudi Arabian King expressed adherence to the Eisenhower Doctrine. There has been close collaboration between the United States and Saudi Arabia. The economic ties between the two countries have strengthened the bonds of friendship. But on the issue of Arab-Israel dispute over the future of the Arab refugees of Palestine, Saudi Arabia supports the Arab cause. In Arab-Israel War of 1973, Saudi Arabia declared her intention of stopping oil supply to nations unfriendly towards Arabs. She is not dictated by the United States on the Arab-Israel dispute.

VII. Yemen

Yemen is a small mountainous country bound by the British protectorate in the East and by Saudi Arabia in the north. Its area is about 75000 square miles. Yemen emerged as an independent state only after the end of the World War I. Its ruler Imam Yahya Hamid-ud-Din followed a pro-Turkish Policy.

(1) Foreign Policy of Yemen Between the Two World Wars

Close collaboration between Italy and Yemen was causing concern to the government of Britain. Italy scored diplomatic victory when she concluded a treaty of friendship with Yemen in 1926 and another treaty in 1927. However, the growing power of Saudi Arabia induced the Imam to conclude a treaty with Britain at Sana. The Imam also signed a treaty with Saudi Arabia following military defeat.

(2) Position of Yemen After the World War II

During World War II, the Imam pursued a policy of strict neutrality. In 1945 Yemem joined the Arab League. The Imam's despotism resulted in his assassination in 1948. He was succeeded by Abdullah as Imam. But his constitutional monarchy could not last for long because the crown prince Saif-ul-Islam Ahmed overthrew the new regime with the help of fanatical tribesmen. He had to face another unsuccessful coup d' etat led by his own brothers. This coup was suppressed with iron hand in 1955. Internal unrest impelled Yemen to seek closer relationship with Arab countries. Yemen also tried to seek closer collaboration with the Soviet Union. Yemen also joined the United Arab Republic in a special kind of relation which created a kind of loose bond between the UAR on one hand and Yemen on the other.

(3) End of Monarchical Tradition in Yemen

In 1962 an uprising under the leadership of Abdullah-es-Salal resulted in the overthrow of monarchy and Yemen became a republic. The new republican regime had to face stiff opposition from Saudi-Arabia and Britain who encouraged the reactionary tribal people to over-throw it. The revolutionary government faced the situation boldly and received active support from Egypt. President Nasser warned the government of Saudi Arabia against its policy of supporting pro-Imam forces.

(4) Agreement Between Egypt and Saudi Arabia About Non-involvement in the Affairs of Yemen

After the Arab-Israel War (June 1967) in which Yemen took little part, President Nasser of Egypt decided to withdraw Egyptian forces from Yemen. At the Khartoum Summit Conference of Arab States (September 1967) President Nasser concluded an agreement with king Faisal of Saudi Arabia whereby the former agreed to withdraw Egyptian forces from Yemen and latter undertook not to support the pro-Imam elements. Thus, Saudi Arabia abandoned her design to restore monarchy in Yemen.

(5) Changes of Government in Yemen

On November 5, 1967 the government of Salal was overthrown by a bloodless coup and was replaced by a group of moderate republicans. After this coup, Padi Abdul Rahman al-Irani was elevated to the position of President of Yemen republic and Mohism al-Ayni became the premier. On 13th June 1974 a nine member command council with Major Ibrahim Hamid took over the administration.

(6) Unification of Yemeni Arab Republic and South Yemen

On December 30, 1967, Great Britain granted independence to the Republic of South Yemen. South Yemen consists of South Arabia, Aden and Aden protectorate. Britain handed over power to Mr. Khatan Shaabi the leader of the National Liberation Front (NLF). After the attainment of freedom a bitter struggle for power ensued between two parties (i) Front for the Liberation of occupied South Yemen, and (ii) NLF. However, the government of Khatan Shaabi was overthrown in 1969 and South Yemen was ruled by a Presidential Council headed by Salem Rubayyi. An agreement for unification with Yemeni Arab Republic was signed by South Yemen on 28th October 1972.

(I) The United States and West Asia

(*Note* : For detailed study please see Chapter 18 (D) Point 5).

24

THE EMERGENCE OF AFRICA, THE COMMONWEALTH AND NON-ALIGNED MOVEMENT

OUTLINE:

(A) The Land and People of Africa.
(B) A Glimpse of the Past History of Africa.
(C) Africa at the Close of the World War II.
(D) Nationalism, Pan-Africanism and the Process of Decolonisation.
(E) Unity in Diversity in Africa.
(F) Liberation Movements in the Subject Nations of Africa.
(G) The Union of South Africa and Her Policy of Apartheid.
(H) The Commonwealth.
(I) Non-aligned Movement in the Modern World.

(A) The Land And People Of Africa

Africa has crashed in on world politics. It was not very long ago that Africa was spoken of as the 'Dark Continent' and the school children read thrilling stories of the adventures of Livingstone and Stanley in the heart of gloomy forests infested by pythons and other ferocious beasts and no less fierce cannibalistic natives. Even at the end of the Second World War which heralded the independence of several Asian nations — India, Pakistan, Burma, Malaya, Sri Lanka, Indonesia etc., Africa still seemed to be far away from any amelioration of her status as a conglomeration of colonies of some of the Western imperialist nations. On account of shrinkage of empire

in Asia and the consequent acuteness of pressure on Europe's own economies and the steadily rising strategic and economic importance of Africa, the African colonies became rather more precious than ever in the eye of the imperialist nations. Africa was in the whirlwind of change and there commenced what has been termed as "independence explosion" in the vast continent.

Africa is one-fifth of the entire area of the World. Its total population is about 300 million. The Africans are extremely poor and the annual per capita income is very low. Some time ago the per capita income of the Africans in Rhodesia and Kenya ranged between 14 and 28 dollars as compared to 560 to 840 dollars for non-Africans. In the Belgian Congo, Africans who comprised 97 per cent of the population, received in 1950 less than 25 per cent of the estimated national income of 32.5 billion Belgian francs. The population is increasing in Africa at the rate of about 1.7 per cent per annum whereas per capita production has been increasing by more than 3 per cent a year. About 20 years ago total white population of Africa was six million. About 98 per cent of all Africans are Hamites, Semites, Bantus and other dark-skinned people. More than a third of Africans are still pagans or animists. About one third of the people are Muslims. Islam is increasing with the passage of time at the expense of paganism. Christianity is hardly holding its own. Christian population in Africa is about 10% of the total population. Unfortunately the discrimination exists between the white Christians and the dark skinned African Christians. The white Christians throw Christian ethics to winds and persecute the coloured Christian population. The majority of the Africans are chronically undernourished, poorly clothed and housed. They own virtually no property. An overwhelming number of people cannot read or write. Only four of 700 main languages spoken in Africa - Amharic, Tamachek, Bamun and Vai had achieved their written script before the coming of the white man in the continent. However, Arabic language was in advanced stage of devlopment as compared to these four languages.

The resources of Africa are quite vast. She produces a large part of the world's uranium. one-sixth of its lead, one third of its chrome, three quarters of its cobalt and nearly half of its antimony. Africa produces 14 per cent of world's tin, more than one-third of world's manganese and phosphates, almost one-fourth of its copper and nearly two third of its gold. She produces 70% of world's palm oil. She also produces the largest number of diamonds in the world. As for iron ore Africa possesses enough high grade deposits to take care of the needs of the whole world for many years to come. On the other hand water, which sustains life, is available in adequate quantity in

this vast continent. It is water which provides one of the most economical means of transport and one of the most valuable sources of animal protein namely fish, and it is water which affords one of the cheapest sources of power. The Congo river alone has a potential of approximately 150 million horse-power or considerably more than that of all the rivers of North America. African forests are rich in highly prized hard-wood timbers. Some forests yield resins and gums. The western world and specially the United States are much dependent on these African products for their industries. It would be very difficult for the American steel industry to get along without African manganese and cobalt. The sudden loss of these and other vital products of Africa would create for the USA as great a loss as that suffered by the bombardment of a number of factories. It would be victory for the Communists if they could persuade the African people not to produce goods for American use.

(B) A Glimpse Of The Past History Of Africa

Africa's first contact with the West began when the Portuguese, five hundred years ago came to Africa for trade and colonisation. Other European people including the Dutch, the English and the French arrived in the sixteenth century. The European rivals of the Portuguese first invaded West Africa which became the spring board for penetration into the hinterland. The religious, political, economic and social contact of the Western people resulted in the destruction of native institutions and customs. Among the European explorers who discovered Africa for the West, mention must be made of Mungo Park a great 18th century explorer, David Livingstone (1813-1873), H. M. Stanley the American press correspondent, John Speke, and Richard Burton, who arrived in this vast continent as spearhead of the commercial civilisation of the West. With the passage of time the European settlers established their political domination over the Africans. The West began to exploit the people of Africa who were completely dispossessed, trampled and desecrated by the imperialist nations. Between 1880 and 1890 Africa was almost entirely divided between European countries. In the scramble for acquisition of colonial territories in this vast continent, the advanced European nations succeeded in gaining the lion's share. This scramble for Africa among the European nations resulted in the virtual parcelling out of the continent. The behaviour of European settlers was marked by avarice, treachery, hypocrisy, and brutality. The African personality was crushed and the Africans received in-human treatment at the hands of white slave traders. Nearly one crore of African people were sold out in slavery. The Africans protested and faced the gun with spear. They failed in their attempt but they preferred to die

in the defence of liberty. In Angola, Mozambique, Congo, South West Africa, Rhodesia and other places of the continent, thousands of Africans small and great have manured the tree of liberty with blood. It would be pertinent to mention some of the barbarities practised by the European nations to uphold their colonial rights in the continent. In 1952 alone the British killed nearly eleven thousand Africans in Kenya for their association with the Mau Mau movement. Nearly forty thousand Africans were assassinated in cold blood in Madagascar in 1947. Portuguese barbarity reduced Angola and Muzambique into one vast concentration camp. In South Africa the pursuance of the policy of apartheid has resulted in colossal loss of lives of the African people.

The partition of Africa was formalised in the Berlin Conference on African affairs (1884-85), although considerable pushing and pulling followed in the course of which Turkey lost control of Egypt, Germany lost the territories of Tanganyika, Kameroons and Togoland. German colony of Kameroons was divided into French and British Cameroons. France established her control over North Africa; Italy acquired territories in East Africa and Libya. During the period of Western colonization only two states remained independent. One of these states was Ethiopia which in 1935 became the victim of Italian aggression. Other independent state was Liberia which was settled by freed slaves and the slaves rescued by the British both on the high seas and in Africa itself.

(C) Africa At The Close Of The Second World War

As has been mentioned above, the Second World War did not bring immediate hope and succour to the Africans who on the contrary suffered at the hands of their European colonial masters. The imperialists tightened their stranglehold over the colonial territories in Africa as they lost colonial possessions in other regions of the world. The decisions which were taken after the end of the World War II for the rearrangement of colonies, were motivated not so much by nationalistic considerations as by strategic considerations of the new power struggle between the East and the West. Libya, an economically backward but strategically important country on the North African coast was granted independence which was officially proclaimed on 24th December, 1951. Against the protests of the native inhabitants, Somaliland was restored to Italian rule in the form of a ten year trusteeship terminating in 1960. Eritrea was to be federated with Ethiopia which was given back its independence lost to Italy in 1936. The other formal change resulting from the Second World War was the replacement of the old League of Nations

mandate system by the UN trusteeship system. The essential colonial status of the territories in Africa was not changed. Union of South Africa was given the trust territory of South West Africa. South Africa virtually annexed this territory and perpetrated atrocities on the native population. The Union of South Africa's delegate walked out in high dudgeon over the UN General Assembly's persistence in pressing the issue of South West Africa. At the end of the Second World War, the colonial possessions of European countries in Africa were as follows:

(i) French Africa: In Africa France possessed colonial territories with a total population of about 50 million. She had control over (1) Algeria, (2) French Morocco, (3) Senegal, (4) Tunisia, (5) Mauritania, (6) French Sudan, (7) Niger, (8) French Guinea, (9) Upper Volta, (10) The Ivory Coast, (11) Dahomey, (12) French Somaliland, (13) Madagascar, (14) Cameroons, (15) Togoland, and (16) French West Africa.

(ii) British Africa: At the end of the war Britain retained control over (1) Gambia, (2) Sierra Leone, (3) Nigeria, (4) Gold Coast, (5) British Togoland, (6) British Somaliland, (7) Kenya, (8) Uganda, (9) Nyasaland, (10) Bechuanaland, (11) Swaziland, (12) Basutoland, (13) Northern Rhodesia, (14) Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, (15) British Togoland, (16) British Cameroons, and (17) Southern Rhodesia.

(iii) Colonial Possessions of Belgium, Spain and Portugal: Belgium possessed Belgian Congo with the population of 11 million; and Ruanda Urundi. Spain retained control over Spanish Morocco, Rio De Oro and Ifni while Portuguese possessions were Portuguese Guinea, Angola, and Muzambique.

(D) Nationalism Pan-Africanism And The Process Of Decolonization

The political picture of African continent has been changing at a very rapid speed. African freedom struggle is the outcome of nationalism. The era following the World War II set the stage for African liberation. The Bandung Conference (1955) saw for the first time the participation of independent African states on an equal footing in an international gathering. The conference forged the unity of the two-third people of the world. Liberated Africa shook hands with independent Asia and denounced Western imperialism in emphatic terms. Certain factors mentioned below contributed to the rise of nationalism in Africa.

(a) Contact with Western Ideas: Africa's independence struggle took the form of nationalism as a result of her contact with Western

ideas. In Africa as in Asia, the leaders of the national movement were the Western educated persons. The Western concepts of democracy, freedom, equality and justice caught the imagination of the educated people who spear-headed the freedom struggle and ultimately succeeded in destroying the shackles of imperialism. Every where in Africa the same sentiment against imperialism operated though the technique differed. R. M. Kawawa the Vice President of Tanganyika in his address to the university students at Dares Salam on December 28, 1963 remarked, "The freedom movements of the different parts of Africa were and are simply the local organisation of a continent-wide people's movement. They had to operate separately and adopt different tactics only because of the colonial organisation. Basically they were all part of one movement".

(b) Impact of World War I on the Africans: The beginning of a strong national movement for liberation can be traced in the post-Versailles era. The First World War gave a tremendous momentum to African nationalism. Anglo-French participation in the war necessitated the recruitment of 650000 soldiers and 238000 labourers from Africa for achieving victory. African participation in the military operations during the First World War made the African nationalists realise that the services of Africans to the Allied Powers were as much needed as they were valuable. The economies of all the African colonies of the belligerent imperialist states were put on war footing. In the post-Versailles era the war veterans were promised compensations, and the people of the subject nations were assured a better deal and a fair share in the administration. However, the colonial powers could not fulfil the war-time promises and this generated a feeling of resentment among Africans.

(c) Second World War and African Nationalism: The impact of the Second World War was more far-reaching than that of the First World War. During the course of hostilities the strategic importance of the vast African continent made the Allies eager to gain the willing co-operation of African people in their war efforts. African continent became not only an important source of the war materials but also the 'bread basket' of Europe. During the war the eminent statesmen stressed the importance of human rights. The Western principle of national self-determination forged a new and more radical African leadership. The war created ferment in African continent and to this was added social discontent arising out of the sharp contrast between the status, the wealth, the standard of wages, the housing and living conditions of the white minority and the native majority. This contrast became more and more unacceptable with the spread of political consciousness among the people.

(2) Pan-Africanism

African unity is the logical development of the independence struggle in which Africa is still engaged. Each colonial territory has its own nationalist movement but the basic purpose has been the same every where. Pan-Africanism aims at attainment of freedom of all Africans. Pan-Africanism owes much to two illustrated African celebrities — Marcus Aurelius Gravey and William E. Dubois. The first Pan-African conference was convened in London in 1900. In 1909 the father of Pan-Africanism Dr. William E. Dubois set-up the National Association for the advancement of coloured people and it was he who wrote a book entitled 'Most men in the world are coloured'. Dubois worked for emancipation of the coloured people through his "Universal Negro Improvement and African Communities League". The African nationalism began to gather momentum and assume new significance with the outbreak of the First World War. Dubois presented a petition to the Allied Powers to adopt a Charter of Human Rights for the African people. The meeting of Pan-African Congress called in 1919 demanded that former German colonial territories in Africa should be placed under international trusteeship as a step towards attainment of self-government in future. The Congress also adopted "a Charter of the Rights of the Negro people of the World". Subsequent conferences of the Pan-African Congress were held at Lisbon in 1923 and in New York in 1927.

(3) Process of Decolonization

During Post-World War I period, barring South Africa, there were only two independent states — Ethiopia and Liberia; but the former was annexed by Fascist Italy in 1936. Virtually Liberia alone retained independence on the eve of the outbreak of World War II. The end of the war however, saw an acceleration of African liberation movement. In 1957 Ghana attained her independence. By 1958 Egypt, Sudan, Ethiopia, Morocco, Tunisia, Ghana and Libya were granted freedom. The year 1960 has been described as the African year. By 1960 the political map was radically changed and as many as twenty five independent African states came into existence. More colonial territories attained independence between 1960 and 1965 and at present excluding the Union of South Africa and other colonies there are as many as forty seven states which have achieved independence. In other words most of African continent with a population of more than 18 crores is free from the shackles of imperialism. The remaining colonial territories are yet to achieve independence in near future. Africa is now under ferment and it has

ideas. In Africa as in Asia, the leaders of the national movement were the Western educated persons. The Western concepts of democracy, freedom, equality and justice caught the imagination of the educated people who spear-headed the freedom struggle and ultimately succeeded in destroying the shackles of imperialism. Every where in Africa the same sentiment against imperialism operated though the technique differed. R. M. Kawawa the Vice President of Tanganyika in his address to the university students at Dares Salam on December 28, 1963 remarked, "The freedom movements of the different parts of Africa were and are simply the local organisation of a continent-wide people's movement. They had to operate separately and adopt different tactics only because of the colonial organisation. Basically they were all part of one movement".

(b) Impact of World War I on the Africans: The beginning of a strong national movement for liberation can be traced in the post-Versailles era. The First World War gave a tremendous momentum to African nationalism. Anglo-French participation in the war necessitated the recruitment of 650000 soldiers and 238000 labourers from Africa for achieving victory. African participation in the military operations during the First World War made the African nationalists realise that the services of Africans to the Allied Powers were as much needed as they were valuable. The economies of all the African colonies of the belligerent imperialist states were put on war footing. In the post-Versailles era the war veterans were promised compensations, and the people of the subject nations were assured a better deal and a fair share in the administration. However, the colonial powers could not fulfil the war-time promises and this generated a feeling of resentment among Africans.

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ceased to be a 'Dark Continent'. The process of decolonization which got momentum during the post-war era, is still at work and will certainly result in the elimination of the last vestiges of imperialism in Africa.

(E) Unity In Diversity In Africa

With all the division and diverse economic systems, Africa is emerging as one political entity. An African personality is unmistakably emerging. The challenge to European imperialism and its corollary of racial discrimination is the inescapable fact of African life. A new set of ideas, aspirations and expectations had been set in motion among the small but important segment of educated Africans by the great promises of Allied propaganda specially the Atlantic Charter. Basic in the whole picture is the African's attitude towards the white man. This attitude is based on the experience of brutalities of the slave-trade era, and the later years of European conquest and penetration. The vast African continent is by no means a coherent whole but it has enough of a common nervous system so that the shocks at any one point are communicated to other distant places specially where there are large mass of people highly sensitized to the emotional biases of nationalism. In the Muslim states in North Africa, nationalist pressure against European colonial rule has quite a long history and is today quite strong. Events and movements in these Muslim countries exert a radiating influence southward and contribute to certain extent to growth of nationalism in various parts of the continent. For instance pressure against the French in Morocco and Tunisia was unfailingly reflected in French West and Equatorial Africa. Pressure against the British in Egypt had direct impact on the neighbouring country Sudan where the issue of joint British and Egyptian rule had raised the prospects of Sudanese independence. The impact of growing release from White domination in Black Africa is increasingly felt in South Africa, and Rhodesia whose reactionary and repressive policies came under fire in the UN.

(F) Liberation Movements In The Subject Nations Of Africa

During the post-world War II period the national movement in various colonial territories triggered the process of decolonization. A brief account of various countries where the national movement culminated in the grant of independence by the European imperialists is given as follows:

(1) Belgian Congo

Congo remained under the heels of Belgium's rule for eighty years. Up to 1908 Congo remained under the personal rule of King

Leopold II. From 1908 the government of Belgium ruled Congo ruthlessly. Out of entire population of Negroes only one Negro was an engineer as late as 1960. Not a single African was a doctor or lawyer. Belgium granted independence to Congo on 30th June, 1960 but within two months violence erupted. The country was divided into conflicting tribes, rival political parties and self-styled leaders. The population lacked any common bond linguistically. Congo with her rich deposits of copper cobalt, diamond and uranium became immediately a prey to neocolonialism of Western countries which took great advantage of the internal dissensions among the leaders of the country.

(i) Premier Patrice Lumumba at Helm of Affairs in Congo: The nation's first premier Patrice Lumumba, a former postal clerk, an orator and writer led the largest party the Movement National Congolias (MNC). He was in favour of unified Congo under a strong central government. After independence Joseph Kasavubu became the first President of Congo. He was in favour of a federal Congo with much local autonomy.

(ii) Secessionist Movement in Congo and Severance of Diplomatic Relations with Belgium: Five days after the attainment of independence, the Congolese troops revolted against the Belgian officers. The rebellious troops destroyed the life and property of white settlers. Belgium immediately sent para troops to protect her nationals. These troops occupied vital strategic centres. Belgium now entered into an agreement with Moise Tshombe who intended to set- up an independent regime in the province of Katanga, rich in copper resources controlled by the foreign owned mining concern of Union Miniere. Premier broke off diplomatic relations with Belgium and appealed to the UNO to drive out the Belgium's para troopers. Anarchy descended on Congo. On 11th July, 1960 Katanga seceded under the leadership of Moise Tshombe who announced the formation of a new state allied to Belgium. On the next day Belgian troops from Katanga marched into Leopoldville the capital of Congo. If Belgium's intention was to stage a comeback to her former colony, it was ruled out because the East and the West were united to sustain the new republic.

(iii) UN Military Intervention in Congo: More serious than the threat to the unity of the Congo was the possibility of the country being dragged into the arena of the cold war. This was because the Congo held an important place in international trade. Due to the despatch of para-troops by Belgium and secession of Katanga from the rest of Congo, the country was in the throes of civil war and there

was every possibility of intervention by the Super Powers. At the request of Premier Patrice Lumumba the Security Council's emergency session was convened. On 14th July 1960 it adopted a resolution which called on Belgium to withdraw her troops from the Congo. The resolution authorised the Secretary General "to send such military assistance as may become necessary until through the efforts of the United Nations, the national security forces may be able to meet fully their tasks". Within two days the first contingent of UN military force drawn from non-aligned nations including India arrived in Congo and started the work of maintaining peace and order.

(iv) Attitude of the Soviet Union and the United States Towards Happenings in Congo: The Soviet Union from the very beginning reacted to the UN emergency force for Congo with suspicious scepticism. She openly denounced the UN intervention. In October 1960 Premier Khrushchev launched a campaign for the dismissal of the UN Secretary General Dag Hammarskjold. The government of the United States opposed the Premier Lumumba who was accused of attempting to convert the Congo into a Soviet satellite since he had invited Soviet engineers and advisers for implementing the development plans of the country. President Kasavubu backed by the USA, dismissed the Prime Minister Lumumba and was in turn dismissed by the latter. The Congolese Senate cancelled both these decisions.

(iv) Struggle for Power and Assassination of Premier Patrice Lumumba: Taking advantage of the differences between President Kasavuba and Premier Lumumba, Col. Mobutu the Chief of Staff of the Army seized power in September, 1960. In collusion with Kasavubu, Mobutu placed Premier Lumumba under house arrest and the UN command remained a spectator to all these developments. By February, 1961 all semblance of order disappeared and there was no effective central authority in Congo. The province of Katanga followed the lead of Moise Tshombe. Leopoldville was under the control of Kasavubu and Mobutu while Stanleyville (oriental province) supported Premier Lumumba. In this confusing picture the only one statesman who could have brought order in the country was Premier Lumumba whose party (MNC) stood for united Congo and commanded majority in the National Assembly. The UN influenced by the United States did not extend its helping hand to Lumumba. In the meanwhile on December 2, 1960 Lumumba was captured by Mobutu's troops. Kasavubu and his advisers; as a subsequent finding of a UN Commission revealed handed over Lumumba to Moise Tshombe. Premier Lumumba was murdered in cold blood at Elizabethville. All evidence pointed out to Moise Tshombe and his

hired gangsters as assassins of Lumumba. Antonia Gizenga a close associate of Lumumba set-up an independent government at Stanleyville and refused to accept the authority of Kasavubu and Mobutu who had hold over Leopoldville.

(vi) Developments After the Death of Premier Practice Lumumba: The assassination of Lumumba caused universal disgust and anger throughout Afro-Asian world. Negotiations with Gizenga and the central government at Leopoldville resulted in the formation of a government of national unity with Cryrille Addoula as the Premier and Gizenga, Jason Sandowe and Jean Bolikango as Vice Premiers (August, 1961). The UN forces tried to end the secession of Katanga but they found Tshombe's white mercenaries well-equipped and well- trained in warfare. In order to avoid further bloodshed the UN Secretary General Mr. Dag Hammarskjold flew to Northern Rhodesia for peace talks. He was killed in an air crash on September 18, 1961. On 20th September an armistice agreement was reached between the UN forces and Katanga troops. However, an attempt to end Katanga's secession by force by the central government troops in November, 1961 proved to be a failure. In the meanwhile Gizenga broke away from the coalition government at Leopoldville but his efforts to set-up a pro-Lumumba regime in Stanleyville ended in failure.

(vii) Unification of the Congo Effected by UN Force: Secretary General of the UN Mr. U. Thant now called upon the UN forces to implement the Security Council resolution adopted on 24th November 1961 to end the secession of Katanga. The UN forces in which the Indian contingent played a prominent role carried out the task in the face of tremendous odds and stiff opposition. On December 16, 1961 the last stronghold of Moise Tshombe surrendered to the UN force and Tshombe fled away.

(viii) Moise Tshombe Elevated to the Position of Premier of Congo: The tragedy of the Congo deepened when President Kasavubu called on Moise Tshombe to form the government in July, 1964. Tshombe who was in exile did the same gladly and as Premier he usually demonstrated his attachment to the West by requesting the US and Belgian governments to assist him in releasing white prisoners from the clutches of the rebel Stanleyville government. Nearly five hundred Belgian paratroopers were despatched to Stanleyville. They perpetrated untold atrocities on the innocent people in their operations against Stanleyville government. This and his past deeds made Tshombe so unpopular that when he attended the Conference of forty four non-aligned nations at Cairo,

the delegates of various nations tried to shun his company. In the meanwhile the Stanleyville government under the leadership of Soumialot continued to make progress. It was receiving substantial help from several neighbouring African countries which were hostile to Tshombe's regime. However, Kasavubu-Tshombe honey moon did not last long. Tshombe was dismissed from the post of Prime Minister by President Kasavubu. After some time Col. Mobutu seized power by staging a coup d'etat. Tshombe was condemned to death for high treason in absentia. He had left the Congo for good, though he made an unsuccessful attempt to stage a comeback. On July 1, 1967 Tshombe's plane was diverted to Algeria where he was kept in prison.

(2) Attainment of Freedom by Algeria, Tunisia and Morocco

In the French territories of Algeria Morocco and Tunisia the racial problem was acute. There was population of ten million in Algeria. The number of French settlers was one million. Algeria was made an integral part of France and turned into a French department since 1848. The acceleration of the national movement in Africa affected the French possessions in north Africa. The French defeat in Indo-China and anti-colonial feeling in French colonies in Africa strengthened the anti-imperialist forces. French position became untenable in Lebanon and French imperialism had to beat a hasty retreat from other colonial territories in Africa. But this was a painful process on account of the French desire to retain control over Algeria, Tunisia and Morocco. Specially Algeria was of great strategic importance to France. Another serious obstacle in way of the liberation of these colonies was the obstinate and persistent opposition of the French settlers to the grant of independence.

(a) End of French Protectorate Over Tunisia: In 1954 Tunisia under the able leadership of Habib Bourguiba reached an agreement with the French government. Under this agreement the people of Tunisia were given control over internal administration, but France retained control over the defence and foreign policy of Tunisia. In 1956 French protectorate over Tunisia was terminated and Tunisia emerged as an independent state. Tunisian leader Bourguiba pursued a policy of conciliation with France but still the port of Bizerta became a bone of contention between France and Tunisia. However, in 1961 France withdrew from this port and the dispute was thus resolved.

(b) Emergence of Morocco as an Independent State: Morocco was a protectorate of France. There was a vigorous agitation for the liberation of the country. The French protectorate came to an end in

March, 1956 by a Franco-Moroccan agreement. The French recognized Sidi Muhammed as the Sultan of Morocco. Under the above agreement the government of Morocco undertook to respect the obligations resulting from international treaties concluded by France in the name of Morocco. In December, 1956 Morocco became a member of the UNO.

(c) Liberation Struggle in Algeria: The French did not allow Algeria to acquire independence before the surge of national movement forced them to do so. The French rule dates back to 1830. The national liberation movement was started in earnest after the end of the World War II. Algerian national movement gained momentum after the establishment of UMDA (Union Democratique du Manifeste Algerian). The UDMA believed in the policy of dynamic compromise and was a party of middle class intelligentsia. Another political party headed by Messali Hedj was the MLTD (Mouvement poure Le Triomphe des Liberties Democratiques). The extreme section of the MLTD insisted on armed rebellion as the only way to drive out the French from Algeria. This extreme group left MLTD in 1954, and formed a new party called the National Liberation Front (NLF). It maintained an Army of Liberation which successfully carried out the task of liberating Algeria from French domination. The NLF was joined by Ferhal Abbas who for some time worked as its president. Yusuf Ben Khedda replaced Abbas in the leadership of NLF and was later replaced by Ben Bela who remained until recently the head of state of Algeria.

In 1948 Ferhat Abbas appealed to the Vicky government in France to recognise the autonomy of Algeria. But the appeal evoked no response. After the end of the World War II repressive measures were adopted by France to tighten her strangle-hold over Algeria. The Algerian struggle got momentum when NLF gave a call for armed rebellion against the French. The Algerian freedom movement now overshadowed all other questions. On November 1, 1954 armed nationalists attacked public property and police stations. The movement hence forth was marked by extreme form of violence and the French attempted to stamp it out by repressive measures. No amount of extermination could cow down the rebels.

The Algerian freedom struggle came under the sharp focus of Afro-Asian States. The Afro-Asian countries raised the issue of Algerian independence in the UN General Assembly; and denounced French barbarities in Algeria in 1955. French delegate said that the UN General Assembly should not discuss the Algerian question as it was purely a domestic issue of France. In September, 1958 a

provisional government of the Republic of Algeria was formed in exile in Tunisia. Mr.Ferhat Abbas became the President of this government. Explaining the policy of NLF Ferhat Abbas said "We prefer to be ten million corpses rather than ten million slaves". The Fourth Republic of France collapsed under the pressure of Algerian revolt and General De Gaulle was saddled with power. Contrary to the expectations of the French settlers in Algeria, General De Gaulle held out olive branch to the Algerian rebels. He promised to hold a referendum to decide the fate of Algeria. In 1960 General De Gaulle expressed his intention of carrying out the verdict of the referendum which went in favour of Algerian independence and her separation from metropolitan France. General De Gaulle suppressed the revolt of the French army in Algeria as well as the terrorist activities of the French settlers there. The peace talks were held between the French government and NLF at Evian in 1961. In February 1962 Algeria was declared independent. In the midst of the Evian talks Mr. Abbas was replaced by Yussef Ben Khedda as the President of the provisional government. Ahmed Ben Bella in the post-independence period ousted other leaders of NLF and virtually monopolised all power in the country.

(3) Liberation of Portuguese Enclaves

The Portuguese empire in Africa consisted of Angola, Mozambique, Cape Verde Islands Principoe Islands, Portuguese Guinea, and Sao Tome. President Salazar of Portugal treated the African colonies as provinces of Portugal and refused to grant independece to the people of these colonies. For years Portugal used Angola as the source of supply of 3 million slaves to run the Portuguese coffee plantation of Brazil. Portugal was enriched with diamonds and uranium of Angola. In March, 1961 the people of Angola launched guerilla campaign against Portugal. The latter reacted by airlifting more than 20000 soldiers into Angola. The uprising of the Angolans was crushed with iron hand. The guerillas were driven out of Angola. In August, 1962 the people of Angola were successful in getting the support of Congolese Premier Addoula. A military training camp for the guerillas of Angola was set-up near the border of country. The Angolian rebels also got arms and ammunition from the Congo. In September, 1960 UN General Assembly's Committee on Colonialism adopted a resolution calling upon the member states to impose sanctions on Portugal. The Committee called upon the General Assembly to denounce the mass extermination of the native population of Angola and to request all member states to halt aid to Portugal. The General Assembly passed a resolution urging Portugal to grant the right of self-determination to her colonies. In 1976

Angola attained independence. On 30th April, 1974 the coup d'etat of General Antonio de Spinola toppled the nearly 50 years old Salazarist regime in Portugal. On July 27, 1974 General Spinola declared that Portugal was ready to offer independence to her African overseas colonies of Angola, Mozambique and Portuguese Guinea. The new regime was prepared to recognise the rights of the population of Portuguese overseas colonies to take their destinies into their own hands. On 10th September, 1974 the Republic of Guinea-Bissau attained independence. Guinea-Bissau (Portuguese Guinea) paved the way for grant of independence to other Portuguese enclaves. On 25th June, 1975 Mozambique was proclaimed independent. The Cape Verde Islands became an independent state on July 5, while Sao Tome and the Principoe Islands achieved independence on July 12.

(4) Rhodesia and Nyasaland

The federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland was formed in 1953. The main objective of the federation was to establish the supremacy of the Whites over the Negroes. The federal government which was opposed by the Africans started the ruthless persecution of the coloured people. The agitation against the federation was launched by the Africans because they had little share in the administration. Ultimately in March, 1963 a conference was convened in London. It was decided to grant independence to Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland on December 31, 1963. In this conference it was also decided not to give independence to South Rhodesia which was predominantly a Negro area. This territorial arrangement sparked off great controversy and triggered violent agitation. South Rhodesia unilaterally declared herself independent and refused to owe allegiance to Britain. It is noteworthy that the government of Britain did not take any punitive action against South Rhodesia and it exercised a great degree of restraint in dealing with the situation. South Rhodesia thus attained her independence in 1964 by dint of sheer rebellion.

(5) Attainment of Independence by Tanganyika, Uganda and Kenya

Tanganyika which was formerly a trust territory won her independence in December, 1961. Uganda attained her independence in 1962. Kenya got freedom from foreign yoke in December, 1963. The people of Kenya had to pay heavy price for their freedom. The freedom struggle was carried on by Jomo Kenyatta a distinguished nay undisputed leader of the people of Kenya. He was imprisoned on several occasions during the days of freedom struggle.

Terrible atrocities were perpetrated on the people of Kenya struggling for independence. The Blacks under Jomo Kenyatta launched a terrorist movement known as Mau Mau movement, which aimed at harassing the European community in Kenya. The authorities moved two contingents of troops to crush the movement. The horrors perpetrated by the government troops rivalled the brutalities of terrorists. The government conducted a lengthy trial of Jomo Kenyatta on the charge of being the master mind of Mau Mau movement. On 8th April, 1963 he was found guilty of participating in illicit Mau Mau activities and along with his five associates, was sentenced to seven years' rigorous imprisonment. However, after long struggle Kenya attained independence. The independence celebrations began at Nairobi Capital of Kenya on 12th December, 1963.

(G) The Union Of South Africa And Her Policy Of Apartheid

In African continent only 3 per cent are whites and the rest are black skinned. The Whites came to the continent first as slave traders and then as colonizers. They carved out territories for themselves and finally established themselves as the masters of the whole vast continent. Their relation with the blacks was uniformly that of rulers and subjects. There were however, various patterns of the political relationships of the two races. The worst type of relationship between the Whites and the Africans existed in the Union of South Africa where the White settlers based their rule on the most unabashed assumption of racial superiority and ruthlessly practised the policy of apartheid or racial discrimination. The White masters of the Union of South Africa persisted in their old policy of maintaining their superiority because they believed that the ascendancy of the Blacks following the dismantlement of apartheid structure would result in the enslavement of the White settlers. By sheer brute force the White settlers sought more and more to tighten the collar of slavery on the necks of black subjects of the Union of South Africa.

(1) A Glimpse into the Past History of the Union of South Africa

The history of South Africa goes back nearly 300 years. It was first colonised by the Dutch under Van Riebeck in 1652. The Dutch in South Africa were called Boers. They also colonised Orange Free State and Transval. The two British colonies of Capetown and Natal came into existence later. The Boer War of 1899-1902 resulted in the victory of the British over the Boers and the native Bantus tribes. In 1910 Great Britain welded all these colonies into the self-governing Union of South Africa. She became a dominion of the British

Commonwealth in 1910. General Botha became the first Premier of the Union of South Africa. In 1934 the "Status of Union Act" defined South Africa as a sovereign independent state with right to secede from the Commonwealth. In 1960 the Union of South Africa became a republic by referendum. In 1961 she was forced to renounce the membership of Commonwealth.

(2) Causes of the Adoption of the Policy of Apartheid

A variety of factors contributed to the adoption of the policy of apartheid by the government of South Africa. These factors are summarized as follows:

(a) The society divided horizontally into a slave race and master race generated the sense of superiority. Due to the superiority complex the white settlers resorted to acts which resulted in the infringement of the liberties of the coloured people.

(b) Out of the population of 15 million only three million are whites. This white population is sub-divided into Afrikaners (Boers) and Britons. The population of Boers is slightly larger than Britons. The Afrikaners are still obsessed by the fear of domination by the Negroes and other coloured races. Since all other African states are hostile to the racist regime of South Africa, the Afrikaners do not like to loosen their strangle-hold over the coloured races in the country.

(c) The influence of the Church in the early years of colonization encouraged a spirit of crusade against the pagan Africans. The White settlers were also motivated by proselytizing zeal and looked at African pagans with disdain.

(d) The Dutch colonists since the days of the Boer War had developed a hostile attitude towards British liberalism of the 19th century. The merger of the British and Dutch colonial territories into the Union of South Africa was looked upon as an act imposed from outside by force. This Union did not change the conservative outlook of the Dutch settlers. On the other hand the racial segregation has been accepted as an established fact by the descendants of the Dutch and British settlers.

(3) Inauguration of the Policy of Apartheid

There are two political parties of the White settlers in South Africa. These parties are: (1) United Party, and (2) Nationalist Party. When in 1948 election the Nationalist party came to power, it made apartheid or separation of races a government policy. The Nationalists uprooted many Negroes from the cities. They tightly controlled the movement of Bantus (Africans) with a pass system compelling each Negro to carry a passport which he had to show

frequently in order to move about. The government also excluded the Negroes from skilled jobs and enforced rigid segregation in public places and enacted laws to carry out apartheid and suppress resistance to it with iron hand. All the heads of government of Nationalist party such as Danial Malan, J. G. Strijdom, Dr. Henrik Verwoerd, and Mr. Balthazar J. Vorster during the post-World War II period vigorously pursued the policy of racial segregation without caring for world public opinion or UN Charter. Thus, 11 million Africans, 1.5 million Cape Coloured and nearly 5 lakhs Indians were reduced to the position of Spartan helots.

(4) Diverse Manifestations and Implications of the Policy of Apartheid

The policy of Nationalist government is described as apartheid i.e., racial segregation. The apologists of the Nationalist government describe it as an attempt to develop two complete self-governing communities — European and Coloured in South Africa. The third and most reasonable explanation is expressed by the word 'baaskap' which means the maintenance of white domination at any cost. The 'baaskap' has been made effective in South Africa by various measures and legislative enactments. These measures are discussed as follows:

(i) Group Areas Act: Indians like other non-whites were subjected to racial restrictions. For example under the Group Areas Act they were liable to be uprooted from cities like Durban where they were heavily concentrated and where they earned their livelihood by skilled work and trade. These Indians were to be transferred to an area of inferior type where such labour was not in demand. It is clear from the following news item reported by Reuter from Pretoria on 10th December, 1963 as to how ruthlessly these laws are being enforced even today.

"Several Indian women were injured and others had their saris ripped today when South African police and police dogs broke up a demonstration of some 600 Indian women in front of Union Buildings, the seat of the Pretoria government. The Indian women had come to deliver a petition to South African Premier Mr. Verwoerd in protest against the Government's Group Areas Act which obliges numerous Indians to move from their present homes to specially reserved areas".

Under the above Act no transfer of occupation and ownership between the members of different racial groups was to be allowed without a permit. If a person holding property in an area which was not ear-marked for him, died, his successor could not inherit it and

the same was to be sold to a person belonging to that area. Trade licences could be issued or renewed on proof that an applicant could lawfully occupy the premises in the area where he was engaged in trade. Since the Group Areas Act was clearly against the coloured people, its validity was challenged. The Supreme Court of South Africa declared the Group Areas Act unconstitutional. Dr. Malan the Head of Government refused to abide by the verdict of the judiciary and decided to defy it. He got a new law passed by the South African Parliament. Under the new law a court consisting of the members of parliament was to be set-up to decide whether a particular law was constitutional law. Thus the parliament appropriated to itself the powers of judicial review. The matter was again referred to Supreme Court which held that law creating the High Court of Parliament for testing the constitutional validity of the Acts passed by the legislature, was unconstitutional.

(ii) The Criminal Law Amendment Act: The South African Parliament passed the Criminal Law Amendment Act which provided that any one who encouraged or incited any person to protest against any law or support any campaign for the repeal or modification of any law in force was to be guilty of an offence. The participants in any campaigns against any law in force were liable to be prosecuted in the court of law and punished with a fine of 300 pounds or three years' rigorous imprisonment. Money or other help from any where overseas and from inside South Africa for the defiance movement was disallowed. Any one who gave or accepted money or other help was liable to the same punishment as for incitement. The Minister of Justice was authorised to deal directly with the passive resistance movement without the need of proclaiming a state of emergency.

(iii) Discrimination Between Whites and Non-whites in the Sphere of Civil Liberties: Under various other laws non-whites were forbidden to marry whites, hold public office, attend the same school as whites, belong to a union as whites, buy or drink liquor, move out of their reserved areas without permission, own property, travel without identity cards or mingle with whites in railways, cars, buses or park benches. Commenting on a treason trial of 30 coloured people, which was going on in Pretoria at the time he visited the city (3rd January, 1960) a New York Times correspondent wrote thus "It does not take much to be accused of subversion in the Union of South Africa, where the individual native has no vote, owns no land, lives where he is told to, travels with a pass and suffers under the most rigidly enforced social and economic segregation system in all the world".

(iv) Apartheid in economic and Political Fields: Economically the policy of racial segregation has prevented the coloured people from either becoming owners or skilled workers in industries of the country. The increase in the number of towns and cities has complicated the problem. The workers generally come from the reserved areas meant for Africans and are obliged to return to their reserved areas after the expiry of the period of contract. This peculiar racial barrier hampers the growth of industries specially the mines. The Land Acts virtually deprive the Africans of right to acquire land outside the reserved areas. Politically the Pretoria racist regime has virtually established a Facist regime with its theory of racial superiority. The Africans are deprived of all political rights. The police force of South Africa keeps the whole population under constant terror. The brutal policy of repression of the South African government was exposed to the outside world when in March, 1960 the police opened fire on a peaceful demonstration at Sharpeville where sixty seven persons were killed and many wounded. The barbarities practised by the South African government in June, 1976 in Soweto far exceeded the repressive measures of 1960. The Africans were given separate representation in 1936 and their names were removed from common electoral roll. In 1956 the Cape Coloureds were removed from the common electoral roll by the Separate Representation Act. Thus, in the Union of South Africa the three million whites dominate more than 12 million non whites who are deprived of civil, and political rights.

(v) Resistance Movement Against the Policy of Apartheid Launched by Africans in South Africa: According to Alan Paton apartheid is "in essence a rejection of man". It has robbed the coloured people of their land and liberty. Since Field-Marshall Smuts laid down the principle of racial segregation in the Imperial Conference of 1921, successive white governments in South Africa have been vigorously pursuing that policy in its ugliest and abominable end. General Smuts remarked thus in 1921 "The whole basis of our particular system in South Africa rests on inequality — it is bedrock of our Constitution". The indigenous organisations such as African National Congress, South African Coloured People's Congress, South African Indian Congress, and White Congress of Democrats forged unity and formed a grand organisation known as the Congress of Alliance. At the forum of the Congress of Alliance various eminent leaders vehemently denounced the policy of apartheid. Albert John Lutuli the most venerated leader of South Africa and the Noble Prize winner for peace (1961) publicly burnt his book and declared March 28, 1960 to be a day of national mourning as a

mark of protest against the wholesale massacre of innocent Africans at Sharpeville in March, 1960. Albert John Lutuli, like Mahatma Gandhi believed in non-violence and passive resistance and he wielded a decisive influence over the masses. On June 25, 1955 the Congress of Alliance adopted a Charter of Freedom which stated that "South Africa belongs to those who live in it". The Africans in South Africa have launched various campaigns against the unjust laws of the Pretoria white racist regime.

(a) New Leaders of Black Amelioration in South Africa: The apartheid set-up is so oppressive and unremitting in its racial exclusiveness as to leave the black majority as well as those of Asian coloured no choice but resort to violence in order to topple it. It is not SWAPO guerillas but South African forces who are terrorists because they are fighting to preserve a fundamentally and morally iniquitous order. In the resplendent galaxy of African leaders, Mr. Nelson Mandela shines significantly. He is still in prison but the movement of resistance started by him against the reprehensible system is being carried by his enthusiastic followers. His wife Mrs.Winnie Mandela has been arrested on several occasions. On 17th June, 1986 she was put in house arrest near Johannesburg. The White racist Pretoria regime is so tenatiously committed to apartheid that its diplomats resort to violence in foreign countries if any one raises voice against the apartheid. For instance Australia expelled a South African diplomat on June 17, 1986 because he clubbed a woman anti-apartheid protestor in the Embassy grounds.

(vi) Revelations About South Africa by the Commonwealth Group of Eminent Persons (June, 1986) The Commonwealth Group of Eminent Persons comprising Mr. Malcolm Fraser, General Olusegun Obasanjo, Lord Barber, Dame Nita Barrow, Mr. John Malecela, Sardar Swaran Singh, and Rev. Edward Scott were afforded a unique opportunity to travel freely and to meet a wide cross section of South Africans. Their report has become the focus of international debate. The following high-lights of their report reveal the pathetic picture of South Africa.

(1) Violence a Way of Life

The Commonwealth Group of Eminent Persons in their report stated "We arrived when there was carnage in Alexandra. On the day of our final departure, Crossroads was on fire and a pall of smoke hung in the sky. We saw a country in upheaval and witnessed great human suffering. Even as we write, the killings continue. It was clear that our task would be immensely difficult. Its success would depend ultimately on the good faith of the South African government

and on the co-operation of all significant sections of South African Society". The report clearly stated that the alternative to a negotiated solution would be appalling chaos; bloodshed and destruction. The armed aggression of South Africa against Botswana, Zambia and Zimbabwe has made the prospects of negotiations between the African leaders and the government more difficult. The group in its report declared. "It is our considered view that despite appearances and statements to the contrary, the South African government is not yet ready to negotiate such a future (establishment of non-racial and representative government) except on its own terms". The South African government seems to be committed to violence and its terms both in regard to objectives and modalities fall far short of reasonable black expectations and well-accepted democratic norms and principles.

(2) Institutionalised Racial Discrimination for Perpetuating White Power

The Commonwealth group rejected as impractical the suggestion that the whole complex web of apartheid legislation should be repealed as a prelude to negotiations. The Commonwealth eminent persons had the privilege of talking to diverse spectrum of opinion including opposition parties, trade unions, church leaders, businessmen, women's groups and civil rights activists. They came to the conclusion that apartheid goes beyond institutionalised racial discrimination and economic exploitation. It is primarily a means of keeping ultimate political and economic power in the hands of white minority. Any reservations by the government about dismantling apartheid would inevitably be viewed by the vast majority as a ploy for perpetuating white power in new guise.

(3) President Botha's Hostility to ANC (African National Congress)

Negotiations leading to fundamental political change and the erection of democratic structures will only be possible if the South African government is prepared to deal with the leaders of people's choice rather than with puppets of its own creation. President Botha's recent statements in 1986 expressing determination to break the major organisation the ANC, bode ill for the country's future. There can be no negotiated settlement in South Africa without the ANC the major political party in the country. Distinguished leaders like Nelson Mandela and Oliver Tambo are willing to co-operate with the government to reach an amicable and honourable settlement. If an election were held today on the basis of universal adult franchise, the ANC would win it. But the govern-

ment is not ready to negotiate with the leaders of this great organisation. South Africa is predominantly a country of black people. To believe that they can be indefinitely suppressed is an act of self-delusion.

(4) Empty Promises of Government and Black Mobilisation

Government's promises of reform have created anxiety among certain sections of its supporters and contributed to growing white back-lash. But the reforms themselves have made little impact on black attitudes or aspirations except to confirm the government's implacable resistance to significant change. Even the more enlightened ministers seem to be out of touch with the mood in the black townships, the rising tide of anger and impatience within them and the extent of black mobilisation. The blacks have enough of aparthied. They can no longer stomach being treated as aliens in their own country. They have confidence not merely in the justice of their cause but in the inevitability of their victory.

(5) Flight of Capital from South Africa

The uncoordinated violence of today with all its attendant human costs can become a major armed conflict spilling well beyond South African's borders. In such circumstances the entire economic fabric of the country would indeed be destroyed. Upto now there has been no significant moves to break the cycle of violence. The business can not thrive in an atmosphere suffused and permeated with violent incidents and racial hatred and this state of affairs would result in flight of capital from the country.

(6) Imposition of Mandatory Economic Sanctions

The Commonwealth group of eminent persons stated in their report that if South Africa is convinced that there will no mandatory sanctions to be imposed on her, the process of change in the country is unlikely to increase in momentum and the descent into violence would be accelerated. From the point of view of black leadership, the course now taken by the world community will have great significance. The black leadership has already come to the view that diplomatic persuasion has not and will not move the South African government sufficiently. India and other Asian and African members of the Commonwealth believe that the only way to dismantle apartheid is to impose comprehensive and mandatory economic sanctions on South Africa. But unfortunately Britain does not share this view of the majority of members of the Commonwealth. The report of the Commonwealth Group of Eminent Persons reads "We draw the conclusion that while the government claims to be ready to

negotiate, it is in truth not yet prepared to negotiate fundamental change, nor to countenance the creation of genuine democratic structures, nor to face the prospect of the end of white domination and white power in the foreseeable future. Its programme of reform does not end apartheid, but seeks to give it less inhuman face. Its quest is power-sharing but without surrendering overall white control".

(7) The Union of South Africa and the U.N.O. and International Reaction to Apartheid

International reaction to the blatant policy of racial separation followed by South Africa has been very sharp. The three million whites virtually live in an armed camp amidst a hostile population. The policy of apartheid has evoked protest from 200 million Africans pulsating with life. International concern has been expressed in unequivocal terms against this reprehensible system at various conferences. The Addis Ababa Conference of 1968 adopted resolutions condemning the apartheid. The declaration of Verwoerd on March 15, 1961 that he would not allow High Commissioners from Asian and African Commonwealth countries, evoked severe criticism. Eventually South Africa was forced to leave the Commonwealth.

(8) UN General Assembly's First Session and Issue of Apartheid

In the very first General Assembly of the UNO, India raised the issue of harsh treatment meted out to Indians in the Union of South Africa alleging that it was a violation of the UN Charter. South Africa claimed that the matter lay within her domestic jurisdiction. The government of South Africa at that time was out of favour with the West due to its pro-Hitlerite and anti-democratic attitude in the Second World War and its defiance of the UNO on the issue of South West Africa. India, however, found a lot of sympathizers in the UN General Assembly which passed a resolution declaring that "the treatment of Indians in South Africa should be in conformity with international obligations under the agreements concluded between the countries and relative provisions of the UN Charter". In 1952 the apartheid charge in case of treatment of the Africans was levelled against the government of South Africa by the UN General Assembly. In almost every session the General Assembly went on passing resolutions condemning the policy of apartheid. But South Africa managed to ignore all the resolutions.

(ii) Security Council's Resolution Regarding Violation of Human Rights in South Africa (April 1960): On April 1, 1960 the Security

Council voting 9 to 0, pronounced South Africa guilty of violation of human rights, of flouting world public opinion and of endangering the world peace by pursuing its policies of racial discrimination.

(iii) UN Security Council's Appeal to Impose Sanctions on South Africa: In December, 1963 the Security Council by a unanimous vote condemned South Africa's practice of apartheid and appealed to all countries to stop supplying raw material and equipment to South African armament factories. This was the most important success achieved by the opponents of South Africa's practice of apartheid since 1946. In August 1963 the Security Council had adopted a resolution which appealed to all states to impose an embargo on the shipments of weapons and military vehicles for South Africa. Unfortunately these resolutions of the Security Council could not be effective because England and France declared that they would continue to export weapons and military vehicles to South Africa for her defence against external attack. Britain and France held the view that the situation in South Africa did not justify the imposition of mandatory sanctions. The United States shared this view of her allies and she also bypassed the resolution.

(iv) Other Measures Taken by the UNO Against South Africa:

(1) The special UN Committee on apartheid presented a report to the 1967 General Assembly alleging South Africa of rapidly expanding her military strength to make apartheid more effective.

(2) By a majority vote South Africa was suspended by the members of UNCTAD II in March 1968. The members of United Nations Conference of Trade and Development (UNCTAD) tried to mobilise the world public opinion to impose economic sanctions on South Africa.

(3) On November 13, 1974 the General Assembly debarred South Africa from participating in its current session by a majority vote.

(4) In 1976 a vote of censure was passed in the UN General Assembly against the atrocities committed by South African government on the blacks in Soweto.

(v) South Africa Debarred from Participating in 1968 Mexico Olympic Games: The practice of apartheid by the government of South Africa has become a matter of international concern. In response to world public opinion, the International Olympic Committee debarred South Africa from participating in 1968 Mexico Olympic games.

(vi) Impact of the Policy of Apartheid on Rhodesia: The policy of apartheid induced the white settlers of the British colony of Rhodesia to make unilateral declaration of independence on November 11, 1965. It was immediately declared illegal by Governor Sir Humphrey Gibbs under instructions from Queen Elizabeth. It was the first rebellion of a British colony after 1776. Northern Rhodesia (Zambia), Nyasaland (Malawi) and Southern Rhodesia (known as Rhodesia since October 24, 1964) formed into the Central African Federation in 1953. By 1963 the feeling of racial superiority of the Whites made the Central African Federation unworkable. Great Britain granted independence to northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland but Southern Rhodesia remained attached to the British empire.

Southern Rhodesia's premier Mr. Ian Smith was instigated by South Africa to make unilateral declaration of independence. However, the General Secretary of Commonwealth Mr. Arond Smith voiced the sentiments of Africans. He said "I would not expect nations of the world to stand by idly while another South Africa develops". The UN resolution called for imposition of economic sanctions on the rebel regime of Mr.Ian Smith. The adherence of the British Prime Minister Mr. Harold Wilson to NIBMAR (No Independence Before Majority Rule) and application to UN for mandatory sanctions, ruled out the possibility of an agreement. A second Wilson-Smith Summit meeting aboard the British warship 'Fearless' in Gibralter Harbour in October, 1968 also proved to be fruitless. It is alleged that the British government by expressly accepting the principle of white domination in Rhodesia during the interim period gave a long lease of life to the racist regime of Mr. Smith. The rebel colony under Mr.Smith refused to owe allegiance to British Crown. Most of the Commonwealth Prime Ministers in their London meeting of January, 1969 rejected the British stand and urged for the use of force. In May, 1968 the UN imposed strict economic sanctions on Rhodesia but Portugal and South Africa defied the UN resolutions and continued to support the rebel regime and establish economic contact with it. Ian Smith arranged a referendum in June 1968 to sanction a constitution meant to perpetuate white rule. The referendum was based on very limited franchise and vast majority of Africans was deprived of participating in it. However, Prime Minister of England Mr. Heath reached an agreement with Rhodesia. Under this agreement the Africans were to get political power in distant future. This agreement was rejected by Africans in toto. They demanded nothing short of 'one man one vote' and NIBMAR (No Independence Before Majority Rule). Premier Heath failed to make any break through in the impasse. Some

African States called a conference at Geneva in November, 1976 where black nationalist leaders Mr. Joshua Nkomo, Mr. Robert Mugabe and others were invited to meet the delegation of Smith regime. The conference bore no fruit due to the intransigence of Smith regime which was totally unwilling to concede any real power to the Blacks.

(vii) Non-aligned Movement (NAM) and Apartheid: Non-aligned movement has mobilised the world public opinion against the government of South Africa which has earned notoriety for its reprehensible system of racial segregation. It seems that South Africa is not willing to part with power at any cost and she has become militant in her approach to African National Congress (ANC) which commands the support of the overwhelming majority of Africans. ANC has earned the support of three front line African states—Zimbabwe, Botswana and Zambia. The national movement launched by ANC against the racist Pretoria regime has come under sharp focus of the non-aligned countries which have joined hands to promote the cause of Africans in South Africa.

(1) Initiative of Non-aligned Countries for Mandatory Sanctions Against South Africa

On various occasions the non-aligned countries took initiative to sponsor resolutions in the world body to impose mandatory sanctions against South Africa. India has been one of the most enthusiastic and staunch supporters of such initiatives. On 17th June, 1986 non-aligned nations confronted the United States and Britain the supporters of South Africa with a move in the UN Security Council for punitive sanctions against South Africa. The six non-aligned states on the 15 members United Nations Security Council proposed the imposition of selective sanctions against Pretoria whose aggressive policies and acts threatened international peace and security. The non-aligned members of the Security Council tabled their draft resolution after a debate on South Africa's latest raids on the Angolian port town of Namibe in which a Cuban ship sank and two Soviet vessels were damaged. The draft strongly condemned South Africa's premeditated and unprovoked attack on Namibe and continuing occupation of parts of Angola and demanded immediate withdrawal of its troops from Angola. In applying selective sanctions the draft resolution was designed to restrict South Africa's sports and cultural contacts, ban computer and nuclear-related sales to it and stop investments and loans in Pretoria. The draft resolution also proposed to ban the sale of South African gold Kruggerands and other coins. The draft was tabled in the Security

Council a few hours after a World Conference opened in Paris heard Senegal's President and Head of the Organisation of African Unity Mr. Abdou Diouf stressing the need for sanctions against Pretoria to avert a blood bath in South Africa. During the Security Council's debate on 17th June 1986 the Australian envoy Mr. Richard Woolcott berated Pretoria for its actions that daily increased pressures on the world community to take stern measures against it. The Danish envoy Mr. Ole Bierring said that the situation was fast approaching the point of no return and warned of disaster unless the Council took a firm stand now before it was too late. Unfortunately the British and US delegates did not support the draft resolution sponsored by the six non-aligned member states of the Security Council. Rejecting the demand of Opposition Labour party for imposing tough economic sanctions, British Prime Minister Mrs. Margaret Thatcher said that these sanctions would be punitive and negative in their effect. The foreign secretary Sir Geoffrey told the House of Commons of the need for co-ordinated international action to bring about negotiations with South Africa but ruled out sanctions to topple apartheid. Due to the opposition of Britain and the USA the above draft resolution initiated by the non-aligned countries could not be adopted in the UN Security Council.

Despite persistent unrest, upheavals and killings unprecedented in South Africa's history, the White government believes that it can contain the situation indefinitely by use of force. Although the government's confidence may be valid in the short term but at great human cost, it is plainly misplaced in the longer term. Apartheid has become a matter of international concern and its inevitable dismantlement is only a matter of time.

(H) The Commonwealth

Commonwealth is the word which came into general use to describe the relations between Britain and the old dominions of British empire — Canada, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa and Northern Ireland. Britain established an empire where "the sun never set". After the attainment of independence Canada, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa and North Ireland were associated with Britain by ties closer than the most friendly foreign countries. These ties developed spontaneously in response to practical needs and were never planned before hand.

(1) Subtle Position of a Dominion within the British Commonwealth of Nations

The concept of self-governing dominion was derived from the British North America Act of 1867. The term dominion was first used

in a resolution of the Colonial Conference of 1907 to designate the self-governing units of the British empire, although Canada was known as the dominion of Canada since the British North America Act of 1867. The Balfour Declaration (1926) defined dominions as "autonomous communities within the British empire equal in status in no way subordinate to one another, in any respect of their domestic or external affairs, though united by a common allegiance to the Crown and freely associated as members of the British Commonwealth of Nations". The then existing administrative, judicial and legislative relations of the dominion with Britain were not in conformity with the position explained by the above declaration which was an attempt to define dominion status only in non-legal terms. The legal frame-work was laid down in the Statute of West Minister in 1931. No explanation about the criteria which determined the status of a dominion was given in the above statute. The Section I of the Statute of West Minister defined dominion only by enumeration i.e., the Dominion of Canada, the Commonwealth of Australia, the Dominion of New Zealand, the Union of South Africa, the Irish Free State and New Foundland. The preamble to the Statute declared the British Crown as the symbol of the free association of these dominions of the British Commonwealth. The independence in the internal and external affairs was granted to the dominions but the legal sovereignty of British Parliament over them remained intact. The grant of internal sovereignty to the dominions by Britain implied the removal of the legislative and judicial dependence on the British Crown. In administrative field the dominions retained autonomy. The Governor General of a dominion was to act as the constitutional hand and he acted as representative of British Crown. Prof. K. C. Wheare has rightly identified the three chief characteristics of the dominion status: (1) A dominion was territorial community other than British which first owed its allegiance to British Crown. (2) It was equal in status with Britain in internal and external affairs. (3) Allegiance to the common British Crown was the legal tie which strengthened the bonds of association of dominions with Britain; but the link could be broken at will by any dominion. Any dominion might constitutionally repudiate the statute of West minister and thus become a fully independent country outside the Commonwealth. Ireland severed the link with the Commonwealth in April, 1949. The Republic of Ireland Act repudiated the Balfour Declaration and the West Minister Statute. Ireland no longer recognized British monarch as the symbol of its free association with Britain and other dominions. It did not wish to be a Kingdom and it walked out of the British Commonwealth.

(2) Gradual Emancipation of British Colonies Towards a State of Complete Independence

Durham Report of 1839 stressed the need to grant independence to the British colonies. It emphasised the need of granting self-government to the colonies. According to this report there were to be certain spheres where British control was to continue. These included foreign relations, land and defence as well as external trade. These colonies after 1907 were designated as dominions but complete independence was granted to them at a later period. The First World War forged the relations of Great Britain and her Dominions more closely because of the dependence of Britain on them for the help that they rendered in achieving victory of the allies. The Dominions became signatories to the Peace Treaties concluded after the end of the War. They were also accepted as the members of the League of Nations. The post-World World I period saw the rise of the dominions as sovereign states. The Dominion of Canada for instance concluded various treaties with the United States and European countries. Australia claimed her right to nominate her own Governor-General in 1930 and in 1931 the Irish Free State assumed her own great seal. The League of Nations entrusted Union of South Africa the mandated territory of South-West Africa. This change of relations between the Dominions and British Crown was recognized in the Imperial Conference of 1926. The Balfour note (1926) and the Statute of West minister (1931) emphasised the independence of the Dominions by legalising their status. Henceforth an act passed by British Parliament unless accepted by the Dominion Legislatures would not be enforced in the Dominions. Britain and the Dominions appointed High Commissioners in the Commonwealth countries.

(3) Entry of India, Pakistan and Ceylon into the Commonwealth and Change in the Position of British Crown

India and Pakistan attained independence according to Indian Independence Act of 1947 and Ceylon became free through Ceylon Independence Act and Order-in-Council of 1948. The acquisition of dominion status by these three countries introduced a new factor in dominion relationship. The multi-racial character of the Commonwealth and the diversity of the political and economic interests of component units resulted in a change in the Commonwealth terminology. India continued like a dominion till she became a republic on 26th January, 1950 when her constitution came into force. Unlike Irish Free State India wanted to repudiate only one of the elements implicit in the Statute of West minister of 1931. India found the old monarchical symbolism of dominion status inconsistent with her

republican system. She did not like to owe allegiance to British Crown but wanted to retain her association with the Commonwealth. The declaration of the Prime Ministers Conference of 1949 while permitting India to remain a full member of the Commonwealth, introduced an important change in Commonwealth concept and terminology. The prefix British was eliminated and British Commonwealth of Nations came to be called Commonwealth of Nations. The Head of the Commonwealth had no legal basis and therefore had no legal powers whatsoever. Commenting on King's position, Nehru said "So the King has no functions at all. He has a certain status. The Commonwealth as such is not a body. It has no organisation through which to function and the King can have no functions". It is noteworthy that the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference (1949) agreed to extend the Commonwealth concept to include India without asking her to owe familiar allegiance to the British Crown as in the case of old Commonwealth countries. The Queen of England remains for India and other republics as a symbol of unity in the Commonwealth. The new arrangement enabled Pakistan in February, 1955 at her request and with the agreement of Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference to retain the full membership of the Commonwealth. Ceylon also joined the Commonwealth as republican state with no allegiance to British Crown. The emotional factors that bind the Whites to the mother country (Britain) are absent in the Afro-Asian counterparts of the Commonwealth. Addressing the Commonwealth Correspondents Association in July, 1956 Mr. Bandaranaike the Premier of Ceylon said "The Queen of England is indeed a gracious lady. But we prefer a republican form of government which we consider more suitable to our country and our conditions. We are too far away with too few personal contacts to stimulate that feeling of personal attachment which you have for her". So a sense of loyalty to Crown is out of question. India, Pakistan and Ceylon joined Commonwealth not because of sentimental considerations but after considering the relative advantages and disadvantages.

(3) The Commonwealth Concept and Bonds of Friendship Between the Member-states

The character and nature of Commonwealth defies definition. With the passage of time the Commonwealth idea became more mythical although it did not lose its appeal. The lack of precision in the nature and scope of relations of the members of Commonwealth has created much difficulty.

(a) Change in Political Machinery: The political machinery for the Commonwealth has undergone much change. The colonial ad-

ministration of the 19th century became obsolete for Canada. Australia and New Zealand attained Dominion Status prior to World War I. Their position improved when like independent and sovereign states they signed the treaty of Versailles and became the members of the League of Nations. Their foreign policy was at variance with that of Britain. For instance in 1922 the Dominions turned a deaf ear to British Premier Lloyd George's appeal when a dispute over Bosphorus jeopardized peace. During the post-World War II period the Commonwealth countries on many occasions differed among themselves. But still in international relations the Commonwealth countries constitute a special category of states co-operating among themselves for some agreed aspects. However, there are agencies of co-operation through which the member states seek co-operation. The agencies like the Commonwealth relations office and the Commonwealth Conferences facilitate mutual co-operation in various fields. A number of special committees exist to promote and co-ordinate inter-commonwealth economic and political co-operation.

(b) Voluntary Character of the Commonwealth: The Commonwealth is neither a federation nor a confederation. It is purely a free association and its voluntary character is proved by the right of member states to secede. Ireland, Burma, and Pakistan left the Commonwealth voluntarily without any external pressure. The Commonwealth has no recognised constitutional organisation and no common set of objectives as in a confederation. There is no central authority and division of powers among the member nations. There is no judiciary constituted by the members to decide their issues. It has not defined any rights or duties of the member states.

(c) Common bonds of Friendship Among the Member States: The common bond that holds the different member states of the Commonwealth is the tradition. The Commonwealth countries have inherited the same cultural outlook and parliamentary tradition from England. The English common law, tradition and long association with Britain have led to the development of political and economic ties. The two World Wars amply demonstrated their solidarity. The sense of common mission, the tie with sterling area and liberal democratic ideals have so far held together the Commonwealth countries. The two other factors which bind the peoples of the Commonwealth are the game of cricket and the English language. The Commonwealth can boast today that although it has no structure of constitution, and no legal sanctions to its decisions, it still continues to exist. Explaining the new concept of Commonwealth British Prime Minister Clement Attlee said "It exists in the minds

of men. The Commonwealth meeting is a talk round the table between friends. Foreigners find it difficult to understand how such loose methods can be effective but the answer is that they are."

(4) Decline in British Position and Power during post-World War II era and its impact on the Commonwealth

The Commonwealth is no longer the centre of a great empire. It played an important role in the world politics so long as the British navy had unchallenged supremacy. In the post-second world war period the rise of super powers the United States and the Soviet Union has reduced the importance of the Commonwealth. The bipolar division of the world into two hostile blocs — the Soviet bloc and American bloc has reduced the importance of Britain as a Great Power. That the Commonwealth countries no longer depend upon England for defence is evident from the conclusion of the Anzus Treaty between the USA, New Zealand and Australia. The realisation of the weakness of England came with the failure of British military adventure in Egypt in 1956 when Suez Canal was nationalised by President Nasser of Egypt. Morally and materially Britain has lost the leading position in the post-War period. The liquidation of British empire in the post-war period has made the Commonwealth weak due to the tendency of its members to look elsewhere for support and strength. Britain is no longer a powerful state with bases and colonial possessions scattered all over the world and with imponderable relation of friendship with Commonwealth countries. After Britain joined the European Common Market (ECM), the concept of the Commonwealth has undergone such a complete change that to many member states it is now a polite relationship and not a political reality.

(5) Discordant Factors Within the Commonwealth

There are certain discordant factors which are responsible for erosion of the Commonwealth concept.

(a) Indo-Pak Relations: On the Kashmir issue Britain has adopted partisan approach. In August, 1965 Pakistan sent organised groups of infiltrators in Kashmir and Pakistan's armed forces crossed international border. Surprisingly enough Britain supported Pakistan. Indian armed forces successfully repelled the unprovoked aggression of Pakistan. The matter was brought to the UN Security Council which passed a resolution on 22nd September calling for cease-fire. Pakistan vented its anger for the debacle in the 1965 war on poor Malaysia by snapping diplomatic relations. Malaysia did not support Pakistan in 1965 Indo-Pak war. Thus, Pakistan demonstrated a completely unheard of diplomatic move against the

fellow member of Commonwealth and exposed the hollowness of Commonwealth concept. Again in 1971, Bangladesh liberation movement and the consequent India-Pak hostilities highlighted the failure of the Commonwealth to keep its members at peace and solve their mutual dispute amicably through peaceful negotiations. Pakistan seceded from the Commonwealth as she was not satisfied with British attitude towards Indo-Pak war of 1971.

(b) Unilateral Declaration of Independence by Rhodesia (November 1965): Among the discordant factors that disturbed Commonwealth relations, the unilateral declaration of independence by the illegal regime of Ian Smith of Rhodesia on November 11, 1965, should be regarded as very prominent. The rebel regime of Ian Smith defied every attempt of Britain to reach an honourable settlement. He was determined to retain power for white minority in Rhodesia and Britain on the other hand was lukewarm in her support to impose mandatory sanctions on Rhodesia. The Asian and African members of the Commonwealth took exception to the appeasement policy adopted by Britain towards Ian Smith's rebel white regime, in the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference held in London in the first week of January, 1969. Most of the members rejected British proposals for settlement of Rhodesian issue because these proposals ran counter to NIBMAR (No Independence Before Majority Rule) and pleaded for use of force to reclaim the rebellious elements of the British colony of Rhodesia. Britain showed no signs of response to the majority demand in the above conference. Thus, Britain and Afro-Asian members of the Commonwealth were on cross-roads.

(c) Problem of Immigration: The immigration problem was the direct outcome of the policy of Africanization followed by East African countries including Kenya, Uganda, Zambia and Tanzania and the refusal of Britain to accommodate Asians holding British passport. The issue of immigration had been raised at informal meetings outside the Commonwealth conference but these meetings failed because Britain expressed her inability to accommodate the Asians holding British passport. On the contrary Britain has recently enacted legislation to impose curbs on immigration of coloured people into her territory. She has made stringent rules and regulations for grant of British citizenship to Africans and Asians. Many Asians and Africans have been expeled from England on the ground that they were not entitled to British citizenship.

(d) Britain's Entry into European Common Market: Britain's entry into European Common Market has adversely affected the

trade relations between England and member nations of Asia and Africa. Due to closer economic integration with Europe England gave the most favoured nation's treatment to the goods exported to her by her European allies. This in effect meant the reduction of volume of trade between England and Afro-Asian members of Commonwealth.

(e) Military Alignments and Diverse Political Policies: Britain and Canada joined the NATO; whereas Pakistan joined the SEATO and Baghdad Pact. Australia New Zealand and the United States concluded the Anzus treaty for collective defence. On the other hand India, Ceylon and several other Afro-Asian members of the Commonwealth pursue the policy of non-alignment. In 1971 India concluded a treaty of friendship and co-operation with the Soviet Union. Pro-American member states of the Commonwealth feel that India has jettisoned the policy of non-alignment.

(f) Ethnic Violence in Sri Lanka: Eruption of ethnic violence in Sri Lanka in recent times has posed a challenge to the efficacy of the Commonwealth. The acts of violence and sabotage continued unabated resulting in colossal loss of life and property. Tamil speaking minority in Jaffna Peninsula seeks to get a large measure of autonomy which the government of Sri Lanka is unwilling to grant. Thousands of Tamils had migrated into India as a result of ruthless persecution in Sri Lanka. Most of these Tamil refugees had been rehabilitated in Rameshwaram. India's mediatory efforts for a just and peaceful settlement of the ethnic problem have not yet yielded any fruit. On the contrary the Sri Lankan government has alleged that Tamil Nadu has been supplying arms and ammunition to the Tamil militants. The government of India has denied the charge and termed it as baseless. It has been made clear by the government of India that there cannot be a military solution of this problem. However, some moral pressure of Commonwealth countries has been brought to bear on the government of Sri Lanka but it is not effective as the ethnic disturbances are still threatening the peace and tranquillity in the country.

(g) Super Powers' Rivalry in Indian Ocean: The United States has established a naval base in the Indian Ocean at Deogogarcia. This has threatened the peace of the region. India Ceylon and other littoral states insist that the Indian Ocean should be zone of peace and that the United States should dismantle the base in Deogogarcia in order to end the Super Powers' rivalry in the area. But the base is of great strategic importance and the United States does not respond to the appeal of these countries. Britain being an ally of the

United States supports the US stand. Her policy is at variance with that followed by other Commonwealth countries of this region. This is bound to create discord in the relations between Commonwealth countries.

(6) Commonwealth and the Policy of Apartheid of the Union of South Africa

While disagreement on foreign policy may be unavoidable and permissible, racial discrimination practised by the Union of South Africa provokes such deep seated passions as may destroy the Commonwealth unity. Apartheid poses difficult problems for the nationals of India and Pakistan who have been persecuted mercilessly by the white racist Pretoria regime. Respect for human rights and acceptance of human equality seem to be the conditions of Commonwealth survival but these laudable ideals are empty words for Pretoria regime which does not want to abandon apartheid in order to establish white supremacy. Unfortunately Britain supports the white regime of South Africa and refrains from imposing mandatory economic sanctions against her.

(a) Commonwealth Summit at Nassau (October 1985) : 44 Commonwealth members including Britain had approved a resolution at Commonwealth Summit Conference held in Nassau agreeing to mandatory sanctions if South Africa did not make progress towards ending apartheid. Unfortunately Britain being a signatory to this resolution chose to back out. Margaret Thatcher the British Prime Minister repeatedly stated Britain's opposition to economic sanctions against South Africa saying that they would not work and would hurt the majority of black population. Britain is South Africa's largest trading partner. Asked about reports that India and several other countries would leave the commonwealth if Britain refused to go along with sanctions Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi said in May, 1986 "43 countries were agreed on something and one country is not, it is hardly for the 43 to leave. So the onus is on Britain. It will be for Britain to decide what they want to do".

(b) South Africa's Belligerency: In May, 1986 South Africa launched air attacks on the two front line countries Zambia and Zimbabwe which are the members of the Commonwealth. It is natural in the context for all self-respecting people to conclude that if the Commonwealth lets this extraordinary execrable racist felony pass without protest it deserves, the majority of non-white member states will have themselves to blame for restoring this organisation to its original definition — a Club of slaves founded and presided over by the imperialist master. Unfortunately there was no sharp reac-

tion to South Africa's aggression in the political circles of the Commonwealth countries. Britain did not express any concern over this development. The ruling racist National party is swiftly acquiring an openly neo-fascist character with the rise of the Swastika sporting Afrikaner Volk' under the leadership of the new Fuhrer, Terre Blanche. President Botha himself promised that he would continue his banditry on front line states. In face of all this, only the most diehard hypocrites could still continue to talk of constructive engagement and negotiations with Botha as being better substitutes for complete and comprehensive economic embargo on South Africa. The blacks of South Africa will no doubt blow racism to pieces some day whatever the odds.

(c) Revelations About South Africa by the Commonwealth Group of Eminent Persons (June 1986)

(*Note*: Please see preceding point G of this Chapter).

(8) The Future of Commonwealth

The Commonwealth tends to become internally and externally anomalous. Mr. Menzies doubting the value of the organisation said in 1956: "Differences are natural in an association of sovereign equals but if too much disagreement on fundamental questions is allowed, the Commonwealth would only provide a forum for discussion and would come to mean a small United Nations without a Charter and without the obligations under a large United Nations". There has been recently some thinking about the means to establish closer collaboration among the Commonwealth countries in order to make it more effective. The Prime Minister of Australia suggested more functional conferences, more specialized meetings on ministerial levels and more frequent use of the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association. In his articles published in the Manchester Guardian Mr. K. M. Panikkar of India proposed the establishment of a Commonwealth Tribunal for settlement of intra-Commonwealth disputes. The suggestion was not accepted as the proposed tribunal might develop into a super body which might bring about by its supervisory activities — a diminution in the sovereignty of member states of the Commonwealth. Indeed Commonwealth thinking has been an exercise in political escapism. The organisation may survive only as a forum for international co-operation on a small scale. It is heartening to note that in 1962 Prime Ministers' meeting the policy of apartheid pursued by the racist Pretoria regime came under heavy fire and South Africa decided to quit the Commonwealth. As long as the apartheid is not dismantled in South Africa, estrange-

ment between Britain and non-white member states of the Commonwealth will persist. But the appeal of Commonwealth still persists in a network of personal and institutional relationship which defies any definition. The ideological links of the organisation are tolerance, respect for freedom and progressive democracy. In spite of gradually declining economic and military solidarity these links still play a great role in forging the unity of the Commonwealth countries. The multi-racial Commonwealth ties have resulted in unity in diversity among the people living in different parts of the world. But unfortunately the revelation of political disunity and British entry in European Common Market to the detriment of export trade of developing member nations of the Commonwealth have demonstrated the fragility of the organisation. Recently Britain has taken measures to accept imports from the Common wealth countries in large quantities so as to enable them to get rid of the adverse effects of Britain's entry into ECM. The economic interdependence of the sterling area unites the Commonwealth. The trade of the sterling area with the dollar area is carried on through London. However, the possibility of the disintegration of the Commonwealth is remote because of the various factors such as spirit of tolerance, respect for freedom, independence of action by the member states, legacies of England such as westernisation, parliamentary system, judicial system, administrative system and English language, the cultural ties and economic interdependence of the member nations. These are the cementing factors which forge unity in the Commonwealth and make it a viable organisation. The talk of its extinction sinks into insignificance because the member nations are convinced of the advantages of their link with the Commonwealth. That is why Pakistan which wothdrew from the Commonwealth following her debacle in Bangladesh War (1971) had applied for its membership in 1987. No wonder the Commonwealth which has steered its course through various vicissitudes, has come to stay.

(I) Non-Aligned Movement In The Modern World

The post-World War II era witnessed the acceleration of the process of decolonization and the consequent emergence of independent states of Asia and Africa. Most of these countries which had suffered most at the hands of imperialists, opted to choose their own system of government suitable to the needs and aspirations of their people. These newly independent countries preferred to remain away from West sponsored collective defence system as well as from international communism. They strictly followed the policy of non-alignment and refrained from joining any power bloc.

(1) The Concept of Non-alignment

The credit of giving real meaning to the concept of non-alignment in the world torn by the power blocs goes to Jawaharlal Nehru the Prime Minister of India. It was he who gave substance to the concept of non-alignment. Explaining the policy of non-alignment he said in 1949, "We propose as far as possible to keep away from the Power politics of the groups aligned against one another which have led in the past to the world wars and which may again lead to disasters on an even vaster scale. We believe that peace and freedom are indivisible and the denial of freedom any where must endanger freedom elsewhere and lead to conflict and war. We are particularly interested in the emancipation of colonial and dependent countries and people and in recognition in theory and practice of equal opportunity for all races". To quote him again "in any event speaking for India, whatever happens I am not prepared to say ditto to any country in the wide world. I think it is degarding for a country as it is for an individual just to be an automaton, just to be a puppet and to repeat what others say ..... Our policy is not to commit ourselves previously to follow a certain line. Our policy is independence of action. If we say we are permanently neutral, it has no meaning except permanent retirement from public affairs in the national sense, Sanyas. No country can do that and certainly we have no desire to retire from world affairs — Where freedom is menaced or justice threatened or where aggression takes place we cannot and shall not be neutral". On other occasion Nehru said "The use of word neutral to describe India's foreign policy is wrong except in terms of war. If you say that there is a war on today, we are neutral. If you say there is a cold war we are certainly neutral. We do not propose to join that war. It does not matter who is right and who is wrong. We will not join in this exhibition of mutual abuse because we do not serve any body that way certainly not the cause of peace. The preservation of peace forms the central aim of India's policy".

The above eloquent explanation and implications of the policy of non-alignment attracted the attention of the recently liberated countries of the third world. Most of the colonies of the imperialist Powers which emerged as independent states during the post-war period appreciated India's stand in world affairs and subscribed to the policy of non-alignment. Colonel Nasser of Egypt and Marshall Tito of Yugoslavia also supported the policy of non-alignment pursued by India. The non-aligned movement gained momentum due to the untiring efforts of its founding fathers — Jawaharlal Nehru, Col. Nasser and Marshall Tito. Despite tremendous odds these leaders firmly adhered to the policy of non-alignment and resisted relentless

pressures which were mounted on them to abandon it. The United States Secretary of State John Foster Dulles taking exception to this policy remarked "Neutrality is immoral". But India stuck to her policy tenaciously and did not compromise with her freedom of action and sovereignty. She accepted American aid but without strings attached to it.

(2) Brioni Conference (July, 1954)

The three leading exponents of non-alignment from three continents, Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru of India, President of Nasser of Egypt and Marshall Tito of Yugoslavia met in a two day Conference at the island of Brioni in Yugoslavia from 18 July to 19 July, 1954. The three statesmen declared their unreserved adherence to the Bandung principles, pleaded for the pursuance of the policy of non-alignment, expressed their grave concern over the division of the world into mutually hostile blocs, reiterated the need for speedy disarmament and urged for the suspension of nuclear explosions. They expressed their profound interest in full and equal co-operation among nations in the field of peaceful uses of atomic energy. The three leaders stressed the need for accelerating the pace of development work in the under-developed countries. The New York Times commenting on the out-come of the meeting wrote that there was nothing unexpected in the result because "aside from their neutralist attitude the three statesmen have little in common and each has separate and individual problems to meet. Tito is a communist. Nehru is a democratic socialist and Nasser is a military dictator." Indeed the Brioni Conference did not declare any miraculous statement. It was a mere declaration of general policy by the three leaders.

(3) The Belgrade Conference

A non-aligned summit conference was held at Belgrade in October, 1961. It was attended by the Heads of governments of 24 countries including India, Burma, Egypt, Tunisia and Yogoslavia. After long discussions and deliberations the Conference adopted resolutions on various problems. Practically all the delegates were unanimous in their condemnation of nuclear explosions from all quarters. The conference stressed the need for complete disarmament and abandonment of nuclear tests by nuclear powers. The Conference sent its delegate Dr. Kwame N. Krumah to Moscow in order to persuade Soviet Premier Khrushchev to abandon nuclear tests. But the Soviet authorities declined to accept any moratorium on nuclear tests. The Belgrade Conference made reference to Congo and insisted that it should not become centre of cold war politics.

They appealed to the Super Powers not to involve themselves in the internal affairs of Congo; but to strengthen the UN military force to facilitate the unification of Congo. With regards to Algeria the delegates condemned the French intransigence and demanded independence for Algeria on the basis of principle of national self-determination. The delegates of the Provisional Algerian government were also present at the Conference. The President of Indonesia asked Holland to hand over West Irian to Indonesia. A general resolution condemning imperialism was also adopted. The delegates affirmed their faith in the UN Charter and emphasised that all the disputes should be settled by negotiations and other peaceful means. A general review of the proceedings and resolutions of the Belgrade Conference made it apparent that the participant Heads of governments had gone to Belgrade to submit their national problems for consideration in the Conference. Indonesia demanded West Irian, Algerians demanded independence for Algeria while India insisted on the liberation of Portuguese enclaves in India.

(4) Summit Conference of Non-aligned Countries at Cairo (1964)

India participated in the summit conference of non-aligned countries held at Cairo the capital of Egypt in October 1964. One interesting feature of this conference was the refusal of the delegates to allow Mr. Moise Tshombe the Premier of Congo to attend the meeting. The agenda included the problem of liquidation of colonialism and neo-colonialism. India was represented by Prime Minister Lal Bahadur Shastri. He demonstrated the amazing power of his genius and made himself extremely popular by his simple but effective approach which distinguished him from the rest of the world leaders.

(5) Third Neutral Nations' Conference at Lusaka (September 1970)

Third non-aligned summit conference was held at Lusaka in September, 1970 where as many as 54 nations were represented. This conference drafted a manifesto on neutrality and economic freedom. Due emphasis was laid on the end of colonialism and arms race among the advanced nations.

(6) Non-aligned Summit at Algeria

The fourth conference of the non-aligned nations was convened at Algeria in September, 1973 and the membership now rose to 76 with nine nations sending their observers and three more being invited as guests. Malta being associated with NATO military

alliance was not allowed membership of this conference. The Conference drafted a political and economic manifesto which laid emphasis on political independence and end of economic inequalities. It was decided that the next conference would be held at Colombo in 1976.

(7) The Colombo Non-Aligned Summit

According to schedule the non-aligned conference was held at Colombo in 1976. The success of this conference validated the claim that the non-aligned group is not a bloc by admitting Rumania and Philippines as guests. This conference usually passed resolution denouncing imperialism and neo-colonialism.

(8) Non-aligned Summit at New Delhi (1983)

During the days of Prime Minister Indira Gandhi, India hosted non-aligned summit conference. The significant aspect of this conference was the denunciation of the policy of apartheid pursued by the Union of South Africa. Emphasis was laid on the economic co-operation among the non-aligned nations. Disarmament was the key note of this conference which stressed the need to use nuclear energy for peaceful purposes.

(8) Non-aligned Summit Meeting at Harare (September 1, 1986)

On September 1, 1986 non-aligned summit conference was convened at Harare the capital of Zimbabwe. This non-aligned summit might lead to final stage of the liberation of Africans from the clutches of apartheid. This conference made one significant suggestion on the basis of concensus reached by the leaders participating in it. It was proposed to establish a new solidarity fund to help reduce dependence of front line states on South Africa. These front line states are Botswana, Zambia and Zimbabwe. The fund is to be used for emergency and long term assistance for infrastructural development of frontline states and will be managed by a committee made up by southern African states and other non-aligned countries. The Harare Summit declaration also laid emphasis on mutual economic co-operation among the non-aligned nations.

(9) Achievements and Aspirations of Non-Aligned Movement (NAM)

Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi of India inaugurated the eighth non-aligned conference at Harare in September, 1986. It coincided with the 25th anniversary of the movement which has attracted so much world attention. Starting with only 25 members a quarter century ago, it has today 101 countries as members. These non-aligned countries are committed to staying out of military blocs and

staying out of the politics of pressure. Their principal objective is to bring the world back from the business of killing to the business of living. That is why NAM is waging a relentless war against arms race and want in the Third World. The threat to world peace looms large today because of the massive 1000 billion dollars being spent on armaments every year and going into the pockets of armaments manufacturers who mint millions on human misery. Even without a third world war, the mounting misery can be measured by the abnormally growing indebtedness of the developing countries. Hence NAM's constant plea for disarmament is appropriate. NAM insists that at least a part of this amount spent on the invention of every evil ingenuity for the destruction of humanity, could be spent on saving human lives and in constructive and creative developmental fields.

(i) Opposition to Apartheid and Stress on Genuine Independence: NAM has bent its energies against apartheid in South Africa, and imposing economic sanction against that country. Standing for genuine independence of and unity among the countries of the world, NAM has already achieved notable success by its valiant efforts to assist the people of several countries in Africa, Asia and Latin America to gain their independence.

(ii) Need of New World Economic Order: Economic amelioration of developing countries is another principal concern of NAM. Its successive conferences have been discussing the necessity of a new world economic order to save poor countries from exploitation by the industralized countries and to ensure that they are able to utilise their resources for the economic benefit of their own people. The NAM champions the cause of the have nots so that the disparities of income and opportunities may get reduced. The UNCTAD efforts over the decades to prevail on the developed countries even to spare just one per cent of their GNP for the growth of the Third World countries has been in vain.

(iii) NAM's Quest for Peace and Security: NAM is all the time searching for peace and security. Only a equitable international economic social and political order can achieve it. Hence NAM is in constant quest for international co-operation to overcome the divisions imposed by power blocs.

(iv) Non-aligned Countries not a Bloc: While NAM members have to exercise unceasing vigilance to preserve and keep intact the essential character of non-alignment and maintain unswerving fidelity to its principles and policies, NAM countries have never regarded themselves as a bloc. There is not necessarily an ideological resemblance among them either in patterns of their own domestic

organization or in their original political and cultural relationships. They are disparate in their systems of government.

(v) NAM's Efforts for Relaxation of International Tension: NAM has also taken a strong stand on the withdrawal of foreign military bases and forces from various countries and on the establishment of the Indian ocean as a zone of peace free from big power rivalries. It has sought to find and suggest solutions to the West Asian problem arising from the intransigence of Isreal. It has sought to create mechanisms for stronger linkages between Arab and African countries.

Today the world community is confronted with the most difficult problem of preservation of peace which is threatened by mad race for armaments and star wars programme. Tension is heightened when the member states of hostile blocs hurl polemics on one another. This is nothing but a war of attrition which can push the world on the brink of nuclear holocaust. 101 non-aligned states represent the voice of the sizable number of human beings. NAM is gaining momentum and the concept of neutrality is gaining currency in modern times. NAM constitutes a force for peace and it serves as a bridge between the hostile blocs to bring about a detente. If NAM fails in its mission, the process of change for better world order is unlikely to increase in momentum, and descent into violence would be accelerated. If NAM succeeds in bringing about rapprochement between Super Powers and in creating a just international order, the world will be safe for peace.

25

LATEST SIGNIFICANT DEVELOPMENTS IN INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

OUTLINE:

(A) Progress Towards Disarmament.

(B) Political Developments in the Middle East.

(C) Indo-Soviet Relations.

(D) Recent Political Developments in Afghanisatn, Pakistan and Sri Lanka.

(E) Recent Sino-Indian Relations.

(A) Progress Towards Disarmament

The super powers have in the recent past achieved significiant progress in the area of arms control. Not only have they concluded historic agreement on scrapping all land-based medium range nuclear missiles, but they have also made some headway in achieving a 50 per cent cut in their strategic arsenals. These developments though not by themselves sufficient to ensure international peace are yet a step in the right direction.

(1) Spectre of Nuclear Proliferation

Despite these heartening developments, the picture on nuclear front still presents a grim spectacle. The looming danger of horizontal nuclear proliferation is causing increasing concern in some circles. Israel, South Africa, India, Pakistan, Brazil and Argentina have to varying degrees demonstrated their potential in the nuclear field.

(a) Israel : Israel which began her nuclear research in the mid-sixties is widely reputed to be very close to acquiring a weapon's capability if she has not already developed one. Vanunu, a former nuclear technician at the Dimone plant created a major international storm in 1987, with his revelation that Israel already possessed a stockpile of about 150 nuclear war heads. Israel can pursue her nuclear ambitions without actually having to conduct a nuclear test. Besides such a test would not be in Israel's political interest since it is bound to spark off considerable adverse international reaction. However, the government of Israel denies that it possesses any nuclear weapon. Israel has maintained that she has no nuclear ambitions for war purposes and that she is interested in the peaceful use of nuclear energy.

(b) South Africa : South Africa has over the years sought to build up a uranium enrichment capability. This country has one of the largest reserves of natural uranium in the world. Pretoria is not far from acquiring a nuclear status. Israel and South Africa have often collaborated in the nuclear field with the former providing a large part of the technical know-how and the latter supplying the valuable uranium.

(c) Pakistan, India, Argentina and Brazil in the Nuclear Field: The attempt on the part of Pakistan to acquire a nuclear weapon's capability is too well known to merit repetition. India which tested a nuclear device in 1974 has the ability if she so chooses to produce the bomb. Argentina and Brazil have in the past few years assiduously pursued their own programmes. Although these programmes are a long way behind those of India, Israel, Pakistan and South Africa, they are gradually acquiring a great sophistication.

All these six countries have not yet signed the 1970 Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty on the ground that it clearly discriminates against the non-nuclear states. The treaty prohibits the nuclear signatories from helping the non-nuclear countries to acquire a nuclear weapon's status and binds the latter not to strive for such a capability. Although the threshold states (countries which are close to achieve a nuclear weapon's status) have repeatedly stressed the civilian nature of their programmes, it is not inconceivable that in another 50 years' time there may be about a dozen nuclear powers in the world.

(2) Motivations Behind Nuclear Capability

The motivation which drives nations to seek a nuclear capability is mainly political. A country which possesses a nuclear arsenal enjoys immense geo-political advantage. Other nations treat it with

due respect because a state which is militarily strong wields sizeable influence on the international stage. If a country which is conventionally weaker than its adversary acquires a nuclear capability it automatically secures for itself a certain deterrent capability, against its adversary. There are those who believe that nuclear weapons help to maintain peace between adversaries. There is argument that nuclear weapon states will do all in their power to prevent war between them because of the fear that such a conflagration could easily prove disastrous for both sides. However, there can be no guarantee that nations which possess nuclear arms will not use them. The American bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki is a stark reminder of the fact that a nation will not hesitate to use these weapons if it thinks it is in its national interest to do so. A nuclear state which has suffered irreversible losses in a conventional war may think that it has nothing more to lose in pressing the nuclear trigger. History bears eloquent testimony to how difficult it is to prevent out-break of war.

(3) The Hurdles in the Way of Complete Nuclear Disarmament

The ideal of complete nuclear disarmament, though highly desirable is only a dream. The United States, the Soviet Union, Britain, France and China may accept a cut in the size of their arsenals but they are hardly likely to surrender their advantage by agreeing to dismantle their entire stock-piles. On the other hand the financial and technical hurdles are not likely to deter those nations which are intent on actively seeking a nuclear status from pursuing their objective as the political rewards of success are enormous.

(4) Efforts in the UNO for Making Nuclear Weapon Free Zones

Pakistan sponsored a resolution in political committee of the General Assembly on 16th November 1988 calling for a nuclear weapon free zone in South Asia. India rejected this resolution saying that nuclear disarmament was a global and not regional issue. India was joined by Bhutan in voting against the resolution which received the support of 99 countries with 32 abstentions. The resolution was adopted by the political Committee of the UN. General Assembly. The proposal described by India as a ritual and lacking in substantive intent was endorsed for the 14th year in a row started from 1974 when India conducted her peaceful nuclear explosion in Pokhran. Indian delegate to the 1988 General Asembly session Kamlesh Sharma said "India believes that lasting world peace can be built only on a basis of general disarmament and a just international

order". He said "the objective of a world free of nuclear weapons could not be met by nuclear zoning measures". He told the political committee "Nuclear weapon free zones will not be immune from nuclear holocaust caused by weapons from regions which do have such weapons. The only answer is elimination of such weapons and not regional fencing against a devastation which will descend equally on all".

The UN Political Committee also adopted another resolution calling for cessation of all nuclear test explosions. This resolution was approved by 108 countries including India. The UN committee adopted certain other resolutions relating to disarmament issues. India has called on the UN member states to begin serious negotiations towards the forming of a treaty to replace the existing Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT). Such a treaty should give legal effect to a binding commitment by nuclear weapon states to eliminate all nuclear weapons within an agreed time-frame and also by all non-nuclear weapon states not to cross the nuclear weapon threshold. Shri Kamlesh Sharma further told UN Political Committee that it had been India's policy to strive for an end to proliferation in all dimensions — horizontal, vertical and geographical and "we have given effect to this world view in national policy". Explaining India's position on nuclear disarmament and nuclear non-proliferation Shri Kamlesh Sharma said to the Political Committee of General Assembly that India believed that a genuine and universally acceptable non-proliferation treaty should aim at completely arresting the production or acquisition of nuclear weapons. This should be accompanied by a simultaneous cut-off in the production of all fissionable material for weapons purposes by all the states.

In such a case all nuclear facilities will be declared peaceful and will become subject to a universal system of international safeguards, irrespective of whether these belong to nuclear weapon states or non-nuclear weapon states. All the discussions regarding general and complete nuclear disarmament are an exercise in futility as nuclear powers do not like to lose their strategic military advantage.

(5) Gorbachev's Dramatic Move Towards Disarmament

On 7th December, 1988 Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev outlined before the United Nations General Assembly a plan to unilaterally reduce Soviet armed forces by half a million men in the next two years along with a substantial reduction of conventional armaments and withdrawal of troops from Eastern Europe. To meet fears voiced by the West that nuclear disarmament would give the

Soviets the upper hand in Europe, Gorbachev said that six Soviet tank divisions would be withdrawn from German Democratic Republic, Czechoslovakia and Hungary by 1991 and thereafter be disbanded and that 50,000 men would be withdrawn from the territory of these Warsaw Pact Countries. Gorbachev's radical plan covered 10,000 tanks, 8500 artillery systems and 800 combat aircrafts.

The Soviet leader said "The next US administration will find in us a partner who is ready without long pauses or back tracking to continue the dialogue in a spirit of realism, openness and goodwill with a willingness to achieve concrete results."

Gorbachev in his speech at UN General Assembly also said "I have in mind above all consistent movement towards a treaty on 50 per cent reduction in offensive arms while preserving the anti-ballistic missile treaty, working out a convention on the elimination of chemical weapons and negotiations on the reduction in conventional arms and armed forces in Europe. I have also in mind economic, environmental and humanistic problems in their broadest sense". He said that a new quality of interaction among the nations irrespective of ideologies was called for. He called upon all states in the first place the major military powers to submit to the UNO their national conversion plans to switch some of the military plants from defence production to civilian production. He said that the trend towards disarmament had been given a powerful impetus and the process was gaining momentum of its own. However he warned that "it has not yet become irreversible". Commenting on rivalry between Super Powers in socio-economic and political systems Gorbachev said "The thrust of our international efforts and one of the key elements of the new thinking is that this rivalry should be given a quality of reasonable competition with due regard for freedom of choice and a balance of interests". He concluded his warmly applauded speech with these words "I would like to believe that our hopes will be matched by our joint effort to put an end to an era of wars confrontation and regional conflicts, to aggression against nature, to the terror of hunger and poverty as well as to political terrorism. This is our common goal and we can only reach it togehter".

The future events would reveal how the West would respond to the fervent appeal of the Soviet leader for peace and disarmament.

(B) Political Developments In The Middle East

(1) Arab-Israel Relations

In a dramatic move Palestine National Council adopted resolu-

tion on 14th November 1988 declaring Palestine as an Arab State. This unilateral declaration of independent Palestinian Statehood evoked positive response from many countries. On 14th November 1988 the Palestine Liberation Organisation decided to accept UN resolutions 242 and 338 implicitly recognizing Israel's right to exist. President Ronald Reagan of the USA said that such action would ensure "some progress" in satisfying US conditions for becoming a partner in the peace process. Meanwhile President elect George Bush said that if the Palestinians accepted Israel's right to exist it would be "very very good" and lead to the easing of tensions.

(a) Recognition to the Newly Declared State of Palestine: On 16th November, 1988 the government announced in Indian Parliament amid cheers that it had accorded full recognition to the newly declared state of Palestine. Announcing this in both the houses of parliament External Affairs Minister P. V. Narasimha Rao said that the establishment of an independent Palestinian state had been India's cherished and single-minded objective all these years. He said "We share the happiness of the Palestinian people on this auspicious day". He also declared "We wish the Palestinians all success in the task of achieving logical culmination of this declaration of Palestinian land and the assertion of Palestinian sovereignty". Jordan and Libya joined other Arab countries on 16th November, 1988 and officially recognised the independent state of Palestine. Algeria, Saudi Arabia, Egypt, Tunisia, Iraq, Bahrain, the United Arab Emirates, South and North Yemen and Bangladesh voiced support for the PLO and recognised the newly declared State of Palestine.

(b) Palestinian Leader Yasser Arafat's Memorable Speech at UN General Assembly Session at Geneva (13th December, 1988): PLO's leader Yasser Arafat was not given visa by US government to come to New York to address the UN General Assembly on the issue of Palestine. However, UN General Assembly session opened in Geneva on 13th December, 1988 to discuss the contentious issue. Mr. Yasser Arafat made a direct appeal to Israel for peace and called for a three point West Asia peace initiative in a speech to the UN General Assembly's session on Palestine. He also made fervent appeal to Israeli people. "Come," he said, "let us make the peace of the bold, far from the arrogance of power and the weapons of destruction, far from accusation, and oppression, and humiliation and murder and torture". Mr. Arafat's three point plan called for a serious effort to convene an international peace conference in Geneva under UN auspices beginning with a preparation committee headed by the leaders of the Soviet Union and France. His second

initiative urged that occupied Palestinian land be placed under temporary UN supervision and that UN peace keeping forces be deployed to supervise the withdrawal of Israeli troops. Mr. Arafat also said that the PLO would seek a comprehensive settlement among all parties to the Arab-Israeli conflict including the state of Palestine, Israel and other neighbours within the framework of international conference. He said that the conference should be conducted on the basis of the UN resolutions 242 and 338, which were designed to ensure the right to exist in peace, equality and freedom. The Israeli delegation seats remained empty during Arafat's 80 minute speech.

(c) US President Reagan's Decision for Direct Talks With PLO: President Ronald Reaganof the United States was impressed by the sincerity of intentions expressed by Mr. Arafat in his speech at Geneva. The President Reagan ordered the State Department to commence direct dialogue with the Palestine Liberation Organisation dramatically reversing America's 13 years old Middle-East policy. US Secretary of the State George Shultz who had denied PLO Chairman Yasser Arafat a visa to New York and forced the UN to meet in Geneva to hear him, promptly announced at a hastily summoned news conference that the dialogue would begin and that the US ambassador in Tunisia the head quarters of the PLO would be the channel. President Reagan said in a statement that Mr. Arafat had accepted the UN resolutions 242 and 338, recognized the existence of the State of Israel and denounced terrorism. These had been US conditions for a substantive dialogue with PLO and Mr. Arafat had met them. Mr. Reagan said "Arafat's statement represents a serious evolution of Palestinian thinking towards realistic and pragmatic position". Commenting on the situation US Secretary of State George Shultz said "The objective of the United States remains, as always, a comprehensive peace in the Middle East. In that light I view this development as one more step towards the beginning of direct negotiations between the parties which alone can lead to such a peace". He further said "Nothing here should be taken to imply the acceptance or recognition by the United States of an independent Palestine State. The position of the United States is that the status of the West Bank and Gaza cannot be determined by unilateral acts by either side but only through the process of negotiations. The United States does not recognise the declaration of an independent Palestinian State. It is also important, to emphasise that United States commitment to the security of Israel remains unflinching".

The future events will show how both the parties would resolve their disputes in the spirit of mutual understanding and mutual accommodation and in the interest of durable peace in the Middle East.

(2) End of the Gulf War

Another welcome development on international scene was the cessation of hostilities in August 1988 between Iraq and Iran. The UN Secretary General spared no effort to bring about the end of eight year old Gulf war. Both the countries had expressed willingness to effect repartriation of the prisoners of war and in this direction some progress had been made by the end of the year 1988. The people of this region heaved a sigh of relief at the restoration of peace and tranquillity in the Gulf.

(C) Indo-Soviet Relations

The Soviet Union has been India's time tested and reliable friend. There have been economic, cultural, and political contacts between the two countries. Recent festival of India in Soviet Union and the festival of Soviet Union in India were significant cultural events which facilitated people to people contact. It has been an endeavour of both the countries to strengthen the movement for disarmament as envisaged in the 1986 Delhi Declaration between Gorbachev the Soviet President and Rajiv Gandhi.

(1) State Visit of Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev (18 November 1988):

Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev paid the state visit to India on 18.11.88. He was accorded the most enthusiastic reception.

(a) Presentation of the Indira Gandhi Award for International Understanding: President R. Venkataraman honoured Soviet President by presenting him the Indira Gandhi Award for International Understanding on 19th November, 1988 the 71st birth anniversary of late Prime Minister Indira Gandhi. Addressing a distinguished gathering after accepting the above award the Soviet leader said that entire world had recognized the positive importance of the Geneva accord on Afghanistan. This had been authoritatively confirmed by the UN General Assembly. He said that the actions of the USA and Pakistan appeared to indicate that they would like to make the Soviet Union rescind the Geneva Accord on Afghanistan. The Soviet leader said that the motto of the Indira Gandhi Award was the road "to saving mankind and building a civilised world. Accepting this precious award I once again feel a strong commitment to these goals", he concluded as the audience gave him a standing ovation.

(b) Rs. 5,300 Crore Soviet Aid for India : On 20th November, 1988 the Soviet Union signed various agreements providing for the largest ever credit of 3.2 billion roubles (about Rs. 5,300 crores) as part of its assistance package in the power sector including the construction of a nuclear power station in Tamil Nadu, exploring outer space for peaceful purposes and giving a boost to cultural exchanges.

(c) Indo-Soviet Cooperation in the Exploration of Outer Space: Another significant outcome of Soviet President's visit was a long term agreement between the two countries pertaining to cooperation in exploration and use of outer space. It encompassed all areas in space technology, space sciences, and space applications including communications, meteorology, remote sensing and material processing in space. The agreement provided for the launch of the next operational Indian Remote Sensing Satellite.

(d) Indo-Soviet Cooperation in Power Sector : On the occasion of Gorbachev's visit a protocol was signed for a setting up new power stations with a total capacity of 6000 MW along with associated transmission lines till the year 2000. The power projects to be taken up will be Vindyachal Super Thermal Power Project Stage II, Maithon Thermal Power Project, Mangalore (multifuel) Thermal Power Project Phase I, and Kol Dam Hydro electric Project.

(e) Cooperation in Cultural, Educational and Scientific Fields: A programme for cultural, scientific and educational exchanges for 1989-90 was finalised, the highlights of which were: (i) Establishing a joint publishing — polygraphic and training centre in India; (ii) Exchange of principals and teachers to study the system of social education; (iii) Exploring the possibility of establishing in one of the Soviet universities a chair on Indian philosophy, (iv) Exchange of children's paintings; and (v) Joint theatre productions in each other's country.

Thus, overall three day visit gave a new impetus to Indo-Soviet relations. The signing of a number of agreements was eloquent testimony to the fruitful and productive nature of Gorbachev's visit. The tenor and warmth of the private discussions between Rajiv Gandhi and Gorbachev showed that Indo-Soviet relations were important to both the countries and growing ever stronger. A distinctive development was the emphasis of the leadership to find the ways of attracting the private sector in India to invest in the Soviet Union. Another idea which both leaders welcomed was the possibility of allowing Indian companies both in public and private

sectors to enter into direct negotiations with individual Soviet republics.

(D) Recent Political Developments In Afghanistan, Pakistan, And Sri Lanka

(1) Recent Developments in Afghanistan

Ever since the military occupation of Afghanistan by the Soviet Union in 1980, the relations between the Super Powers were strained. The United States maintained that the military presence of the Soviet Union in Afghanistan was the clear violation of the territorial integrity and political sovereignty of the latter. The United States had been insisting on the withdrawal of the Soviet troops from the soil of Afghanistan.

(a) Geneva Accord on Afghanistan: UN Secretary General Javier Perez de Cuellar had expressed grave concern and anxiety over the guerilla warfare between the Afghan troops supported by the Soviet Union and the Mujahideens supported by the USA and Pakistan. The Super Powers appealed to him to mobilise his good offices to bring out the amicable solution to Afghan issue. However the saner counsels prevailed and the mediatory efforts of the UN Secretary General resulted in the conclusion of Geneva Accord about Afghanistan in 1987. This accord provided for: (i) phased withdrawal of Soviet troops by 15th February 1989; (ii) the need for a dialogue within the country for setting up a broad-based government in Afghanistan; (iii) a commitment by the Super Powers not to interfere in the internal affairs of Afghanistan; and (iv) a guarantee by the Super Powers to respect the territorial integrity and the political sovereignty of Afghanistan.

(b) Aftermath of Geneva Accord: According to the Geneva accord the Soviet troops withdrawal commenced but this was immediately followed by sporadic fighting between Afghan troops and the Afghan guerillas aided by Pakistan. The armed struggle between Afghan government troops and Afghan guerillas was intensified because Pakistan extended massive military aid to the guerillas. Consequently the Soviet Union halted the troops withdrawal and this was appreciated by the Afghan government.

(c) Indo-Soviet Perception of Afghan Issue : On the occasion of Soviet President Gorbachev's State visit to India (18th to 20th November 1988), it was declared by Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi and Gorbachev that the obstructionist policy of certain forces violated the Geneva Accord. This was apparent reference to the United States and Pakistan. Both the leaders reiterated their support for the Geneva Accord and expressed concern over the continued blood-

shed in Afghanistan. India and the Soviet Union appealed to the United Nations Secretary General to implement without delay the resolution on Afghanistan which emphasised the need for dialogue within the country for setting-up a broad-based government in Kabul. The formation of such a government in Afghanistan was exclusively for the Afghan people to decide. The preservation of the sovereignty, territorial integrity and non-aligned character of Afghanistan was vital for the solution of the Afghan problem. Both the Soviet Union and India stressed the need for a UN sponsored international conference for the purpose of the formation of a broad-based government in Afghanistan.

On 7th December, 1988 Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev in his speech in General Assembly of the United Nations called for an international conference on the neutrality and demilitarization of Afghanistan. Gorbachev also unveiled a new proposal for Afghanistan including a complete cease fire effective from January 1, 1989, so as to facilitate negotiations for the formation of a broad-based government representing all the Afghan elements. Gorbachev's ceasefire proposal was linked with stoppage of supply of arms to all the belligerents. It was also stipulated in the Soviet proposal that the UN peace keeping forces should be sent to the strategic areas of Afghanistan. The Soviet leader also urged the UN to set-up a voluntary international peace corps under its auspices to assist in the revival of Afghanistan.

(d) American Assessment of Afghanistan's Problem: The reaction of the government of the United States to Gorbachev's new proposal for Afghanistan was cool and discouraging. Soviet proposal put forward by Gorbachev in General Assembly of the UNO (7th December, 1988) was interpreted by the Government of the United States as an attempt to find a place in the future Afghan set-up for the supporters of the Kabul regime which was an anathema to the Americans. The pro-Soviet Afghan regime had been insisting on disarming the Mujahideens which were armed to the teeth by Pakistan. Elaborating American perception of Afghan situation President Ronald Reagan of the United States in a press conference held on 8th December, 1988 remarked thus "It is one thing if we are talking about disarming the Mujahideens. Remember that there is still a military force in Afghanistan and that was organised by the puppet government established by the Soviet Union and their force has been fighting along with the Soviet side by side against the Mujahideens. If you want to get to the point of disarming both sides, you cannot suddenly disarm the Mujahideens and leave them at the mercy of those already in power in Kabul".

It is obvious that the government of the United States wanted to bring about the downfall of the existing pro-Soviet government in Afghanistan. The nexus between the US and Pakistan was designed to arm the Afghan guerillas in order to topple the pro-Soviet Afghan government under Mohammad Najibullah. On the other hand the Soviet Union had been arming the government forces of Afghanistan to resist effectively the onslaughter's by the Mujahideens who desired to have upper hand in the future political set-up of Afghanistan. Only future events will show how the Mujahideens will be integrated in the future political system to be adopted in Afghanistan.

(2) Recent Developments in Pakistan

In 1988 the whole Pakistani nation suffered a great setback when Pakistan's head of government General Zia-U1-Haq died in an air crash. His death marked an end of an epoch of militarism and ushered an era of democratic upsurge.

(a) Emergence of Ms. Benazir Bhutto as an Undisputed Leader: In the general election of November 1988 Ms Benazir Bhutto's Pakistan's People's Party emerged as the largest single party. On Friday the 2nd December, 1988 Pakistan's President Ghulam Ishaq Khan administered an oath of office to her and she became the first female Prime Minister of Pakistan and the Muslim world. Immediately after taking the reins of office Ms Bhutto advised the President Mr. Ghulam Ishaq Khan to order release of about 700 political prisoners in the country languishing in jails since 1971. Ms Bhutto pledged not to follow a policy of revenge as she felt that such a course would pose a threat to re-born democracy in the country.

(b) Rejection of No War Pact and Ms Bhutto's faith in Simla Agreement: The Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto rejected the idea of a No War Pact with India and she reaffirmed her faith in the Simla agreement to resolve outstanding issues including the Kashmir problem. Benazir stressed that the Simla pact brought the longest ever peace on subcontinent. The fact that no war had taken place between India and Pakistan since 1972 was the greatest contribution of the agreement signed by late Z. A. Bhutto and late Indira Gandhi the Prime Minister of India. Prime Minister Benazir said that she was looking forward to a meeting with Indian Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi during the SAARC summit to be held from 29th December, 1988 and expressed the hope that their first meeting would help defuse tension in the relations between the two countries. She also declared in unequivocal terms that Pakistan would not make nuclear weapons and that she would pursue the nuclear

programme for peaceful purposes. She said that it would be a "purely nuclear weapon free programme".

(c) Possibility of an Immense Understanding between Democratic India and Democratic Pakistan: The installation of a democratically elected government under the leadership of Benazir Bhutto in Pakistan was widely welcomed in India. In an unprecedented gesture even the Indian Parliament placed on record a resolution welcoming the restoration of democracy in Pakistan. Rajiv Gandhi was one of the first world leaders to felicitate Benazir on her assuming charge of Pakistan as its elected Prime Minister. These were indicative of the deep desire India had of forging normal relations with her neighbour on the basis of equality and peaceful coexistence. Of course one must not overlook certain hard realities which have dogged the process of normalisation of relations between the two countries all these decades after independence. The three wars and the break-up of Pakistan in 1971 have left their scars in the psyche of both countries which only a new generation of leadership with few hangups of the past can erase. The task is not easy even though today both countries have leaders of post-independence era and perhaps are not as emotionally hamstrung with the tragedy of partition as their predecessors. However, the real hope lies in the fact that both Ms Benazir and Rajiv Gandhi belong to new generation and are willing to explore fresh areas of cooperation in order to build bridges of confidence. As Ms Benazir rightly stated that the only way to resolve tensions between India and Pakistan is to go step by step to overcome the hangover of the past forty years.

(d) Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi's Parleys with Prime Minister Benazir at SAARC Conference (29th December 1988) : South Asian Association of Regional Cooperation (SAARC) consisting of India, Pakistan, Sri Lanka, Bangladesh, Nepal, Bhutan and Maldives has been playing a significant role by accelerating the process of cooperation among the member states in various fields. On 29th December, 1988 4th SAARC Conference was scheduled to be held in Islamabad and it was to continue for three days. Special significance was attached to the meeting between Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto and Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi. It was the first visit of Indian Prime Minister during last 28 years. It was expected that efforts would be made to explore avenues to facilitate regional cooperation in certain new areas such as promotion of organised tourism SAARC audio-visual exchange programme, institution of SAARC fellowships, youth volunteer exchange programme and a SAARC documentation centre. The SAARC countries had already decided to set-up a SAARC agriculture information centre in Dhaka. Other areas

of regional cooperation which were to be discussed in the conference, were telecommunication, transport, science and technology, postal services, prevention of drug trafficking, women's role in development and sports and arts and culture.

(i) Abandonment of Annual Winter Military Exercises by India (28th December, 1988): India sent to Pakistan a significant signal to demonstrate her goodwill by calling off annual winter exercise by armed forces in Rajasthan. This was a major initiative taken by the Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi to strengthen the process of mutual confidence building prior to his talks with Pakistan's Prime Minister Ms Benazir Bhutto.

(ii) A Year for the Girl Child: The foreign ministers of the seven member South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation decided to observe 1990 as "the year of the SAARC girl child". Appropriate programmes consisting of issues relating to girls would be developed and implemented to mark the year.

(iii) Constructive Suggestions of Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi and New Dawn in Indo-Pak Ties: The Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi reached Islamabad on 29th December 1988 to participate in the three day SAARC Conference. He took the first available opportunity to make an effusive reference to India's desire to begin a new chapter in its relations with Pakistan. "We rejoice in the prospects of friendship and cooperation between India and Pakistan", he declared while speaking at the inaugural of the fourth SAARC summit. Mr. Gandhi began by saying "I am delighted to be in Islamabad on my first visit to your beautiful capital. I am particularly happy here when the people of Pakistan have elected you to lead your great country forward to progress and prosperity; rooted in democracy. I bring greetings to the people of Pakistan from their brothers and sisters in India". He drew the attention of the participants to the momentous events that had taken place in the world since the last SAARC summit in Kathmandu. These developments were altering the world and the world order. The Geneva accords on Afghanistan had set in motion a process which could lead to the establishment of a government based on national consensus ensuring a sovereign, independent and non-aligned Afghanistan. Referring to his recent visit to China Rajiv Gandhi said that it would revive cooperation between India and China in working towards a new world order based on the 'Panch Shila'. Mr. Gandhi noted that the tensions between the Soviet Union and China were showing every sign of being progressively defused. He specifically called for a war on poverty in South Asia through increased exchanges covering agri-

culture, industry, infrastructure, technology and development. He laid great stress on people's participation in sports and culture by holding South Asian festivals in India and other member countries and practical cooperative action on such major regional environmental concerns as sea-level rise, changing weather patterns and monsoon which deeply affect South Asian people and economies. Rajiv Gandhi referred to India's response to Maldives request for military assistance. He said that India responded to thwart the invasion by foreign mercenaries aimed at subverting the democratic will of the people. Recalling that the Kathmandu summit had commissioned a study on causes and consequences of natural disasters and protection and preservation of environment, Rajiv Gandhi said in his speech that the study should be completed quickly and efforts should be made to undertake regional environmental studies and practical joint follow up action with deliberate speed. Mr. Gandhi said that South Asian cooperation had to be made a living, throbbing reality for hundreds of millions in the region and declared that India would not seek any unfair advantage at the expense of any of its SAARC partners. He also said that it would be necessary to utilise the forums of the United Nations for promoting new international economic order which is indispensable to sustain the new international political order.

(iv) Ms Benazir Bhutto's Observations at SAARC Summit Conference: The Pakistan's Prime Minister Ms Benazir Bhutto was elected chairperson of SAARC. She took over as chairperson at the fourth summit from King Birendra of Nepal amidst applause. She called for limiting arms expenditure, seeking regional solution to the arms race, the danger of nuclear proliferation and war. Ms Bhutto said "unresolved dispute mutual suspicion and rivalries have divided our countries in the past and kept them from coming together whole heartedly in joint endeavours for the good of all our people". She said that the people of the region faced the same problems of poverty disease, slums and ignorance and it is towards "the vanquishing of these enemies that we should direct all our efforts". She expressed happiness that all members agreed that they should adopt a programme "SAARC 2000" for regional cooperation to meet the basic needs of all the people.

(v) Conclusion of Three Agreements at Islamabad Summit: On 31st December, 1988 in a major move to defreeze their relations India and Pakistan signed three agreements including one prohibiting attack on each other's nuclear installations. These agreements came as a culmination of three days of talks between Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi and Ms Benazir Bhutto during the SAARC summit.

The other two agreements dealt with promotion of cultural exchanges and avoidance of double taxation on income from international air transport. The agreement on nuclear installations formalised a verbal understanding reached between Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi and the late General Zia-ul Haq when the latter visited New Delhi on December 17, 1985. The cultural cooperation agreement included a clause barring the two countries from any misrepresentation of facts about each other's country specially in text books relating to history and geography. This agreement also provided for exchange of visits of sports teams between the two countries. Addressing a joint press conference after the signing ceremony Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi said that these agreements marked a significant break-through in bilateral relations. Prime Minister Ms Benazir Bhutto described them as the beginning of momentum for peace between the two countries.

The SAARC Summit ended with a happy note. Rajiv Gandhi's idea of a South Asian festival that would begin in India and would be hosted by the other six countries one after the other was accepted by all the six South Asian leaders. Pakistan would be the site for a human resources development centre. The seven nations would in the year 1989 strive to roll back drug trafficking in the regions and devote 1990 to improve the lot of "girl child". It was however, decided that the fifth conference of SAARC would be held in Colombo. Commenting on the proceedings, the out going Lankan President Jayewardene who made his last apprearance on the SAARC forum, said "The key to SAARC lies with India".

(3) Developments in Sri Lanka

According to Indo-Sri Lanka accord, (1987) the minority of Tamil speaking people would be given autonomy in predominantly Tamil areas such as Trincomalee and Batticaloa. On the other hand thousands of Tamil refugees in India would be rehabilitated in Sri Lanka. But the militant group known as the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam adopted an intransigent attitude towards Indo-Sri Lanka accord and it resorted to violence in the country. In order to implement the accord effectively India sent her peace keeping force which encountered several battles with Tamil militants. Unfortunately the LTTE had not been convinced of the benefits of the above accords and sporadic incidents of violence had been occurring.

(a) Elections for North-Eastern Provincial Council (19th November, 1988): The Eelam People's Revolutionary Liberation Front (EPRLF) was elected to power in Sri Lanka's north-eastern province winning 41 seats in the 71 member provincial council in the general

elections held on 19th November, 1988. The LTTE having failed to disrupt the polling for the north-eastern provincial council election due to tight security arrangements made by Indian Peace Keeping Force (IPKF) had apparently stepped up attacks in the northern area of Sri Lanka. The government of India declared that when a provincial council consisting of EPRLF (Eelam People's Revolutionary Liberation Front), the UNP (United National Party) and SLMP (Sri Lanka Mahajana Party) was installed in Sri Lanka's north-eastern province, the major demand of Tamil people would be met and thus an important clause of Indo-Sri Lanka agreement would be implemented. India hoped that the provincial council would become a vehicle of Tamil aspirations and represent them in a democratic fashion. The government of India expressed the hope that the Council would enable the Tamil people to secure their rightful demands of devolution, autonomy and Tamil language. All the demands were to be voiced through this council and thus it was a favourable development for Tamils and Indo-Sri Lanka accord.

(b) Emergency in Sri Lanka Extended Indefinitely : The Sri Lankan parliament extended the state of emergency in the country indefinitely on 17th December, 1988 because of continuing arson and violence by LTTE. The parliament dominated by the ruling United National Party (UNP) voted 65 for and 2 against a motion to extend the emergency which gave sweeping powers to the security forces battling anti-government militants. The emergency first imposed in May 1983 had been extended each month. It was the first time it had been prolonged indefinitely. Meanwhile Sri Lankan cabinet decided to go ahead with the Presidential polls scheduled to take place on 19th December, 1988. The ruling United National Party (UNP) candidate Ranasinghe Premadasa chose his constituency Colombo Central to wind up his election campaign while SLFP candidate Mrs Srimao Bandaranaike and Sri Ossie Abeygunasekera of Sri Lanka Mahajana Pakashaya (SLMP) also closed their election campaign. Meanwhile Election Commissioner Chandrananda De Silva appealed to election officials to cooperate by reporting for duty. A ten member delegation of the SAARC (South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation) arrived in Colombo and they monitored the Presidential poll on Monday the 19th December, 1988. The delegation met the three candidates and heard recordings of the election speeches made on TV to see how the campaigning went before the Presidential poll.

(c) Ranasinghe Premadasa's Victory at Presidential Poll: Ranasinghe Premadasa of the ruling United National Party won the presidential election in Sri Lanka defeating his nearest oppostion

SLFP rival Mrs. Srimao Bandaranaike by a margin of over three lakhs votes in a triangular contest.

Immediately after he was declared elected at the town hall by the election commissioner, Premadasa said that he would assume office on January 2, 1989 at the famous Buddhist temple at Kandy when the tooth relic of Lord Buddha was kept in the Central Provinces. President Jayewardene dissolved Parliament and announced schedule for the general elections to be held on February 15, 1989. The new President had reservations regarding the Indo-Sri Lanka accord and was keen to replace it with a friendship treaty on the lines of the treaty between India and the Soviet Union. He had promised the voters that he would ensure the withdrawal of the Indian Peace Keeping Force after becoming President. It was yet to be seen what steps he would take in this regard during the term of his office.

(E) Recent Sino-Indian Relations

Sino-Indian border dispute has not yet been solved. Eight rounds of talks since 1981 achieved nothing, calling for a new approach. Three options are available to the government of India to resolve the issue. It can (1) maintain the status quo; (2) adopt a give and take attitude; or (3) go to war to get back what is claimed to be Indian territory. Ruling out the third option what the government has, is status quo or give and take. Ms Mira Sinha Bhattacharjea of Delhi University's department of Chinese and Japanese studies says that maintaining the status quo could be risky business. Events over the past 40 years show that maintaining the statusquo was difficult. In fact China had been guilty of violating it as was clear from the fact that she had improvised a helipad in Arunachal Pradesh during Rajiv Gandhi's rule. According to Giri Deshingkar another China watcher at the Centre for Study of Developing Societies, the option of the status quo was no longer suitable. The option left i.e., give and take is the trickest of them all. Chou En Lai, the Prime Minister of China offered such a proposal as early as 1960 to Jawaharlal Nehru when he said that India could keep the North-East Frontier Agency (now Arunachal Pradesh) and China would retain Aksai Chin, but Nehru rejected the proposal. A give and take package proposal was again mooted by Deng Xiaoping in 1980. But this too did not get a positive response from India.

(1) Dynamic Approach to Sino-Indian Border Dispute by Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi

Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi took a slightly different stand. For instance replying to the debate in the Lok Sabha on the demands

for grants of the External Affairs Ministry in April, 1988 he said "The border question needs peaceful negotiations. It needs mutually acceptable outcomes and we need to keep in mind the national sentiments in both countries". He repeated the statement at a banquet in Budapest in June 1988.

Even though the Chinese attitude had hardened after statehood was granted to Arunachal Pradesh in 1987, she consistently held the view that the only "fair and reasonable" way to settle the boundary question was to conduct friendly consultations in a spirit of "mutual understanding and mutual accommodation".

Mr. L. K. Advani BJP President has asserted that Indian public opinion will not accept any 'giving' away of territory. Prime Rajiv Gandhi made it absolutely clear that the boundary question would not be solved by surrendering Indian territory. India has a 2000 km long border with China divided into three sectors. The eastern sector is along Arunachal Pradesh and ranges from Burma to Bhutan. The middle sector is to the west of Nepal on the borders of Himachal Pradesh and Uttar Pradesh. The Western sector begins from Himachal and goes along Ladakh district of Jammu and Kashmir all the way upto the Kara Koram Pass. There are claims and counter claims by both the countries. The government of India has made it clear that its claim to territory occupied by China in 1962 was based on conclusive historical evidence and that there is no question of surrender of Indian territory.

(ii) India's Stand on Aksai Chin and Mc Mahon Line Opposed by China

In 1846 the British recognised Gulab Singh as the Maharaja of Jammu and Kashmir. The British government believed that he would repeat his earlier attack on Tibet. So it tried to demarcate a boundary between Ladakh and Tibet. The British informed the Chinese government in 1847 about the proposed demarcation and invited it to participate but the Chinese did not agree claiming that the borders had been sufficiently and distinctly fixed. The British purpose was to draw a line to prevent Gulab Singh from crossing into Tibet and officials were asked to survey the frontier and draw a map boundary. This was done in two stages by W. H. Johnson, who trekked across Aksai Chin (which in Chinese means "desert of white stones") a desolate plateau 5100 metres high but across which lay an ancient trade route from Sin Kiang to Tibet. Johnson showed Aksai Chin together with a thick slice of territory to the north of Karakoram Pass as being within Kashmir.

In the mid 1890s after the Chinese themselves had done some survey work and seen the Johnson map, they protested and claimed Aksai Chin as their territory. In 1896 the Chinese voiced their claim to a British official George Macartney at Kashgar, but the Chinese claim was not entertained.

The collapse of Chinese power in Tibet in 1911-12 gave Britain an opportunity to use Tibet as a buffer between China and the British empire. The British government called a Simla Conference in 1913 ostensibly to mend relations between Tibet and China but in reality to control Tibet while conceding Chinese suzerainty over it. The British delegation was led by Sir Henry Mc Mahon Foreign Secretary of India to attend the Simla Conference in which both Tibetan and Chinese delegates also participated. The British effort was to get China to accept a division of Tibet into two zones, inner and outer. While the British were prepared to concede China's suzerainty over the whole of Tibet, China was to be denied administrative rights in outer Tibet. However, the conference broke down over where the line should run. However, Mc Mahon was able in 1914 to get the Chinese representative Ivan Chen to initial the draft treaty and its illustrative map. The Chinese representative did so conditionally making a difference between initialling and signing. Even his initialling was later rejected by the Chinese government. However Tibetan delegates and British delegates agreed to an alignment of Tibetan Assam boundary which became known as the Mc Mahon line. The Chinese government even today claims that the so-called Mc Mahon Line was the legacy of British imperialism for India and as such she was not bound to accept it as the boundary line between India and China.

(3) Different Perceptions of the Experts on the Sino-Indian Border Issue

The endless debate on the historical evidence all these years has achieved little. Giri Deshingkar says that the border question is not a matter that will be decided by legal arguments. According to him there should be a political settlement on the principles guiding the start of real border negotiations. After this, different border sectors should be settled differently taking geographic historical or legal factors into account. Deshingkar believes that India should identify the areas it must hold keeping in view national security and sentiment and then begin to negotiate in the areas of soft options. He says that modern satellite maps will considerably help the process. According to Ms Mira Sinha Bhatacharjea China does not covet territory as its agreements with Burma, Nepal and Afghanistan in

1960, with Pakistan in 1963 and Mongolia in 1964 show. She says that these settlements revealed that China had made very modest territorial demands. Ms Bhatacharjea says that a political approach would involve working out a solution in terms of present reality. She argues that whatever historical evidence China may produce India is not going to give up Arunachal Pradesh. In the same manner China will not give up the portions of Aksai Chin where Sin Kiang Tibet road runs, whatever the Indian evidence.

The international resolution adopted by AICC session in November 1988 in a vein similar to Chinese approach talked of finding a settlement "acceptable to peoples of both countries which would be in their mutual interest and mutual benefit". Whatever the comments of experts given above the government of India is firm on stand that there would be on sacrifice of Indian territory for resolving this decades old dispute.

A leading Chinese journalist connected with the official media said in December 1988 that in principle it did not seem a bad idea to determine afresh a new "friendship line" in place of "Mc Mahon line" drawn at the Simla Convention in 1914 among representatives of India, China and Tibet but never ratified by China. He suggested that the border row should not be dramatised. Both sides should let things cool down by not trying to change the present situation by force or through a military build-up.

However the Indian ambassador to China Mr. C. V. Ranganathan expressed confidence that the boundary question would be settled "at an early date peacefully and through negotiations in an atmosphere of clam and tranquillity.

(4) Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi's Historic Visit to China (19th December, 1988)

(a) Prelude to Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi's Visit : China had given clear hints about her willingness to have a fresh look at her relations with India and identify the constraints in finding a solution to the border issue. The invitation to visit China was first extended to Mrs. Indira Gandhi by then Chinese Foreign Minister Huang Hua in 1981. The Chinese Vice-premier Yao Yilin who attended Mrs Indira Gandhi's funeral extended an invitation to Mr. Rajiv Gandhi on behalf his government. The invitation was renewed by the then Chinese Prime Minister Zhao Ziyang during his meeting with Mr. Rajiv Gandhi in New York in October 1985 and by the Chinese Vice-Foreign Minister leading his country's delegation to eighth round of official level talks.

In the late fifties differences arose between India and China on the boundary question. In 1958 India took up withthe Chinese government the construction of a motor road by China across the eastern part of Ladakh in the Aksai Chin area. The boundary question was discussed by Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru and Premier Chou En Lai at Delhi in April 1960. Subsequently officials of two governments studied available material on the boundary question on both sides and published separate reports. The boundary question led to tension and conflict took place on the border in October 1962. Relations remained cool till 1976 when India took the initiative in restoring ambassadorial level diplomatic relations with China. In February 1979 the then Foreign Minister Mr. Atal Behari Vajpayee visited China. During his visit he was received by then Vice-Premier Deng Xiaoping. Prime Minister Indira Gandhi met the then Premier and Chairman of the Chinese Communist Party Mr Hua Guofeng at Belgrade in May 1980. Chinese Foreign Minister Huang Hua visited India in June 1981. The two countries agreed to hold discussions at the official level on matters concerning India - China relations including the boundary question. Eight rounds of official level talks were held so far. The eighth round was held in November 1987. At this round of talks the Indian side conveyed to the Chinese side their desire to reconstruct and revitalise relations with China and to increase bilateral ties in various fields. On the eve of Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi's visit Lok Sabha expressed its greetings and good wishes to him. Speaker Shri Balram Jakhar said that India's culture and temperament and the present atmosphere were all in favour of peace with China. However Minister of State for External Affairs K. Natwar Singh said that it would be wrong to expect a solution to the vexed border dispute during the five day visit of the Prime Minister. He said "The visit will help formulate the objective criterion to get in motion the process in this regard."

(b) Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi's State Visit to China a Grand Success : Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi left on 19th December, 1988 on a five day visit to China setting in motion process of consultation at the highest level which might ultimately pave the way for the settlement of Sino-Indian border problem. During this visit three agreements were signed at Diaoyutai State guest house in the presence of Mr. Rajiv Gandhi and the Chinese Premier Mr. Li Peng. These agreements were concluded regarding commencement of air services between the two countries, cooperation in the field of science and technology and cultural exchanges. Champagne glasses were struck thrice as the agreements were signed by Indian and Chinese

officials on a long rectangular table atop which the national flags of the two countries were placed.

(i) Very Warm Reception Accorded to Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi: A call for making a new beginning in the Sino-Indian relations was made by China's supreme leader Mr. Deng Xiaoping when he received Mr. Rajiv Gandhi in the historic Great Hall of People. The eagerly awaited meeting got off to a pleasant start when the 84 year old Chinese leader held Mr. Gandhi's hand aloft saying "Welcome my young friend. Let us forget the past and make a new beginning". Reciprocating the sentiments Mr. Gandhi said "Of course yes we should be friends". Mr. Rajiv Gandhi also conferred with the general secretary Mr. Zhao Ziyang who later hosted a private dinner for Mr. Gandhi and Mrs. Sonia Gandhi.

(ii) Need of Peace and Tranquillity in the Border Area Emphasised : The Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi announced in Beijing that India and China had agreed that pending a solution of the border dispute, peace and tranquillity on the border area would be observed. Referring to the five principles of coexistence which the two countries had jointly authored, Mr. Gandhi said "We have agreed that we can and should move ahead in normalising our relations with an abiding commitment to these principles". As regards border problem it was felt necessary that there should be peace and tranquillity in the border area so that future negotiations could be carried on without interruption.

(iii) Formation of Sino-Indian Working Group to Resolve the Border Dispute: During Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi's visit to China, both the countries agreed to form the joint working group to study the border problem thoroughly and to devise an agreed formula to resolve the boundary dispute within a reasonable time frame. The previous eight official level talks had not made any tangible headway. But the present joint Sino-Indian Group would try hard to cut the ice on the crucial boundary issue and this group would be backed by the effective political will of the two governments.

(iv) India's Stand on Tibet : The Assembly of Tibetan Deputies, the Tibetan's Parliament in exile said on 21st December, 1988 that Tibetans never accepted themselves as part of China. But India's stand was clear from the remarks of Rajiv Gandhi about Tibet. He said "We recognise Tibet as an autonomous region and whatever happened there was an internal affair of China." In other words India has recognised the suzerainty of China over Tibet and she does not intend to interfere in the internal affairs of the Tibetans. India

would not support the Tibetan's Parliament in exile or Dalai Lama to make Tibet a separate state.

(v) Commencement of Telephonic and Air Services Between India and China: As a result of Rajiv Gandhi's state visit to China the International Subscriber Dialled telephone service between India and China was introduced. With this introduction the total of countries that could be accessed by direct dialling by the Indian telephone subscribers went upto 177. The Country Code for China is "86". On the other hand air services between India and China commenced from May 1989. A decision to this effect was taken in Bombay at a meeting between Civil Aviation Ministry Secretary S. K. Mishra and his Chinese counterpart. Air India Managing Director Rajan Jetley was also present in the meeting.

However, the visit of Rajiv Gandhi being the first visit of an Indian Prime Minister in last 34 years was hailed in China's political circles as the most significant event which would usher in an era of meaningful cooperation between the two countries. From Indian view point Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi's historic visit to China constitutes a welcome breakthrough into bilateral relations between China and India.

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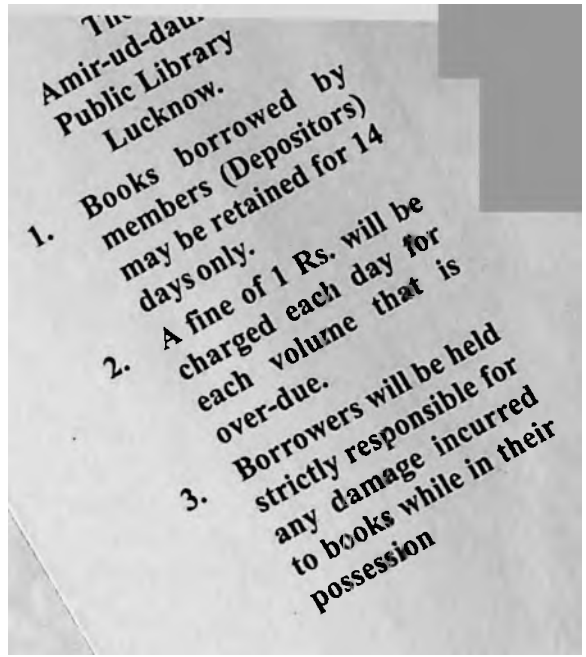
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